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EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

Life and Character

of

Edward Oliver Wolcott

Late a Senator of the United States
from the State of Colorado

By

Thomas Fulton Dawson

Volume I

For Private Circulation

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In Place of Preface

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 1, 1909.

Senator Wolcott appeared before the Bar of the Supreme Court on several occasions, and I remember him as an unusually graceful and accomplished speaker, with good knowledge of the law and exceptional tact and skill in presenting his cases. He was a man of much magnetism, and the listener instinctively felt as if he wanted to agree with him. His success at the bar and in the halls of legislation was not the result of accident, but of genuine ability and real force.

John M. Harlan

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
June 20, 1909.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of engaging personality; a lawyer of splendid insight; an orator of convincing power. His success in life was marked, but was not beyond his deserts. He was absolutely honest in his views, and we have had few public men who were so courageous in expressing their real convictions. Whether in private or public life he thought for himself, and he was never swerved from a purpose by self-interest or

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public clamor. I was familiar with his career for twenty years, and I had a sincere admiration and real attachment for him.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
March 4, 1909.

Edward O. Wolcott was a man of exceptional force of character. Not within my service of almost thirty years in the Senate was there a member of that body capable of more brilliant speech; but, notwithstanding his reputation was made as an orator, oratory was not the forte which most commended him to those who knew him intimately. They were drawn to him by his magnanimous nature and by numerous qualities of head and heart which compelled both admiration and affection.

Incapable of smallness of any kind, he was a man of conviction, of courage, and of strength. None could be more daring in the espousal of a cause and none more persistent in standing for a principle. His mental qualities were of a rare order. His penetration was intuitive, and his logic exact and unflinching. He was magnetic beyond most men, and when he set out to accomplish a given purpose he was quite irresistible. With a little more attention to detail and greater patience he would have excelled in executive position or at the head of a business enterprise. He detested pretence and insincerity, but he was more than generous to the unfortunate. With his intimates he was frank and hearty; to his friends he was loyal. He loved both his State and his country.

In the Senate Mr. Wolcott was perfectly at home, and his service there was highly appreciated by his associates. In legislation apparently he was impulsive; but, while he acted with promptness, he really gave careful thought to all problems, and worked on a much surer basis than many who gave more time to consideration. His legislative action was prompted by motives which placed the general welfare above individual interest. His continuance in office was desirable from every point of view, and I am confident that but for his untimely death he would have been returned to the Senate.

To me Mr. Wolcott's death was a personal loss. I had known him ever since his arrival in Colorado in 1871, and during that

more than a third of a century we had been on terms of intimacy. There were times when we differed on questions of public policy, but never a time when the ties of friendship did not hold.

H M Teller

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 21, 1909.

I knew Senator Wolcott well, and I may say that our intimacy increased during all of his service in the Senate. He was a charming companion; had extensive knowledge of all of the good things in literature; enjoyed poetry and art, and was a fine orator, and, with all these accomplishments, when he put his great intellect into active and practical work, he was a most valuable legislator. He had excellent command of the best English style, and his wit and imagination made him one of the most attractive speakers I have ever known in the Senate. Some of us miss him very greatly and we will never cease to hold him in most affectionate remembrance.

Eugene Hale

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
August 4, 1909.

There have been few men in public life who possessed to such a degree as did Senator Wolcott the courage of his convictions.

Mr. Wolcott was a member of the Committee on Finance during much of his two terms in the Senate, and I knew him intimately. Of exceptional analytical capacity, he was quick in the perception of the points involved in any issue, and when once he arrived at a conclusion he permitted no consideration of expediency or self-interest to change him. Even though he stood alone in advocacy or in opposition, he held to views once formed, and with a conviction well established he did not hesitate to express his opinions. He was outspoken on all subjects and never hesitated to attack a sham or fraud of whatever magnitude or pretence. He spoke fluently and always spoke to the point. He was a most valuable member of the Committee

and of the Senate, and if he had remained longer in public life would have added greatly to his reputation.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of charming personality. Vivacious, well-read, quick-witted, and broadly sympathetic, association with him was always delightful. His nature was broadly generous, and if he did not spare the pretender, he was gentle and kind to the helpless or dependent. The world was made better by his life, but only his close friends can fully appreciate the loss occasioned by his death.

Nelson W. Aldrich

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 23, 1909.

To me personally Senator Wolcott was a great loss. During our years of service together in the Senate, although we had often disagreed, I had grown very fond of him. He was a charming, a fascinating companion. He had not only seen much of the world, but he had strong tastes in art and literature which opened up wide fields where we had many sympathies. He was a man of great natural ability improved by reading and observation, and although not a student he made up whatever he may have lacked in sustained diligence by an unusual rapidity of acquisition. In public life and in the Senate he won a conspicuous place. He was a speaker of unusual power, one of the most brilliant I ever listened to, and with a voice and manner of delivery which, always effective, was in moments of excitement or emotion the most inspiring I have ever heard. When roused to his highest point he always made me feel as if a bugle-note was summoning cavalry to a great and victorious charge.

Added to all this were a wit and a humor which never failed and which made what he said as effective as the way he said it. I never felt that he did full justice to his remarkable natural gifts and great abilities, for he had an immense vitality and was eager to try all the enjoyments and test all the experiences of life. None the less, his career, both at the Bar and in the Senate, was a most distinguished one, and I have never ceased to miss him or to mourn for his premature death.

Henry Cabot Lodge

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 22, 1909.

I knew Senator Wolcott very intimately and believe that I enjoyed a large measure of his regard and friendship. He was one of the ablest men that ever served in the Senate of the United States, and he was one of the greatest orators that ever addressed a National Convention of the Republican party. He was cultured and brilliant, was possessed of many accomplishments, and he had great sense of humor. I deeply regretted as a personal loss his untimely death, and, with all who knew him well, I greatly miss him and hold his memory in affectionate remembrance.

Boies Penrose

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Youth and Young Manhood

BIRTH AND FAMILY

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT, of Denver, was born in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, March 26, 1848; served for a few months as private in the 150th Regiment of Ohio Volunteers in 1864; entered Yale College in 1866, but did not graduate; graduated from Harvard Law School in 1871, and removed to Colorado; is a lawyer; was elected District Attorney and a member of the State Senate in the same year; was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed Thomas M. Bowen, Republican, and took his seat March 4, 1889. (Senator Wolcott's autobiography as printed in the *Congressional Directory* for the first session of the 51st Congress.)

In these few words Mr. Wolcott has left us the story of his life. It is such a contribution as all Senators and Representatives make to the *Congressional Directory*, although briefer than most of them. But, brief as it is, it is the only approach that he ever made to preparation of a biography of himself. Necessarily it is a bare skeleton, but it is accurate except in the one statement concerning his election as District Attorney and as State Senator. The first of these came in 1876 and the latter in 1878. With this correction, it would answer all the purposes of an outline of his career if it had contained two additional notations, namely, that in January, 1895, Mr. Wolcott received his second election to the Senate, and that, because his party was in the minority in the Colorado Legislature in 1901, he failed to be chosen at that time.

These data would finish the record, and as a record complete the skeleton.

But the flesh and blood—the strong heart, the teeming

brain, the smile, the tear; the eloquent utterance, the genial countenance, the dash, the courage; the animating purpose, the varied experience, the integrity of conduct; the struggle, the triumph, all that go to create human interest—they are lacking. They do not belong in a *Congressional Directory;* they do not come in "franked" publications.

Hence this book.

Longmeadow, the place of Mr. Wolcott's birth, is a quiet New England village, consisting of one broad elm-shaded street, near Springfield. It is a satisfactory place in which to be born; a place to get away from when the life struggle begins in earnest; a place to return to when there is no longer necessity for such struggle, and when there is nothing left to do but to rest and meditate.

It was in this village that Edward Wolcott's father and mother took up their abode after their marriage in 1843, and here their two oldest children, Samuel Adams and Henry Roger, as well as Edward Oliver, were born; and it was to this village that Father Wolcott and Mother Wolcott returned to spend the last years of their lives after they had reared their large family and established most of its members in the world. After the return of the family, it was with Senator Wolcott a favorite place of resort, largely, of course, because the family were there, and also because it afforded retreat from the world—a world which, while it brought fame to him, brought care also.

The two older brothers were given names which long had been indentified with the family, but in Edward's case there was a partial departure from this custom. The name Oliver, applied originally probably in honor of Oliver Cromwell, was sanctioned by long family use, but that of Edward was new and seems to have been appropriated because of mere fancy. For a time apparently the middle name was preferred by its owner and by the family; but afterward it gave way to the first, and in time this Christian name, or its abbreviation, and the surname came to be so welded together that each seemed almost a part of the other. Throughout his life Mr. Wolcott was known to his friends and largely to the public as "Ed" Wolcott.

The subject of our memoir was not the first of the name

to attain distinction. Prior to his time the Wolcott family numbered among its members one signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of Washington's Cabinet, and three governors of Connecticut, and contemporaneously with him there was a governor of Massachusetts, who bore the Wolcott name and was a distant relative. But Edward Oliver is the only member of the connection who has occupied a seat in the national Senate.

Mr. Wolcott seldom referred to the standing of his family, but he was not unmindful nor unappreciative of it. He had the coat-of-arms printed, and he was fond of picking up relics of the deceased members who had achieved fame. During his speech as temporary chairman of the Republican State Convention, held at Colorado Springs in September, 1896, when some irresponsible persons were addressing open letters to him asking for his resignation as Senator, he read one of the demands to the Convention. Commenting upon it, he said that "Wolcott" appeared as the name of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, but that he failed to see any of his traducers' names among those attached to that transcendantly important historical document.

That the family had ranked well in England is shown by a story connected with its coat-of-arms. The shield of the coat includes three chess-rooks, the use of which was authorized by Henry V. to one of the Wolcott ancestors who checkmated the King in a game of chess. Following is a description of the arms:

SHIELD: Argent a Cheveron between three Chess-Rooks ermined.

CREST: A Bull's Head, erased argent, armed or ducally gorged, lined and ringed, of the last.

MOTTO: Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

The motto is a line from the Latin poet Horace. Translated literally, it means, "Accustomed to swear by the words of no master." Dr. Wolcott, the Senator's father, interpreted it as a pronouncement against taking anything on trust. In reality, it was a declaration of independence, and as such is as much an indication of the character of the modern, as it could have been of the ancient, Wolcotts.

The family immigrant, Henry Wolcott, came from Tolland, in Somersetshire, where the family had lived for many generations, and where some of their tombs stand by the side of the ancient church. He came early in the Puritan migration, sailing from Plymouth, England, March 20, 1630. He was one of the company who settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts, but who in 1636 joined the movement to Connecticut under the leadership of Rev. Thomas Hooker. The members of the party from the Massachusetts towns of Dorchester, Watertown, and New Town, now Cambridge, settled the three Connecticut towns respectively of Windsor, Weathersfield, and Hartford, Mr. Wolcott going with his associates to Windsor. We are told that he was a "stout-hearted and God-fearing man," and that after the pastor "he was probably the most distinguished man in Windsor." He was a member of the Connecticut General Court or Legislature almost from the time of his arrival until his death. He also was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1637. The settlers had been led to change their abode largely by their opposition to the oligarchical ideas which prevailed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the utterance of this Convention naturally was pronounced in its democracy. The Connecticut Constitution is the first document on record which establishes a government by the simple will of those who are to be governed by it, and in this respect it was the model for the Constitution of the United States. Hooker's sermon before this Convention, which contains the first suggestion of this fundamental law, was preserved to the world in outline in a short-hand note-book of a member of the Wolcott family.

While through intermarriage, Senator Wolcott traced his lineage to two of the sons and one of the daughters of the founder of the American house, the direct male descent was through Simon, the youngest son of Henry, as was that of the three Wolcotts who were governors of Connecticut and also that of the late Governor Roger Wolcott of Massachusetts. The division came in the second generation from the original Henry Wolcott, the founder of the American family. Henry's son Simon was the father of Henry, William, and Roger. The last-named was the first Wolcott who occupied

the gubernatorial chair, and his son Oliver and the latter's son, also named Oliver, succeeded him in turn in that office. The elder of the Olivers was the member of the family whose name is attached to the Declaration of Independence, and the younger was Secretary of the Treasury in the Washington and John Adams Cabinets, succeeding Alexander Hamilton, the first occupant of the office.

In his eulogy, delivered in Boston in 1901, on the character of Governor Wolcott of Massachusetts, then recently deceased, Senator Lodge paid high tribute to the Wolcott family, saying in part:

> We here have one of the rare instances of a family which, starting in America with a man of fortune and good estate, always retained its position in the community. In the main line at least it never encountered the vicissitudes which attend nearly all families in the course of two hundred and fifty years. The name never dropped out of sight, but was always borne up by its representatives in the same place in society as that held by the founder. More remarkable still, in almost every generation there was at least one of the lineal male descendants of the first immigrants who rose to the very highest positions in military, political, and judicial life. The list of judges, governors, generals, Cabinet officers, and members of Congress in this pedigree is a long and striking one. From the days of the Somersetshire gentleman to those of the present generation, which has given a Governor to Massachusetts and a brilliant Senator from Colorado to the United States, the Wolcotts, both as soldiers and civilians, have rendered service to their country, eminent as it has been unbroken. War and statecraft were in the blood of this race, and can we wonder that they have found fitting exemplars in our own time? It is not a name made illustrious by some single ancestor in a dim past and suffered to rust unused by descendants who were content with the possession of a trade-mark. Here is a long roll of honor, where the son felt that he would be unworthy of his father if he did not add fresh lustre to the name he bore by service to his State and country, either in the hour of trial or in the pleasant paths of peace.

Simon Wolcott did not come to America with his father as did three older sons. He was only five years of age

when his father sailed, and he did not join the family until 1640, ten years later. His second marriage was romantic. Included among the temporary residents of Windsor one winter after young Simon grew to man's estate and had been married and become a widower, was an attractive young English lady named Martha Pitkin, sister of the Attorney-General of the Colony. She had come only for a visit, but owing to the scarcity of members of her sex, it was conceived to be against public policy to permit her return. The elders of the community put their heads together and decided that the most available marriageable man of the town should court her with a view to matrimony, and thus insure her retention in the community. They concluded that Simon Wolcott was most likely to be successful in such a suit. The result of the plotting was an early match, and in the union the branch of the family most productive of men of distinction had its origin. Among their sons was Henry Wolcott, second, who was the father of Gideon, who fought the Indians, and who became the father of Samuel who served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. This Samuel was the father of Elihu and the grandfather of the Dr. Samuel Wolcott who was the father of Senator Wolcott.

There was, however, far more of the original Wolcott blood in Edward Wolcott's veins than this tracing alone shows. It ran back not only through Simon, but through Henry the second and through Mary, his sister, to Henry, the Englishman. The connection with the Henry and Mary branches of the family came through the marriage of General Samuel Wolcott of the Revolutionary period to Jerusha Wolcott. She was the daughter of General Erastus Wolcott, a son of Governor Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, and Jerusha, his wife, who had come down in direct line from the second Henry. Going back still farther, Roger Wolcott, Erastus's father, had married his cousin, Sarah Drake, daughter of Mary, the wife of Job Drake and daughter of the first Henry. Thus our subject was a Wolcott of the Wolcotts.

Elihu Wolcott, Senator Wolcott's grandfather, was the first of the family to go West. In 1830 he established himself at Jacksonville, Illinois, which at the time seemed to

have better prospects than the settlement about Fort Dearborn, on the Chicago River.

Dr. Samuel Wolcott, the Senator's father, was born at South Windsor, July 13th, seventeen years before the migration westward, and died at Longmeadow in February, 1886. He was a graduate of Yale College in 1833 and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1837. After a brief missionary service in Syria, he returned to the United States, where he had Congregational pastorates at Longmeadow and Belchertown, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Chicago, Illinois; and Cleveland, Ohio. The influences amid which he was reared are revealed in a letter which he wrote in 1864, accepting an appointment as one of the trustees of a fund for a monument to Elijah and Owen Lovejoy. He says:

With Owen Lovejoy I was personally acquainted, and I honor his memory as that of a brave and true man. The heroism of his conflict with oppression renders any monument unnecessary to perpetuate his fame; but the proposed memorial will convey a valuable lesson to the living, and be an incitement to public virtue.

I did not personally know the elder brother, Elijah Lovejoy, Freedom's proto-martyr in our age and land, whose name is properly associated with that of the younger in death, as it was an inspiration to him while living; but my honored father was by his side when he fell in defence of our common liberties. I was then a young man, living in the city of Boston, and attended the meeting which, amid much obloquy, was called in old Faneuil Hall, at the instance of Dr. Channing, to take some suitable notice of this tragedy. I there listened to the calm counsels of this venerable Christian orator and philanthropist, to the unworthy sophistries of the Attorney-General of the State, and to the triumphant, maiden speech of Wendell Phillips, who drew eloquence from the mute lips of Warren, looking down from the wall. Wonderful is the progress which has been made in our quarter of a century! May we not reasonably anticipate, within our short lustrum, the complete justification of our triumph of liberty?

He was an active participant in the discussion awakened by the Fugitive Slave Law. It was a tract of his, "The Bible against Slavery," which precipitated the discussion of

the policy of the American Tract Society, and this was the first tract issued by the Tract Society which the friends of abolition started as a rival of the parent organization. His son referred to one form of his father's activity in this cause at the Colorado Republican Convention in 1893, when he declared that, when he was a boy, his home had been on "the underground railway," which helped escaping slaves to Canada; and he wrote to his mother in 1900 of having seen runaway negroes hidden in the attic of the house in Providence. Dr. Wolcott spent some time with Sherman's army before Atlanta in the service of the Christian Commission. During the latter part of his life he wrote a number of hymns, one of which is widely in use in Christian worship:

"Christ for the world we sing."

Mr. Wolcott's mother was Harriet A. Pope, of Millbury, Massachusetts. Her father, Jonathan Adams Pope, who subsequently removed to Norwich, Connecticut, was an extensive cotton-mill proprietor, and he was a grandson of the Jonathan Adams who shipped into New England the first bale of cotton ever taken to that section.

Part of the sturdiness of Mr. Wolcott's character may have come from one of his ancestors who belonged to another family, Rev. Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron, Connecticut. His hearty co-operation in the revival methods of Jonathan Edwards, 1735–1738, led to the double charge being made against him of holding New Light views, and preaching these views without permission in the parishes of Old Light ministers. He was tried before the General Court in the Old First Church of Hartford, going in and out of the building between two lines of soldiers. The congregation were released from their obligations to pay tithes for his support, and he lived for the rest of his life on the voluntary contributions of the people. Another ancestor was Pomroy's son-in-law, David McClure, a graduate of Yale and an instructor in Moore's Indian Charity School, at the time that it was moved to the wilds of New Hampshire and transformed into Dartmouth College. There being no clergy-

men in the neighborhood to join in the ceremony, President Eleazar Wheelock ordained McClure, and he went as a missionary to the Indians.

Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott were the parents of eleven children. All of them were born between September, 1844, the date of the birth of Samuel, and October, 1863, when Charlotte Augusta, later Mrs. Charles F. Bates, was born. All attained to manhood and womanhood except a little girl, Mary Alice, who died in infancy. In addition to Samuel, Henry, Edward, Mary Alice, and Charlotte, the children were: Harriet Agnes (Mrs. F. O. Vaille, of Denver, Colorado); Rev. William Edgar, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Katherine Ellen (Mrs. Charles H. Toll, of Utica, New York); Anna Louisa, of Denver, Colorado; Clara Gertrude, of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Herbert Walter, of Alamogordo, New Mexico.

During an interval between pastorates the father seems to have been away from home much of the time. One of his letters, dated April 26, 1848, less than a month after young Edward's advent, makes the first written mention of the child. Saying that never again would he go away and leave his family at Longmeadow, he continues: "I can never leave you again where you are. I propose therefore until we are settled again to let Sammie stay with mother and Henry with Julia [a sister], and, storing our furniture in some convenient place, to take yourself and little Oliver —the flower of our family—with me where I go as a supply."

The warmth of feeling and the pride of family expressed in this letter remained unabated until the death of the father, almost forty years afterward. That Edward, or Oliver, as he then was called, was the father's favorite not only of all his sons, but of all his children, was conceded by the other members of the family, and, acknowledging the fact, none of them took exception to the partiality. Many references will be made throughout this narrative to the father's attachment for his third son, and it will appear that from the beginning there was a confidence in the future of the youngster, which must indicate that from a period very early in the boy's life there were discoverable traits of char-

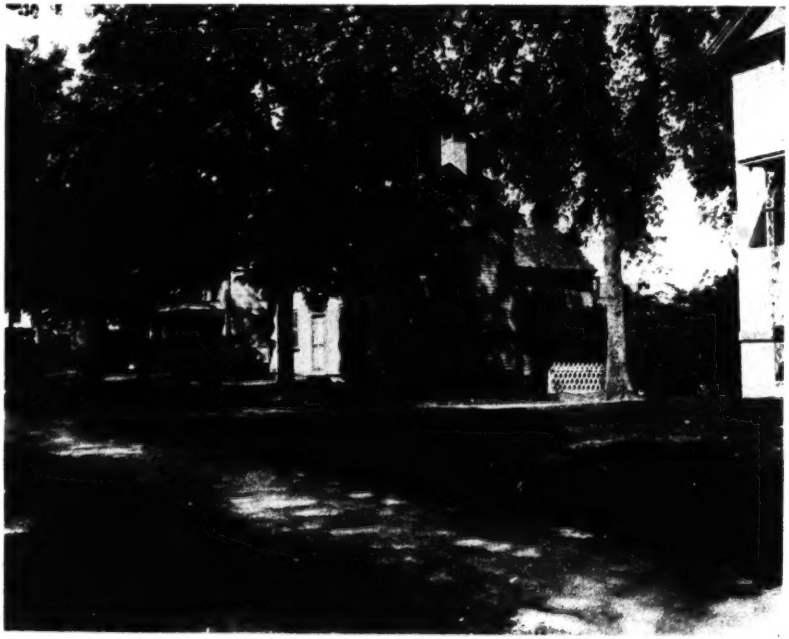
acter which made him appear unusual and of more than ordinary promise. So pronounced, indeed, was his precocity that the fact is emphasized by the next mention of the boy which we discover in the family correspondence. This is found in a letter from Edward's grandfather under the date of February 2, 1849, when, after expressing his goodwill toward his daughter-in-law, the mother of the three grandsons, he asks: "How are the three charming boys, Samuel, with his ardor and vivacity; Henry, with his sober thoughtfulness, and Edward with his gubernatorial dignity?"

Here is a suggestion of superiority sufficiently noticeable in the young Edward to attract attention even then, and the father falls into the same thought in a letter dated at Norwich, Connecticut, in April, 1849, when Ed was only a year old. Writing to his wife on that date he tells of his recent arrival from New London, "just three weeks from the day I parted from you and *the governor.*" Repeating the same idea he closes thus: "Kiss the dear little fellows for their father, and with especial charge to Samuel always to obey his dear mother, and a polite request to *the governor* to hold his head up like a man, I close, etc."

From Longmeadow the family removed to Belchertown, Massachusetts, in 1849, and remaining there until 1853, went thence to Providence, Rhode Island, whence in 1859 they removed to Chicago, Illinois. A residence was maintained in Chicago until 1862, after which Cleveland, Ohio, became the family home and remained such until 1884, when the family returned to Longmeadow, where they continued to reside until after Mother Wolcott's death in 1901. Henry and Edward spent the last two or three Providence summers on a farm in Belchertown. They were there when the family started west and joined them *en route.*

EARLY DAYS IN THE WEST

We hear comparatively little of the progress of the subject of our writing until he begins to tell his own story in 1860. It may well be imagined, however, that his life was much like that of most New England boys; that he was kept as constantly at school as was possible during week



BIRTHPLACE OF SENATOR WOLCOTT AT LONGMEADOW, MASS.

days, and that on Sundays, after he became large enough, he was an habitual attendant at Sunday-school and occasionally at church. One of the Belchertown traditions is that, being once in the father's pew with the oldest brother, he became so restless that his father, who occupied the pulpit, paused in his sermon and said, "Samuel, take your little brother home." This was characteristic of him throughout life. He always was restless and impatient under restraint. That in his youth he was robust, vigorous, assertive of his own rights, even at so early an age, and yet jovial, and well disposed, and popular with his playmates and with the family, all who remember him at that time agree. He seems to have had an especial friend in the person of his teacher at Providence, a Miss Butts, a portion of one of whose letters to him of date of February 15, 1860, has been preserved. The letter manifests a keen interest in the entire family, but it shows especially that even before leaving for the home in Chicago young Edward, then only eleven years old, had so favorably impressed himself upon a discriminating and cultured woman that she found correspondence with him enjoyable. Her letter was in response to one from him, and she says: "It is vacation week here and the street is filled with children. I look out of the window, almost expecting to see you upon the brick walk, or sliding in the gutter, and running swiftly across to the opposite side as you used to do."

The Chicago to which the family went in 1859 was not yet out of its swaddling bands. The city was being raised out of the marshes, and the board sidewalks were interrupted every few feet by steps between lots of different heights. But some of the greatest events of that important era took place within the limits of the young city, and the father's intense interest in public affairs communicated itself to his household. One member of the family recalls that on the day of John Brown's execution a feeling of gloom pervaded the house as from a personal bereavement. The Republican National Convention which nominated Lincoln was held at the old Wigwam, after which there followed the campaign, the election, the secession of the Southern States, the enlistment of troops, and the first battles of the

war, particularly the capture of Fort Donelson. The excitement of those days throbbed as fiercely in Chicago as anywhere in the land, and a lad in his teens, eager and alert, could not but be affected by it. He was one of the crowd of boys who followed the funeral procession of Stephen A. Douglas to the burial place at the south end of the city.

His early impressions of his new home are shown in the following letter written, five months after his arrival, to a brother who had remained with the relatives at Norwich:

CHICAGO, Feb. 16, 1860.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Father brought your letters from the Post-office this afternoon, and as Willie is answering his letter I thought I would write a note to go with it. We have had a great deal of good skating here and but very little snow, but the reason there are not many on the ponds is because they are down by the lake shore and the wind blows so strong that it is n't any fun.

Mr. Thomas, who is one of the managers of the "Young Men's Association" gives me the privilege of taking out any books from the library that I choose. I like Chicago very much indeed. Howard block in Providence would look almost like a shanty by the side of these great seven- and eight-story marble buildings, and there is ever so much more going on here than there is East. There are five steam engines here in Chicago, and I have seen them work.

There are more Dutchmen here in Chicago than you ever saw, and on some of the most important streets in the city you see the sign up almost everywhere, "Wines and Liquors of all sorts"; "Lager Beer," and "Sands pale XXX, etc."

It is very level here and the highest natural hill in Chicago is a mound about four feet high in the yard of one of our neighbors. Henry and I have got a cabinet and the other boys around have given us a great many curiosities.

Please tell Aunty that we are very much obliged to her for our caps that she sent us. Please give my love to Addie and all the rest of the folks.

But I must go to bed
So good-bye.
From your affectionate brother
E. OLIVER WOLCOTT.

The Chicago experience was brought to an end by the

removal of the family to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1862. The Standard Oil Company had not come into existence and the iron industry was in its infancy when the family reached Cleveland. The population numbered only about fifty thousand. The family home was on the south side of Euclid Avenue, then Euclid Street, not yet paved.

Ed soon entered the old Central High School, near the corner of Euclid and Erie streets, and, like all the pupils, acquired an affection for Dr. Sterling, who was the head of the school. He always was fond of reproducing the manner of his first grammar-school principal, a pompous and loud-voiced man, who would interrupt his morning Bible reading to impose discipline, with such an effect as this: "Then the King Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and Mordecai, the Jew,—ah, ah, Herrick, go out into the hall."

FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE

At this time, the war was pulsating through the air. A camp was established in the edge of the city; troops were going and coming; there were military funerals occasionally; many veterans wounded or otherwise disabled were about the streets; the truth as to affairs at the front, tragic enough of itself, was aggravated by numberless rumors from newspapers and private letters; the work of relief was vigorously carried on by the Sanitary and Christian Commission and other agencies, and the recruiting was supplemented by drafting men for military service. Henry and Edward had belonged to boys' military companies in Chicago, and were naturally not indifferent to what was going on about them.

At last a call was issued for recruits for a hundred days, and the temptation could not be resisted. Henry was barely of the age required. If, in order to be enrolled, Edward added a year or two to his age, let us trust that it was one of those faults which the sympathetic tear of the recording angel blots out of the Judgment Book.

He served for a brief period as a private soldier during the last days of the war. He was a member of Company D, 150th Regiment of the Ohio National Guard, and during the summer of 1864 was stationed at a small fortification

erected near Washington for the defence of the capital city. The place was called "Fort Saratoga," and Mr. Wolcott tells us in one of the letters written by him at that time and still preserved, that the men used the name facetiously as an indication that they were out for a summer vacation. "The boys here say," he writes, "that they are spending the summer at Saratoga Springs." That they made a holiday of their camping experience is evident from the character of the few and brief letters written by him during that period.

Many of Mr. Wolcott's friends recall slighting references by him to his military career, and with some he left the impression that the experience was an unpleasant one. His letters do not so indicate. That he did not at all times quite enjoy the "rations," and that occasionally there was a little more rough work than was agreeable to him is apparent. But that in the main the service was entirely to his liking, his letters bear abundant testimony. True, he complained of not having a chance to meet the enemy, and this appears to have been his principal cause of dissatisfaction. Naturally in his later years he felt that he had not played a great part in the war, and there were in his day so many persons who were disposed to make capital out of a military experience, however trivial, that he minimized his service. The truth is that he did perform real service for his country at a time of peril, and that he was impatient because he did not have opportunity to do more than he did. He enlisted for a hundred days when he was only sixteen years of age. He served for the entire hundred days and expressed his willingness to continue for another period of like duration. While brief and limited in its opportunities, his military experience was in every way creditable. He appears not to have shirked his duty and to have been willing to accept the conditions of the life of a private, rough though they necessarily must have been.

Mere youth that he was, our young soldier probably had little realization of how important a part he was playing in the great civil conflict. He saw only one battle, that at Fort Stevens, when that fort was attacked by General Jubal A. Early, and that from a distance; but on the result of that en-

counter, fortunately favorable to the Union arms, depended the fate of the national capital. The troops of which Mr. Wolcott's regiment was a part formed the defence of the City of Washington at a critical period in the war as Fort Saratoga was one of a series of sixty-eight forts with which the city was encircled.

Early in the war,—just after the great scare caused by the Bull Run disaster, indeed,—Congress had been aroused to the necessity of protecting the capital against possible invasion, and the systematic fortification of the city was undertaken in earnest. Latterly, however, fright had given place to confidence, and the force of experienced soldiery which had been detailed to man these works had been drawn away to the assistance of General Grant who then was engaged in his campaign in the Wilderness. A call was made for raw troops to occupy the Washington defence works. These were drawn largely from an enlistment of one-hundred-day men supplied by the Western States, of which in this service Ohio led the list. There were three regiments in the works from that State, consisting of the 150th, the 151st, and the 170th, and "our soldier" belonged to the first of the list.

Fort Saratoga was one of the smaller fortifications of a series of twenty-two forts lying between the Potomac River and the Anacostia, or Eastern Branch. It lay near the old Bladensburg road running north from Washington and was almost midway between the more pretentious works known as Fort Lincoln, on the Eastern Branch, and Fort Bunker Hill, well to the westward and toward Fort Stevens. Saratoga Fort was what is technically known as a lunette. It had a face of one hundred feet, was supplemented with stockaded gorges, and it occupied a commanding position for cross-fire in case of attack on Fort Bunker Hill.

Fortunately for the purposes of history Brigadier-General J. G. Barnard, who was the engineer in charge of the construction of these works, has left a detailed account of them, and we have deemed it worth while to here reproduce a brief extract from that report, as follows:

From a few isolated works, covering bridges, or commanding

a few especially important points, was developed a connected system of fortification by which every prominent point, at intervals of eight hundred to one thousand yards, was occupied by an inclosed field-fort, every important approach or depression of ground, unseen from the forts, swept by a battery for field-guns, and the whole connected by rifle-trenches which were in fact lines of infantry parapet, furnishing emplacement for two ranks of men and affording covered communication along the line, while roads were opened wherever necessary, so that troops and artillery could be moved rapidly from one point of the immense periphery to another, or under cover, from point to point along the line.

The woods which prevailed along many parts of the line were cleared for a mile or two in front of the works, the counterscarps of which were surrounded by abattis. Bomb-proofs were provided in nearly all the forts; all guns not solely intended for distant fire, placed in embrasure and well traversed; secure and well-ventilated magazines, ample to contain one hundred rounds per gun, constructed; the original crude structures, built after designs given in text-books for "field fortification," replaced by others, on plans experience developed, or which the increased powers of modern artillery made necessary. All commanding points on which an enemy would be likely to concentrate artillery to overpower that of one or more of our forts or batteries were subjected not only to the fires, direct and cross, of many points along the line, but also from heavy rifled guns from distant points unattainable by the enemy's field-guns. With all these developments the lines certainly approximated to the maximum degree of strength which can be attained from unrevetted earthworks. They would probably realize in some degree the qualities attributed to fortified lines by Napoleon, though being but unrevetted earthworks, they were scarcely what his dictum contemplated.

When, in July, 1864, Early appeared before Washington, all the artillery regiments which had constituted the garrisons of the works and which were experienced in the use of the artillery, had been withdrawn and their places mainly filled by a few regiments of "one-hundred-days men," just mustered into the service. The advantage, under these circumstances, of established lines of infantry parapet, and prepared emplacements for field-guns, can hardly be overestimated. Bodies of hastily-organized men, such as teamsters, quartermasters' men, citizen volunteers, etc., sent out to the lines, could hardly go amiss.

Under other circumstances it would have been almost impossible speedily to have got them into any proper position and to have kept them in it. With equal facility the movable batteries of field-guns found, without a moment's delay, their appropriate places where, covered from the enemy's fire, they occupied the very best positions which the topography afforded.

The armament of the defences was composed mainly of twenty-four- and thirty-two-pounder guns on seacoast carriages, with a limited proportion of twenty-four-pound siege guns, rifled Parrott guns, and guns on field carriages of light calibre. Magazines were provided for one hundred rounds of ammunition, and some of the more important works had a considerable extent of bomb-proof cover, under which about one third of the garrison might comfortably sleep and nearly all take temporary shelter.

Four of the boy soldier's letters have been preserved, and they afford an interesting insight into the life which so many of the young sons of America then were living in the effort to bring to a close the civil strife with which the country was convulsed. There also is one brief letter of the period from the young man's mother. It presents a striking though brief glimpse of the other side of the picture. His letters are all written with lead pencil, and most of them are on half sheets of paper, because more was unavailable. Although he does not say so they probably were written upon barrels or boxes, and some of them indicate that the writing-table was not exceptionally clean.

All of the letters were dated in July, 1864. There is nothing from him in either May, June, or August, the other months included in his service. The first of the letters was written July 3d and comprises only a few lines. It is directed to his mother and is written from "Headquarters, Company D, 150th O. N. G." His first announcement indicated him to be what the soldier-boys of the day called a "forager." The waste spots and old fields around Washington are full of blackberry-bearing briars, and the berries ripen about the first of July. They are delicious to the taste of almost any one, and they must have been especially agreeable to the army men who were living on hardtack

and side-bacon. Here is his first sentence: "I have just come from blackberrying." Then he announces that he had picked three quarts of the fruit in less than an hour, which indicates that he had found a place where there had not been too many ahead of him. Three brief sentences follow, and they relate to the routine duty. "There is," he says, "only one company stationed at our fort, and we have more duty to do than any other company. We have to 'go on' every three days. It 's rather tough."

The next letter bears date of July 8th, and is written on a whole sheet of paper, showing that the boy's fortunes had improved somewhat. In this he tells of having received a letter from his father enclosing a photograph of his mother. Expressing his gratification over the receipt of the picture, which he said was a good one, he adds: "I shall value it more than all the boxes or greenbacks that you could ever send." The reference to boxes and greenbacks was based upon previous requests of his own, which he afterward explained. Further along in this letter, he says: "I don't want father to think that because I wanted 'a box' I am discontented with Government fare and with the service. I only asked so that I might be on equal terms with the rest of the boys. On the contrary, I think there is not one in the regiment that takes things as easy and enjoys himself as much as E. O. Wolcott." He then explains a report which seems to have reached his home that the members of the regiment were discontented and dissatisfied with the service. Mentioning by name the author of this report, he said that that gentleman had taken home a wrong idea about the regiment. "The only men," he says, "that he knew were old fogies like himself, who of course would want to stay here. But the majority of the fellows were eager to go to the front. Anyway," and here Mr. Wolcott drops into a real Wolcott-like argument, the convincing character of which marked his after years; "anyway," he says, "those persons that stay at home doing nothing for their country had not better say anything to those boys who have gone from home not knowing where they were going, and are taking the place of veterans, who, of course, are better fighters than the 150th."

There are three sections to this letter. The first portion evidently was written early in the forenoon. At noon we have an addition, due to the most exciting episode of his military experience, the attack by General Early on Fort Stevens. Mr. Wolcott's company was an integral part of the force which prevented the capture of the city by the troops under General Early. Practically this was the last of the acts of offensive warfare on the part of the Confederate forces. If it had been successful it would have given the rebel armies a prestige such as at that time could have been achieved by no other single effort.

When in 1864 the Union forces under General Grant were crowding Robert E. Lee's command at every turn in Virginia, the commander of the Confederate troops conceived the idea of "building a fire" in his opponent's rear, and to that end selected Early to head a column of select Southern troops to invade Northern Virginia and Maryland with especial instructions to "threaten Washington." Fort Stevens was the scene of the principal conflict growing out of this manœuvre. This engagement consisted of a series of skirmishes on Monday and Tuesday the 11th and 12th of July.

Describing his experience General Early tells us how he led his worn and battered veterans down the road in the expectation of getting possession of the fort, which was only two or three miles out of Washington, with the intention of making it the base of his operations against the capital city, and how also he was led to change his plans. He says that while early in the morning of the 12th he was making a reconnoissance, and under his own eyes, "a column of the enemy filed into the works on the right and left and skirmishers were thrown out in front, while the artillery fire was opened on us from a number of batteries. . . . This," he adds without further comment, "defeated our hopes of getting possession of the works by surprise and it became necessary to reconnoitre."

These observations were sufficient to convince the Confederate leader of the futility of his enterprise, and he wisely decided to withdraw—not, however, until several hundred good men had been lost on both sides.

The force under command of Early has been variously placed at from 8000 to 30,000 men, the former being Early's figure and the latter the estimate of Major-General Alexander McD. McCook, who commanded the Union forces. General Barnard accepts neither of these estimates, but fixes the number at between 13,000 and 20,000. There were about 20,000 Union men in the works. Most of them were soon concentrated near Fort Stevens, the point of attack, where General McCook made his headquarters. The defensive force consisted in the main of new recruits, but there were some regulars. Many convalescents from the hospitals and not a few quartermaster's employees also were summoned to the scene, in the hope that they might be serviceable in case the attack became formidable. There is no doubt that as Early afterwards wrote, he succeeded in giving Washington "a good fright."

Wolcott's command was located only two or three miles distant from Fort Stevens and unquestionably would have been called into service if Early had not desisted from his assault. The young soldier could easily hear the firing of the artillery and, he tells us, he enjoyed seeing the bombs burst at night. As it was, a portion of his regiment was in the thick of the fight and some of the members of the 150th held the place of pickets when, in the hot afternoon of the 11th of July, General Early rode down the dusty Rockville pike with the hope of continuing into Washington.

The second section of young Wolcott's letter of July 8th was written just after the receipt of the news of the arrival of the invaders. "Orders came two hours ago," he says, "for no one to leave the camp, to drill four hours heavy artillery drill, and to spend all the rest of the time cutting the brush away from around the fort. This looks like work. It is on account of a rebel raid. I wish that the rebs *would* come up this way; I 'd have something to write about."

At 6 o'clock there was another addition, in which, after complaining that he had failed to receive through the mail of the day either a letter or a paper, he adds: "We have just come from cutting that underbush. It 's mean work I assure you. About fifty or seventy-five mounted guerillas

were seen to-day prowling around the country six or seven miles from here. It is supposed that the guerillas were raised in the City of Washington."

The next letter, bearing date of July 22d, presents a real touch of war color. Here it is:

Head Quarters Co D 150 O N G
FORT SARATOGA
July 22 1864

MY DEAR MOTHER:

I received your letters of the 12th and 14th two days ago. The mails are 8 days behind in Washington. The reason that I have not written before is that we have been too busy.

For the past week we have slept on our arms at our posts by the cannon and the cannon have been kept loaded. The rebs were about 3 miles from us. Two companies of the 150th were engaged. We did n't get a single shot at them. I saw the rebels at one time drawn up in line of battle near Bladensburg. The rest of the time there were hills between us. It looked grand at night to see the shells bursting in the air.

I went over to the battle-field yesterday and got a few trophies. At one place a rebel was buried with his head and arms sticking out. It was an awful sight. But I must n't describe it all, for this is all the paper I can raise now. Several boys owe me a sheet or two and I think that I shall get along. I now owe letters to 11 different persons, but I am going to stop writing to all except my parents. It does n't pay.

We will be home now in about three weeks; then I can tell you all about our campaign. I received a letter from Hen last night. He is well.

When convenient send a dollar. I 'll make it up and more too when I get home.

Your affectionate son,

ED.

The fourth and last of the war letters, dated July 31st, mentions the fact that Ed's father and his brothers Sam and Henry were both at the front. He expressed the hope that they might return home safe, "as yours respectfully means to do." Then he referred to the near approach of the expiration of his service, for this was only two weeks distant, and added the opinion that he would get away at the appointed time. There was ever a strong attachment on

Mr. Wolcott's part for his father, and he was especially fond of his brother Henry. Expressing the belief that Henry would not return for a fortnight after his arrival, he added: "Will Father be home when we return? If he is n't it will spoil half the pleasure of getting home." The remainder of the letter is worth quoting. It follows:

I think that at the end of this hundred days I will look back to it as the pleasantest time I ever spent. We have been in a healthy place, not much to do, and have had the satisfaction of being within two miles of the rebs and seeing them drawn up in line of battle. To be sure it would be better to have had a skrimmage, but *we* came pretty near it and two companies of the 150th were engaged and one man killed.

By the way, you say that they will try and keep us another hundred days. We 've heard very little of it here, but I would n't object to going for another hundred days, if we could have a furlough, and if we did n't have to go back to the same place again. The boys here say that they are spending the summer at "Saratoga Springs."

We don't have very good rations now. The Government does n't issue any soft bread, nothing but hardtack, and that 's wormy. It has also cut down the ration of fresh beef. If it was n't for the cabbages, cucumbers, tomatoes, and apples that we forage, I don't know what we would do.

If you have a spare greenback that you can't possibly spend on 10 children please send it along. I suppose, mother, that this asking for money at the end of a letter spoils it, but I can't help it. Things are so high here that money only goes a little ways.

The one letter written to Ed by a member of his family during his soldier days which has been preserved was from his mother and bears the date of July 13, 1864. In the main, this letter is a mere recital of the activities of other members of the family, but it contains some sentences which are more general. Expressing her pleasure over the cheerful mood observed in her son's letters, she says: "The reports in our papers make me very anxious, and yet I can hardly think the rebels will venture to attack Washington. I do hope the Government will be able to capture and destroy these raiders." Speaking then of her desire to have

her family gathered around her at home she mentions the fact that she is preparing to start to prayer-meeting, which, she says, is "made more attractive by the mention of the soldier-boys." Then comes a sentence showing how the anxieties of the time weighed on her, and indicating very plainly what was her reliance at a time of such general distress and when so many of her dear ones were separated from her as a result of the national crisis. She says: "If we had not a Heavenly Father to go to now, how helpless we should be, for we are often made to feel vain in the help of man."

President Lincoln and members of his cabinet were daily visitors at Fort Stevens and along the line of works while the scare continued, and once the President was under fire for a brief period. Mr. Wolcott did not see him at that time, but later he caught a glimpse of the soon-to-be martyr. He has left a brief account of this experience and of another, more gloomy, in his Lincoln Day speech made in Denver a year before his death. In that speech he said:

> I can recall the two occasions when it was my privilege to see Abraham Lincoln. Once in '64, after the dark days following the second battle of Fredericksburg, a private in the army, with three or four associates, I stood one Sunday morning in front of the White House. He walked out, and after watching for a moment his boy Tad, who rode in front on his pony, he turned and with tired step walked slowly to the War Department. I saw him again in that solemn, triumphal funeral march, when his body was taken from Washington to Springfield, and the grief of the whole nation accompanied him.

Mr. Wolcott liked to talk of his experience in the army, but only with intimate friends. Especially did he shrink from any mention of it in a way which might indicate a desire to make political capital out of it. He was qualified to become a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, but he declined to do so, because, at first, he thought his service to his country was hardly sufficient to entitle him to share the honors with men who had fought and bled, while afterward he refused to join because he feared his

enemies would lay the action to motives of politics and charge that he was endeavoring to use the organization for political effect. Farragut Post, No. 46, of Denver, at one time appointed a committee to wait on Mr. Wolcott and solicit the honor for the Post of his application for membership. He set forth these reasons to the committee and declined the request with much regret. He had his discharge papers framed and prized them highly.

He often told his friends that he had spent the greater part of his time while in the service in the guard-house, explaining that it was pleasanter inside with friends than outside alone. Doubtless he overdrew the picture in a spirit of humorous self-depreciation; but that he was there some of the time his brother Henry confirms. Henry relates that he found Ed confined more than once during their service. Describing himself at this period of life as "a chunk of a fellow, neither boy nor man," Mr. Wolcott delighted to tell how on one occasion he had been "squelched" by his colonel. Growing tired of the monotony he went to that officer and told him that he wanted to go to the front where there was fighting. "You want to go to the front, do you? You can go back to your quarters as a starter." It was at one of the annual dinners of the Loyal Legion that the Washington public first became acquainted with the fact that Senator Wolcott had been a soldier in the Civil War. He appeared at the speaker's table as the star orator of the evening, and the badge of the organization peeking from beneath the lapel of his coat furnished the information that he was the comrade of the several hundred enthusiastic veterans present. Mr. Wolcott made a most patriotic and entertaining speech that aroused generous and genuine applause. His only reference to his military service was the casual remark that in the Civil War days he was stationed out on the Bladensburg road, but he added that he saw very little of Washington, as "most of the time he was confined in the guard-house."

GETTING AN EDUCATION

Having returned from the war, young Wolcott set out to continue his education. It was soon determined that he

should go to Yale, where many of his kindred had studied. Preparatory, however, to his entering that institution he took a course of study at less important schools, including Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio, and Norwich Free Academy at Norwich, Connecticut.

He entered the preparatory school at Hudson in September, 1864. The record of his life there is very brief, and must be told in a few sentences. That he gave careful attention to his studies and was full of enthusiasm over the prospect of entering Yale we have sufficient evidence. He was encouraged to believe that he could sufficiently fit himself for his higher studies in two years' time, and immediately began to apply himself assiduously to his Latin and Greek. He scarcely had reached the school when he wrote to his father on the 22d of September, 1864, saying: "I am studying Sallust and Greek. Whopping old lessons in both! One year in the Prep. School and freshman year in college will give me a splendid fit for freshman year in Yale."

It is not to be assumed, however, that his studiousness entirely absorbed his natural energy. He was still a ringleader in fun and in mischief, and the youth who could find so many ways of spending money was in ceaseless controversy over ways and means with his clergyman father with a large family, who had so little money to spare. In the same spirit in which he exaggerated his guard-house experiences, he was wont to tell how his father preserved his accounts of expenditures and proved by putting them together that his tooth-picks had cost him an incredible sum, and how he had paid on an average two dollars a week to a church for which there was no charge to students. His most intimate friend at Hudson was the late Prof. Thomas D. Seymour, for many years at the head of the Greek department at Yale.

Most of Mr. Wolcott's letters covering his stay at Hudson are devoted to boarding-houses and clothing, although there are frequent references to his studies, in which he professes much interest. In a letter dated September 30, 1864, he expresses himself as anxious to return home for a brief vacation, saying that he wants to "see about an overcoat and get some grapes." He seems, at this time, to have been

very much interested in the grape question, and in the course of a brief letter referred to it three or four times, evidently in a spirit of fun. Not satisfied with his references in the body of the letter he writes a postscript asking, "How are the grapes?" After this comes an "N. B." in which he says, "I would advise you to nail down that window in our room, or Will won't leave a single grape for the rest of the family."

After a year at Hudson Mr. Wolcott spent another twelve months at Norwich, Connecticut, making his home at the residence of his Grandfather Pope. He was among the best-liked of the young men at the institution, as many of his classmates still testify. His popularity was due not alone to his genial manners which are remarked by all, but to his standing as a student and his character as a man.

Writing September 29, 1909, Miss Alice F. Goodwin, still of Norwich, says:

Mr. Wolcott was a favorite with both teachers and classmates because of his genial, out-spoken manner. He was the centre of attraction in any group which he joined. He loved fun and frolic, but I cannot remember that he ever carried it to any disorderly extreme. He had, even in those Academy days, a masterful way of management, and any plan which he advanced was pretty sure of being adopted by his class. I remember he was the one chosen to go to Boston to select the picture presented by the class when they left their Alma Mater.

In scholarship he showed much quickness, and his later record justified our opinion of his ability.

I have always remembered him with pleasure, and followed his public career with much interest.

Other classmates testify:

Eleanor M. Rose—"I remember Mr. Wolcott as very jolly and popular. He declaimed well and had the reputation of being a brilliant student."

Rachel Jennings—"I remember him as a jolly whole-souled fellow who practised what is so often preached—'Don't worry.'"

Mrs. F. H. Clark, of Lima, New York—"I admired Mr. Wolcott as a very smart student and as such I think he was

regarded by the whole class. He was popular in the school for his ready wit and social qualities. He was quite a favorite with the teachers."

His cousin, Mr. Adams P. Carroll, of Norwich, contributes the following concerning young Wolcott's residence in that city:

> While in Norwich, he lived with his and my grandfather, a couple of blocks on same street from my home. His grandfather, Jonathan A. Pope, and his two aunts, Misses Sylvia A. and Sarah E. Pope, constituted the family—people well advanced in years. Into these staid New England surroundings he brought a wealth of youthful vigor, so striking in its contrast, as to revolutionize its atmosphere. His ready wit kept the table at every meal in high humor, and the jollity of his presence about the house was sadly missed when the time came for his going to college.
>
> Likewise in every group of boys, he was the promoter of the most fun, active in every sport, strong in his likings for congenial spirits, and keen in his ability to shake those he did not fancy, always in a way free from offence, a faculty that much impressed me.
>
> With the young ladies, he was a general favorite. Every party, picnic, or gathering where he was present to contribute "ginger" to the occasion was sure to be the greatest success.

After leaving Norwich, Mr. Wolcott spent a few weeks in Oberlin College at Oberlin, Ohio. The only record we have of his stay at this institution is one brief letter. The text of this communication gave comparatively little information concerning the school, but the letter was interesting for another reason. It should be understood that the college at Oberlin was strictly co-educational. Not only was there no discrimination because of sex, but there was none on account of race, and negro students as well as white were admitted to the institution. His letter is addressed to one of the brothers, probably William, and so far as the written text goes the body of the epistle is a mere request to hunt up and send to him his sleeve buttons, of which he seems to have been possessed of two pairs, for he says: "If you can't find the gold ones please send the ivory ones." In this

letter both of the given names are preserved, and the signature and close seem to have been intended as an apology for the brevity of the letter itself. They ran as follows:

"And oblige
Your Affectionate
Brother
Ed
Oliver
Wolcott."

On the same sheet on which this letter was written was an original drawing, which, in view of the mixed attendance at the college, is significant. It was a silhouette in ink of the head of a negro girl and portrays more pointedly Mr. Wolcott's idea of the school than could any language. It also may convey a hint as to the reason for his brief stay there. He did not enjoy mixed associations.

Mr. Wolcott entered Yale College in 1866. He remained less than a year, leaving without graduating. No adequate record of his experience at Yale has been preserved to us, but in his after life he frequently indicated his close attachment for and great interest in the college. We have in one letter, written not a great while after he left the institution, an account of an incidental return to it, and of an especial visit to one of the faculty there. Writing from New York, February 27, 1868, he says:

I left Norwich Monday noon for New Haven. I called, of course, on Mr. Dexter. I found him poring among the dusty volumes in the library. He was so kind to me, evinced such a real, genuine friendship for me, I tell you, Father, I was touched by it. He is a nervous shrinking fellow and never will fill any other position than that which he now occupies. Yet if I had half his manliness, half his noble, unselfish ideas, I 'd give all I have or hope to have in the world. He said he hoped I would not give up my hope of returning; that I would not be a day too old a year from now. He urged me to write him and said that although, next to making calls, writing letters was his hardest task, he would be very glad to answer them. Perhaps you think I am writing too much about him, but my seeing him was worth my whole trip, and if you knew him you would appreciate him more than I can.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, AT EIGHTEEN.

The fact should also be here recorded that later Yale conferred on Mr. Wolcott the degree of Master of Arts. That he appreciated this high honor is shown in the following brief note to his father of July 14, 1883:

"The degree which Yale gave me was the most gratifying compliment I have ever received, and I was especially glad to get it on the fiftieth anniversary of your graduation."

The notification of the action of the institution has been preserved. It is as follows:

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN,
CONNECTICUT. June 30, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. WOLCOTT (M.A.):

I have great pleasure in performing the official duty of notifying you of the action of the President and Fellows of the College, at their annual meeting this week, in conferring upon you the honorary degree of Master of Arts. The diploma certifying to this degree is sent by mail to-day, and will I hope reach you safely.

I feel personally gratified that the position you have gained for yourself has been such as to suggest and warrant this action of the Corporation; and I hope you will live long to enjoy the new connection into which this brings you with the College and all College men.

I am just about sailing for Europe, for a short vacation, and have to make all notes short: but you will believe me,

Always affectionately yours,
(signed) FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

EARNING A LIVING

Having left college, apparently under circumstances which were not entirely pleasing to his father, Mr. Wolcott, in 1867, set out to find employment for the purpose of earning a living for himself, and we find him occupied during the next two years in commercial pursuits. During the summer of 1867 he found his way to Chicago, where his brother Henry was engaged in business. His first employment was in a general mercantile establishment at Flint, Michigan. From there, after a few months' experience, he went to New York, where he was engaged in soliciting life

insurance. Next we find him travelling for a business house. All of these attempts were made during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, and the end of the last mentioned year again presents him at his studies and preparing to enter upon the professional career of a lawyer.

Probably of all his experiences, that at Flint was the least agreeable to Mr. Wolcott. He was the youngest member of a big force in a general store, and, as much of the menial work of the establishment fell to him, he did not relish the service or enjoy the position. If, however, his few months at Flint did not establish him in business and make a great man of him the fault was not due to lack of good advice from his father. The elder Mr. Wolcott was a man of much piety and great probity. He also was much concerned for his boy's welfare. He seems to have been greatly interested in Ed's obtaining employment and to have been desirous that he should remain away from the large cities. He was instrumental in locating him at Flint, and on the 5th of August, 1867, wrote to the young man from Cleveland as follows:

A line from Henry informs me that you were expecting to leave Chicago for Flint yesterday, and I hope that you are safely there and pleasantly introduced to your new duties. This is a great relief to me, and will be to your mother, from whom, I have just received a line, expressing her solicitude about your going to the city. Whether the new plan be in all respects to your taste or not (I hope it may be, though it would be strange if it were), the test of achievement will be in taking it as it is, and making it tributary to your purpose and life-plan. You will remember that you have gone there with no slight recommendation, based on high, yet untried, faith in you. If, in the kind protection of God, there is a position of honorable independence for you in the future, its *foundation* will probably be laid, during the coming twelvemonth, in the store which you enter to-day. Please do not forget this, for a solitary hour. To command the complete confidence of your employers and the respect of your associates, and on a moderate income support yourself without debt and save a little, if possible, is the problem and the test. Can you meet it? With God's blessing you can, nobly. Will you do it?

A number of letters from Ed while at Flint have been preserved, and all of them indicate anxiety to get away from the place. The character of work in which he was engaged was especially repugnant to him. Writing to his mother as early as August 6th, probably only a day or two after he arrived, he said: "I am not in the active search for any more lucrative position, but I am keeping my eyes open. I mean to write you and father when I can get time and tell you all my reasons for wishing a change. However, I want to do what is best."

September 26th, he followed with another letter, saying: "I have just finished the dirtiest job I have ever touched. We buy rags, and I have packed over 3500 pounds to-day and spoiled a suit of clothes." He then refers to his father's efforts at discipline, and in a few words indicates that even though under twenty years of age, he was beginning to think for himself, though without lack of respect to his parent. "When," he says, "father reads this," referring to the experience with the rags, "he 'll say 'it is just the thing for Ed; I tell you he will regret that he did n't stick closer to his text-books. But it 's a grand experience for him, is n't it?'" Commenting on this imaginary utterance of his father he adds sententiously: "I differ."

In this letter young Wolcott indicated that, although he had been in the store little more than a month, he had become quite familiar at least with the names of goods and with the prices of them. In one place he says: "I am learning something of this business every day; but I am getting a wretchedly poor salary for the number of hours I work and the goods I sell." Telling his mother that if he could raise the money, which he considered doubtful, he would be at home Thanksgiving, he adds:

> I have the privilege of buying goods for myself or the family for ten per cent. above their wholesale New York cost, and if you are in want of any goods—dress goods, delaines, flannels, woolens, shoes, balmorals, prints, crash, sheeting, or groceries, provided you are willing to trust to my selection, I will bring them to you when I come and can probably save you a good deal of money.

That he afterwards did send some articles home for the family use is indicated by a letter from his mother thanking him for them and complimenting him upon his selection.

This letter from the mother was written on November 10th, and indicates that by this time the family had begun to take note of the son's dissatisfaction with his employment. Referring to this condition she says: "I have no doubt you will have much to try you, but you will have trials of some sort in any situation." The father was not quite so philosophical or gentle, and writing on the 27th of December with reference to an offer which the son had received to enter insurance work in New York, he said:

> I am quite satisfied with your present place, as favorable for acquiring business habits. Were you to serve in it steadily for three years and do well, you would be in demand in first-class houses at $1000 a year, or more, and would occupy an independent position. You *risk* more by leaving than by remaining. We are not without anxiety now, and should tremble if you went to New York. But I decide to leave the matter wholly with yourself, neither encouraging nor discouraging acceptance of the offer. Do what you think best.

The differences between father and son were soon adjusted, and we find the young man transferred from Flint to New York City early in the coming year. In New York he entered the office of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, then at 92 Broadway.

Mr. Wolcott's letters from New York cover only the period from January 20th to March 18th, although his stay in the city continued throughout the year. Much of their detail is taken up with accounts of church-going, boarding-house hunting, meeting with old friends of his father, and the solicitation of business. The letters take on quite a business air, and as early as January 28th, we find him writing to his father: "If I were working for myself I could get twenty-five per cent. and ten per cent. on renewals. I like my way the best, however,—a sure thing for enough to pay my board. Business looks well at present, but how it will continue I don't know." By the end of February

he had made a trip to Norwich, Connecticut, where his Grandfather Pope and many relatives resided, in the hope of doing business there. In this respect he was, however, disappointed, and in relating his experience probably tells that of many an insurance solicitor. He says: "Grandfather is too old. Mr. Carroll [an uncle] thinks it is bosh, and Everett and Captain Gallup have now as much as they can pay for. Everett gave me letters to five or six steamboat men, the best class of men in New York City. I can do something with them I am confident, but I guess the other set resemble too much my worthy Uncle."

By the first of March we discover the young solicitor sending to his father a statement of his business as follows:

Earned as computed on $41,500 of insurance	$109.33
Earned as salary for six weeks	75.00
Total	$184.33
Drawn for current expenses, about	180.00
Due me, about	$ 4.33

In addition, he said that about fifty-three dollars would be due him in six months from premiums which were to be paid semi-annually.

He then commented upon the fact that his expenditures kept pace with his income and said: "In spite of my honestest and best efforts I run up to the limit if not behind hand in my expenses." After giving an account of his expenditure for clothes he adds:

My business is especially provocative of extravagance. I am busy probably on an average two hours a day, hardly that. Even then I am on the streets half the time. The rest of the day I am either loafing in the office or in the office of some friend. Yet I am not lazy and I work all I possibly can. A man won't talk insurance early in the morning nor after business hours. My hotel life for the first two weeks was an expensive one. My trip to Norwich and New Haven cost a good deal, and, last of all, smoking is my bane as regards health and money.

Realizing then apparently what an opening he had made for his father he added: "Now you see, Father, with my usual foolishness I have put my head in the lion's mouth, as regards a lecture on spendthrift habits, where there is no need of it. So draw it mild, please."

Further along in the same letter he comments upon the uncertainty and infatuation of the business of soliciting life insurance, saying:

> I begin every week without the remotest idea where I am to earn my daily bread. I am frightened sometimes when I think of it—to think that I am liable to go a month without a man, although it is said that if a man will devote a certain number of hours daily in persistent effort, he is just as sure to effect business as the sun is to rise. I have probably talked insurance to a hundred and fifty men, and I have never yet received a discourteous answer. The business is getting really attractive to me.

By the 18th of March, we find from another statement to the father that Mr. Wolcott had earned $211.37, and that he had overdrawn his account to the extent of twenty-five cents. He pointed out that this income was at the rate of $1200 a year. He added, however, that not from the first of March up to that time had he obtained a single application. "But," he says, "I have at least the satisfaction of knowing that I never worked harder. My employers do not feel discouraged; so why should I?"

In those days Mr. Wolcott seems to have been very scrupulous in the matter of church attendance, and his first letter from new York, dated January 20th, is largely taken up with an account of his experience in that line on the Sunday previous. He tells of visiting for the morning service, a church presided over by an old-time friend of his father's and says that in the evening he went to Dr. Chapin's church. "There," he says, "I heard a splendid sermon, not wholly sound, perhaps, but one of the most eloquent productions I ever heard." In his next letter, dated a week later, he says: "I attended Henry Ward Beecher's church Sabbath morning and was never so disappointed in my life. My friends, however, said he did not do himself justice. In the evening I

attended the Unitarian Church to hear the finest church-singing in the country—not a very profitable Sunday."

In another letter he tells of finding a home at the residence of a Mr. Clapp, who was a friend of his father's. Writing on the 18th of March he spoke of having attended, on the Sabbath before, the church over which Dr. H. M. Storrs presided. "I like him very much," he said. "I wish his church was nearer—I 'd attend there regularly."

That the father was much concerned over the son's proper conduct of himself as well as over his church-going is made evident in a letter written at this time, as it was in many other letters written to the son at various periods of his life. This letter is one of advice concerning his deportment at Mr. Clapp's house. It is dated Cleveland, January 23, 1868, and is as follows:

Take good care of yourself that Mr. Clapp may not regret the arrangment with you. Attend to your person, your clothes, your room, etc. Never molest a foot of his premises (or any other) by that pest—tobacco smoke. Spend your evenings generally at the house (refraining from eating anything after ten) and retire early; if you go out of an evening, come home seasonably. If it is agreeable with the family to have you sit with them at church, accompany them every Sabbath morning. If Dr. Eddy is their pastor (as I believe he is), you will hear an able and instructive preacher. Go with them Sabbath mornings wherever they attend, if they would like to have you. I wish you to be present in the same sanctuary every Sabbath morning in the year. If you rent a seat of your own, you can take your choice among the able and sound preachers of Brooklyn; and become acquainted with your pastor. So much for Sabbath morning. I wish you every Sabbath afternoon to attend some Bible class. It is usually better to attend where you worship. I shall, of course, prefer to have you keep with the Congregationalists. Dr. Henry Storrs, fresh from Ohio, would take a special interest in you. I leave your Sabbath evening without suggestion. I would like much to have you attend *regularly*, a weekly religious meeting, and be always ready to accompany Mr. and Mrs. C., or Mrs. C., to such a meeting.

After quitting the insurance business young Wolcott took the road as a travelling salesman, and the first we hear from

him is in a letter dated at Frankfort, Kentucky, February 13, 1869. The letter is addressed to both his parents and is full of good cheer. Speaking first of his business he says:

I am very tired to-night, but feel more than satisfied. I have sold five bills of goods in the last twenty-four hours in three towns, amounting to about $4500. I obtained full prices and I know made a handsome profit for the House. But it cannot last. I happened to strike the merchants at just the right time, and as no drummers had recently visited the towns, I was successful. For the week previous I had sold comparatively nothing.

He then outlined his desire for the immediate future, saying that after he had finished his canvass of Kentucky he would ask the firm for which he was travelling to send him South; but it does not appear that he carried the plan into execution. Giving his reason for wishing to continue in that field, he says: "They have more money than Ohio people at present, and will spend it more freely."

That his experience in travelling was a varied one, but that it was not without pleasure to him in his buoyant young manhood is made evident:

Yesterday [he says, continuing his letter], I rode about twenty-five miles to Shelbyville through the pleasantest country you can imagine. It was as warm as a summer day, and in some places the fields were as green as in summer. In Shelbyville, as in many other Kentucky towns, the black population is much in evidence. I went last evening with the clerk of the little hotel where I spent the night to a negro fair, and never enjoyed anything more.

That the young man was not devoid of interest in the charm of attractive womanhood may be gathered from the following quotation from the Frankfort letter:

This [he says] is a beautiful spot as I am told is almost all of Kentucky. The Legislature is in session and the town is full of life. Kentucky is noted for its beautiful women, and really I never saw so many pretty faces in my life. A South-

erner keeps his wife as he would keep a blooded horse; he spends all his money on her and takes pride in seeing her gaily fixed up. In the parlors of the hotels I see men with slouch hats and wearing their pants in their boot-legs sitting by the side of women richly and beautifully enough dressed for a court ball.

The next and last letter from Kentucky is much briefer, and the business report is by no means so encouraging. This is written from Bowling Green, and in it he reports: "Business is very dull and expenses very heavy. When I am making two towns per day it costs me about $10 besides personal expenses." This letter was written on the 4th of March, 1869, and apparently he had by this time changed his intention of canvassing the South, at least to any great extent. "I expect," he says, "to be in Dayton, Ohio, in a week or ten days. From here I go to Franklin, Gallatin, Nashville, Hopkinsville, Clarksville, and then to Paducah and Henderson and on through Ohio."

Six months afterward we find the travelling salesman laid up at his home in Cleveland by a temporary illness. There is no record of the negotiations in the family which then took place, but we know that it was at this time that it was decided that Mr. Wolcott should become a lawyer. He had tried the mercantile life, and while he was even more fortunate both in obtaining employment and in the business transacted than are most young men of twenty-one, his success had not been sufficiently marked to satisfy him. Those who knew him in after life and knew him only as the successful, impulsive man of affairs, probably will be surprised that he could have given the attention he did give to routine affairs of a business nature. Doubtless he chafed somewhat under the conditions. But if promotion had been rapid in the store at Flint; if insurance premiums had flowed in in larger volume to his credit in New York, or if his experience in the vicinity of Frankfort could have been repeated one day after another in a tour of Kentucky and the South, it is not impossible that his life would have been given to business rather than to professional pursuits. With Mr. Wolcott success was the test in most matters.

He had natural business instincts and splendid executive capacity, and with a little more patience would have wrought excellently in the commercial world if he had remained in it. His ambition was, however, in the direction of a professional life.

Father Wolcott was insistent upon Edward's becoming a lawyer, and in this determination had a staunch supporter in Ed's next older brother Henry. While Henry had engaged in business in Chicago soon after the close of the war, and in a measure had been successful, he had not found conditions entirely to his liking and had emigrated to the then territory of Colorado, where he was gradually establishing himself in the business of mining and milling ores. He was the pioneer of the Wolcott family in the Rocky Mountains, where both he and Edward were destined to achieve reputation and wealth, and whence we find him writing concerning Ed's professional plans. On the 28th of September, 1869, he expresses the hope that his brother "will have application enough to stick to law, for," he says, "he is capable of making a good lawyer."

In execution of these plans we discover Edward located in a lawyer's office in Boston before the close of the fall season of 1869. Previous to removing to Boston for the purpose of taking up his studies the young man spent some time with the family in Cleveland, but the only glimpse we get of him there is in a letter to one of his sisters, dated the 15th of August. The letter occupies only a half sheet of paper. Still it contains a picture of the home life and presents a fleeting view of the irrepressible joviality of the young man. He had returned from his Southern tour in rather poor health, and, at the time the letter was penned, was quite an invalid on account of an ingrowing toe-nail, which gave him trouble long afterward. "I have," he said, "drawn the large table in the study up to the sofa and will try to give you an apology for a letter, though since Thursday I have n't been out of this room. I am writing on a portfolio full of Father's hymns, and I feel a little 'Dr. Wattsy' myself. So please tell [mentioning the name of a sister] from her erring brother that

In doing right she must never fail,
And she won't be troubled with an ingrowing nail."

By way of direction he says:

"The above is to be sung or chanted. V. S. P. M.—Very Short, Particular Metre."

He then adds:

"I have n't played a game of chess since you left. If I had you here now I 'd beat you a game *If* it was n't Sunday and *If* about all the chessmen were not lost."

STUDYING LAW

FORTUNATELY, Mr. Wolcott has left a quite complete record of his life while he was engaged in studying law. There have been preserved between forty and fifty letters from him covering the period from the time he began his course in Boston in the law office of Charles T. and Thomas H. Russell, in September, 1869, until he was given his diploma by the Harvard Law School in June, 1871, and as they tell the story more graphically than it can be told otherwise they will be quoted liberally. Possessed of the faculty of observation to an exceptional degree and ever almost intuitive in his judgment, his letters to the folks at home abound in passages of abiding interest, interspersed with much of the detail of every-day life.

He had gone to Boston with the understanding that his expenditures should not exceed fifty dollars a month, and naturally he found it difficult to live as he desired on this sum. Carrying letters to many of his father's acquaintances, all of whom were men of standing and, many of them, of wealth, he was entertained to a greater or less extent, and even then seems to have been the same universal favorite in society that he was afterward—a favoritism which he never especially enjoyed. Still, he necessarily went out to some extent, and respectable clothing was a necessity. To those who knew him only in after life and who knew him then as one of the most fastidious of dressers, the sartorial economies he was compelled to practice while engaged in his studies will be a revelation.

That Mr. Wolcott was possessed of a tendency toward literature is shown in many of his letters. Those from

Boston are full of reviews of his father's hymns. Appreciating the son's critical acumen, the elder Wolcott fell into the habit of sending to him his compositions, with the result that we find many long epistles devoted to criticism and some containing constructive suggestions which were of acknowledged assistance.

While studying he assumed a place at a desk in the office of the Messrs. Russell, and soon he was so engaged in clerical labor that for a time he found little opportunity to give attention to his Kent and Blackstone. The Russells were brothers. They were fellow-churchmen of Dr. Wolcott's, and were gentlemen of the old school, men of high character and successful in business.

In a letter of September, 1869, which is directed to his father, he tells of getting established in a boarding-place, speaks of the continued poor condition of his health, relates a thrilling experience as a sleep-walker, and then outlines his work, as follows:

I am reading for my first law, *Kent's Commentaries;* and, although it is rather hard at first for me to concentrate fully, yet I really like the study, and am sanguine (you will say that I always am at first) that I shall study with success. The average amount usually read in a day, where one has the time, is from 20 to 25 pages, and it is said to be ruinous to read 50 pages daily and remember it. The one clerk now studying here says that about two thirds or three fourths of his time is employed by Messrs. Russell, but now that there are two of us, I suppose we shall divide.

By November 15th we are told that in his studies he is "progressing, but slowly." Then we get a glimpse of his outlook for the future, which, as it proved, was in many respects different from the subsequent reality.

I hope when I have finished my studies [he said in this letter], to practice here in this city. If I can in time work into a supporting business, I can find no pleasanter place to live in. As Mr. Russell—Thos. H.—told me the other day: "A man leaves all hope of acquiring wealth at the threshold of the profession, but he lives in a higher, purer atmosphere, which wealth cannot purchase."

Within less than two weeks afterward, the young aspirant to legal fame earned his first money as a lawyer, and in Boston.

> Last Monday [he says in relating the experience] Amos Barstow came in and said there was a hardware merchant in Brookline who owed him about $500, and that he could n't collect any of it, and wanted me to do what I could toward getting it. Mr. Russell said I could attend to it and advised me about it. I took a sheriff and keeper and attached his property and succeeded in getting it all in money and security, and learned more law in that one transaction than I had learned in three weeks before.

But he could not keep the money. As he had not been admitted to the bar he did everything in the name of the Russells. The charge was $20, of which the firm took half and gave him the other half. He was satisfied, for he says: "I felt that they would have had a perfect right to take it all, as my time is wholly theirs."

Proceeding, he tells how his time not only belonged to, but was claimed by, the firm.

> You would think it so [he says], if you had been here during this last fortnight. I have n't during that time read fifty pages. Dorr, the other student in the office, happens to be an unusually poor writer,—worse than Will, in his palmiest days;—and so I have almost all the deeds, agreements, contracts, etc., etc., to make out. I have, during the past fortnight, written papers, not original ones, either, but simply copies, etc., for which the Russells have received at least $50, and besides that we have been engaged on a large salvage case which has been very interesting to me. The Russells, considerably to my disappointment, rarely go into court. When they have a case like the one of which I am writing, they invariably represent the capital of the case, whose interest it is to buy up the sailors' claims and keep the case from going to court.

Whether he knew the fact or not, the young student soon made a favorable impression on his preceptors, for we find Thomas H. Russell writing to Father Wolcott on January 2, 1870, in the following complimentary terms:

We (both my brother and myself) are greatly pleased with your son. If he has faults he keeps them to himself. He is diligent and very ready and useful in the office and is making the best of his way into the mysteries of the profession. I have no question at all of his ability for marked success in the profession of law. His address, a great item for a lawyer, is quite unusual. He has only to plod over the road,—no royal one and often dusty and dry,—the inevitable condition precedent to legal life, and that he shows an entire disposition to do thus far. We have the pleasure of seeing him at our house occasionally and want him to feel that the latch-string is always out.

On the 27th of February, 1870, we find the young man engaged in taking down testimony for his firm in the matter of widening the draws in Charles River. With nine lawyers in the case and almost every one representing conflicting interests, he found the work quite exciting. "It has to be quick work taking down evidence as fast as spoken," he says, and adds: "I have an idea of taking lessons in shorthand; it would be a great advantage to me."

In April there was a period of depression, as he frankly confessed to his mother, to whom he said in a letter of the 19th of that month: "I have been feeling blue and rather despondent all the last week, and Father must be gifted with intuition, for the close of his last letter, 'Stick Ed, stick,' reached me just when it was needed." The father's letter here referred to has not been retained, but his response to the above has been, and is as follows:

"Make the most of every day,—and leave the future with your Maker. Feel habitually that if you can succeed in anything, you can in law; and that if others can succeed in the law, God helping you, you can and will."

Apparently the "blues" soon went the way that all blues should go, for by July 25th we find the young man in jocular mood. Writing on that date and again to his mother, he says:

When is Father coming to Boston? Is he going to drop down on me suddenly to see if I have Blackstone in my hands? I rather think he is. So I have placed law-books in every con-

ceivable position, so that I can lay my hands on them at a minute's notice when I hear the door open. Seriously, I would like to know when he is coming and whether you will come with him. Am studying pretty hard though the thermometer forbids any very intense application.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Mr. Wolcott then was a regular attendant at church. The only exceptions made to this practice were on the Sundays when he was invited to spend the day at the country homes of his father's well-to-do friends, and for these he always made apologies to his parents. But he not only went regularly to service; he was an attentive listener. He heard everything and was able to give an account of the sermons and to tell why he liked or did not like them, as a few extracts will show.

I attended Mr. Plumb's church yesterday morning [he tells his mother, October 4, 1869], but his colleague in the other church, Mr. Herrick, preached for him. Not a very interesting preacher. In the afternoon I could n't resist the temptation of coming over to Park Street again and hearing Mr. Murray, and he did preach a real "redhot" discourse on the overbearance of churches making their ministers preach two sermons a day. He said the country was full of ministers with softening of the brain caused by overexertion and turned loose by the churches. He seemed to be raising the Old Harry among the old Patriarchs there. In the evening I went to the monthly missionary meeting at Mr. Plumb's church.

Again, on November 15th, after having spent a brief time at a country boarding-place, he tells of going to three services at as many different places in one day, and he promised "not to run around so much" in church-going when he should get settled in Boston. November 28th he "had a very pleasant Sunday; went both morning and afternoon to Central Church and heard the two finest sermons I have listened to in Boston, by Prof. Bascom of Williams College." After the afternoon service he read an essay on "The Book of Job," by James Anthony Froude, and apparently became much infatuated with Froude, if not with Job.

December 5th, we find Mr. Wolcott acting as usher at the Central Church, which he says Theodore Tilton called "The Fire Gilt." There he heard a sermon by Dr. Storrs. The discourse was, he says, "a magnificent one, very finished, and eloquent. But," adds the writer, "he seems to a listener to be a cold-blooded fellow, rather selfish, and very self-conscious." The exercises he thought altogether too long. "But I guess it's a common fault," he adds. At another service on the same day and at the same church Dr. De Witt was the preacher, and the young critic was disposed to like him—with a reservation. "He is an earnest speaker and has the advantages of a fine voice and a good delivery. There is nothing sensational or unusual about him and no doubt as to his orthodoxy. He is going to wear well, I think, and is the kind of preacher one likes to hear 'all the year round.' But I can't see that he is the extraordinary man some of his church assume him to be."

As if necessary to make "a full day of it," he tells in this letter of going to Sunday-school, and in his account of this experience we get his idea of what a Sunday-school should be. He says:

After church, from 12 to 1, "Sunday-school keeps." I attended. Mr. Childs, who Mr. Russell says always reminds him of Dr. Johnson, asks no questions, or at least did n't yesterday, but delivers a sort of lecture on the lesson, and any of the scholars are at liberty to ask questions. He is quite interesting. I think this is the true way to conduct a class who are able to give attention to the lesson without having a question, often a senseless one, popped at them every few minutes to make them keep their eyes out of the Bible and book. A teacher of an adult class ought to know as much as, or more than, his pupils, and is supposed to have given fully as much time to the study of the lesson and to know how much more ground he can go over and how much time he can save.

Somewhat later, May 17, 1870, he again speaks of attending Mr. Childs's class, saying:

We, in the Sunday-school class, are studying Exodus, and Sunday we had the Ten Commandments. Mr. Childs turned to me and told me to compare the Commandments with my law

books and said I would find that they comprised all the law that was ever written. "I don't mean," he said, "to tell you to refer to the Commandments, for Dr. Wolcott's son cannot but have studied them thoroughly." Pretty good, was n't it?

In an epistle of December 5th there is an account of attendance upon a church council. Mentioning that this had been his "first council," he says: "I think it is a perfect inquisition and imposition. Dr. Blagden was moderator and they all asked him all the tough questions they could think of."

November 20th he responds to a slight reprimand from his father with the following explanation:

I notice that you say in your letter that you hope I will attend the services, etc., *steadily*. I have done so. I have not missed a Friday evening, but have not written of them because they have not been especially interesting. I am sorry that all my invitations are to spend the Sabbath. It is because businessmen living out of the city are really "at Home" only on that day. Mr. De Witt preached three Sabbaths ago on a text I meant to have suggested to you at the time, "For I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people of God there were none with me." It was on the solitariness of Christ's life on earth. It makes a very fine sermon in the sentimental line, and Mr. De Witt closed very impressively with the warning, very beautifully expressed, that the impenitent would tread the wine-press of Jehovah's wrath *alone*. Yesterday he preached two excellent sermons, and Mr. Childs gave us a sort of lecture on Jacob and Esau.

By Christmas of 1869 he had engaged a seat at church, thus preparing to meet the demand of his father for "regularity." That Mr. Wolcott was disposed to cultivate a religious spirit even when out of church may be inferred from the following extract from a letter of April 6, 1870:

I meant to tell you when I was relating the events of last Sunday that I spent the day at Mr. Russell's. If you realized that it is the only religious house (except his brother's) I ever visit and the pleasant home influences which surround me there, you would be grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Russell, as I am, that they are kind enough to make it a home for me too. After

tea, till church time, they spend the time in singing. Mr. Russell says he always has them sing "Father I Own Thy Voice,"[1] and it is one of the sweetest hymns he has ever heard.

The following, written December 13, 1869, will serve as a fair specimen of his accounts of the Sundays spent outside of Boston:

Mr. William Peters called for me Saturday afternoon at about 2 o'clock, took me to his club, the "Union," where we had a fine dinner, and then for an enjoyable sleigh ride on the "Brighton Road." I suppose there is no city in the world where sleighing is carried to such an extravagant extent as here. For a mile the road was three deep on one side walking up and on the other two deep racing down. We got to Mr. Peters's house about supper-time. He has an elegant house with eleven acres of land. They live very finely. Sunday morning we attended the Episcopal Church. Mr. Henry Peters came to the house to dinner. In the afternoon the two Mr. Peters and myself walked over to the old homestead, where Mr. Andrew Peters is living. He insisted on my spending the Sabbath a fortnight hence with him. In the evening we called on Mr. Ellicott and his wife (formerly Nancy McClure) and this morning we came in on the cars.

I had a more than pleasant time. They were all very kind to me and often spoke of Father. Said he was known by all the family as "Cousin." All of the brothers said I looked almost exactly as he used to.

AS A CRITIC

As early as October 4, 1869, we find Edward asking that a copy of his father's hymns be sent him, but it was not until November 29th that his criticisms of them began. On the latter day he mentioned the fact that he had received a revised copy of a new hymn, and added:

I think it is somewhat improved, especially in the first verse; but it seems to me that a mere statement of facts, put together so that the last word of every other line rhymes is not poetry. Nor will it make a standard hymn. I think the last verse is an excellent one—more like the rest of your hymns. Still my

[1] One of Dr. Wolcott's hymns.

opinion is not probably of very great value, and perhaps I have failed to comprehend it fully. I like the hymn, but I do not like it beside your other productions.

December 13th, he writes: "I have compared the three versions of 'Spirit Worship' and think the improvement of the second over the first and the third over the second is very marked. The proportion of this hymn originally to most of the rest of your hymns is about 60%; after the first correction 65%; after the last improvement 85%."

In a letter on the 20th of the same month occurs the following commendatory criticism:

I have examined as carefully as I could the hymn "Tranquillity" and compared it with your others and I think it is on the whole the best you have ever written. If I remember rightly, you wrote part of the hymn on your last trip East the past summer. By the way, I think one of the good points in the lines is that it is not a hymn. I like it because it is imaginative. If you are to send any to the *Independent* I would send this one by all means. I should think you would prefer writing this style of poetry to hymns. Now would be a good time to begin those lines to your Bible class you spoke of writing while I was at home. I think nothing is especially gained in having the third and fourth lines begin with "and" in each verse. In the first verse I think that "Peace stole, etc., so sweetly, etc.," would make the verse a more logical one; but very likely I am wrong. The calm, majestic influence of silence in nature, is a fine thought and one often employed in poetry, but I don't think you have quite the right word in "The *hush* of quiet shed." The third verse I like very much and the fourth also, but the third and fourth lines of the latter seem for some reason a little weak, and you have used nearly the same words if I remember rightly in some of your other hymns.

That even the father was not too sacred a personage for the son to crack a joke at his expense is seen in the following extract from the same letter: "Who is J. H. Tenney? Has he ever written any standard music? He evidently writes music easily. You and he ought to form a co-partnership. You would do a rushing business, I am a little tempted to say, without meaning it, *on a mighty small capital.*"

A month later he urges the writing of a revival hymn by his father. "Why," he asks, "would n't that be a good subject—the warning trumpet, the watchman on the tower, and the doom sure to await those who heed him not?" Not a bad suggestion surely! Apparently the father had anticipated the suggestion of a hymn of this character, and between letters had sent him one, of which the son spoke in terms of praise, saying that he thought it would become very popular, "as it is a smooth, simple appeal, and is better than I have ever seen to bring in at the close of impressive prayer-meetings or revival services."

Other remarks in the same letter are to the following effect:

On studying the hymn "My Shepherd" more carefully, I withdraw my statement that none of the new hymns are up to the standard of the others. I think this is, and, after referring to "Canticles," I think it is admirable. I like the metre too. It is a new one to me; is n't it an unusual one?

I do not think these criticisms are worthy such a name and am aware that my remarks on the first hymn, "Prayer of the Penitent," are vapid and foolish. I want to compare it more fully with all your others.

Again, on May 7, 1870, we have this:

The "Shulamith" was received. I like it very much better than your hymns generally. As in your sermons, you have the faculty of closing your poetry finely. The last stanza of the one before me is an example. I don't quite like "sweeping o'er;" it is too violent, and "stealing o'er" and "are breaking," are of course inconsistent. I don't like "Haste I where he lingered." "Lingers" implies a voluntary, unnecessary waiting—prolonged, whereas I should judge from the text that he was impatiently knocking for admittance. The last lines of this verse, "Perfume of sweet-smelling myrrh *dropping from her fingers*," are perfect. In the last verse, if it were not for the fact that, as you say, the Bride was from a foreign country, I should think "a lover's anguish," or some other expression of kindred meaning better than "a stranger's anguish." And she does n't tell the "Daughters fair of Salem born!" whom she is hunting after.

But I like the idea of your writing these paraphrases much

better than your ringing the changes on your revival and other poetry. All these hymns in our hymn-books are nearly the same thing. Glancing over the *Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book* the other day, I looked under the different headings and was surprised to find such similarity in the hymns. Don't you think it is so?

There are many of these long analyses, but a few specimens must suffice. In the next quoted, our critic goes more into detail than in others. The hymn before him is entitled "Divine Guidance," and of it he says:

The subject and the style are both good,—much better than in "Trust," and there is something dignified and impressive in the descriptive part. But, as in all your hymns and all your sermons, the last part is much the best. In the first verse—"flung" is n't good. It is not a very elegant word, any way, and certainly not to close a stanza with. It is natural that a pillar of fire should "hang" in the heavens and "fling" its "token" "earthward." But could a pillar of cloud be said to do the same? In the second verse, "that host" seems to refer to the "flame" and "cloud" and "a pillar of flame and cloud" hanging in the heavens, which though moving could n't be said to be moving in a "desert pathway," could it? I don't like "waited still," and in all three verses there are too many "it 's" and "its"; seven I believe. They seem to make the meaning sometimes vague. In the fourth verse, a "columned shade" is a rather mild way of designating a pillar of cloud. Five "Thys" are rather tautological. The last line of the verse "Thy banner still thy church precedes" is splendid. In the last verse, there seems to be something in the construction not quite right. I do not see what it can be unless it is the "By" at the beginning of the third line. If you left out that line would the verse make good sense? I think you will make the hymn one of the best you have written.

Writing February 19, 1871, on the result of the above suggestions, Mr. Wolcott remarks:

"I see you are predetermined on not altering your hymn on the 'Pillar' as regards the first two verses. The two new ones are an improvement, as all your changes are. I think it would be a good idea if you always kept a hymn

at least a week after you considered it ready for publication before you sent it away—a week after the last change."

In other letters we find the following general thoughts relative to the theme in hymn composition. December 8, 1870, he writes to his father: "Your Thanksgiving hymn read very nicely in print. One phrase in it seems, however, not quite appropriate. 'Awe' and certainly 'reverend awe' is not the feeling with which we view our lands and government. We feel 'awe' at the thought of eternity, or the Almighty or a funeral." And on May 8, 1871: "Hymns in which the name 'Jehovah,' 'God, the Lord,' and 'Deity' are used are generally of the sterner or more impressive kind, while those which appeal more to our sentimental nature make more frequent use of the word 'Spirit' or 'Christ.'"

These extracts must close with the following from a letter of March 2, 1871: "You were very wise to send your hymn to a magazine like *Scribner's*. It meets a much larger and more cultivated class of readers than either the *Congregationalist* or *Advance*. It was, I think, quite a compliment to you that Dr. Holland accepted it, as a monthly of that character rarely gives place to religious poetry."

That the father appreciated his son's comments was of course evidenced in the fact that he continued to invite them. He also has left testimony to that effect, when, writing on February 1, 1871, he said: "I do not overrate any of my lines, and wish you to be perfectly free in your criticisms of them. I think you are a good critic. Sam is much more unsparing and irreverent in his strictures than yourself, and, usually, makes some good general points; but I do not always agree with him in his application to the case in hand."

And again on the 11th of the same month: "Your criticisms on my hymns, considering how little staple they offer you, give me more hope of your success as a lawyer than anything else which I get from you."

In still another letter the father says: "I always welcome your criticisms, which seem to me to exhibit more of a judicial cast of mind than anything else which I see in you, and I almost always adopt some of them."

Young Wolcott was also disposed to advise his father to effort along other than poetical lines, as witness the following from a letter of December 28, 1869:

I meant to have mentioned in my letter last week that I saw your article in the *Congregationalist*. I liked it. I remember your incorporating the substance of the article in a sermon you preached the past summer. I have been thinking of a grand undertaking which I think you could accomplish most successfully. It is writing up the Ecumenical Council for some Review. If I had the age and the ability, there is nothing I would like so well as to study the Romish Church from the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century to the present time and follow the council now sitting, in its deliberations and then write up the whole matter. I wish you would think of it. I hope hereafter you will determine upon having at least one prose article appear after each hymn. For I think the one improves the other.

Rather sage advice for a young man just past twenty-one!

We also find him taking note of a newspaper controversy in which his father had engaged over the question of the compulsory use of the Bible in the public schools, in which he had taken the negative side. Agreeing with and commending him, Edward wrote, July 7, 1870:

As to the newspaper discussion I think you have far the best of it. "Senex" is rather gassy I think, especially when he talks about atheists, etc., getting control and shutting the Bible out of our churches and families. He makes, however, I think, one point not very easily answered, though I am not certain. The Constitution of the United States says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion *or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*" And whether it could prohibit the reading of the Bible in the schools or not, is I think a question. It could, however, let the matter rest and the school authorities could quietly let the custom drop:—this is I think the true way. It is certainly, as you say, an infringement on individual liberty to tax a parent for the support of public schools and then have him compelled to have doctrines instilled into the minds of his children which he deems hurtful. I think you have taken the true course, but I should think, from the

"material" of your church, that it might cause some very wide differences of opinion. Does it?

A RHYMSTER HIMSELF

Senator Wolcott's friends of the later period will doubtless be surprised that in his younger days he was inclined to follow in the footsteps of his sire and drop into poetry. Such was the case. Whether because of an "hereditary taint," because of the influence of association, because of the natural activity of his mind, or, which is most probable, because of his love of a joke, he made one or two attempts at versification. As might be expected the composition was crude, and the effort was of short duration. If he had been frank with his father regarding the latter's verse, the father was brusque and unsparing towards his first trial. But his method was effective;—there never was any necessity for a second stricture.

Without giving any premonitory warning, Mr. Wolcott wrote his father the following letter:

CAMBRIDGE,
6 January, 1871.

MY DEAR FATHER:

Apart from the sense, subject, etc., will you please tell me whether the rhythm and metre(?) of the verses below are correct?

Three questions are ever recurring to me
When I am alone, but oftener at night
As I sit in my study or walk by the sea,
And not till the dawn comes will they take their flight;
From somewhere they come, and are prompted by—what?

Is n't it proper to have a line at the close of a verse not rhyming with any other line as a sort of refrain?

Here is another without any fifth line. I have written several, and you are at liberty to make all the fun of them you please:

Let the others all die, and all things be broken—
The ewer at the cistern, the bow and the quiver.

To me in my might what do these signs betoken?
I will never die and I *will* live forever.

ED.

The father's reply was as prompt as it was crushing. He wrote on January 11th, but his letter had not been received on the 15th, when Ed addressed him again, saying:

"You make no comments on the *poetry* of the two stanzas I sent you. I am writing a Hymn and until you write me that my productions are unmistakable trash, I shall probably continue to gush."

The father's remarks must have been received soon afterward. Here is what he said:

Yours of the 6th, with original stanzas, perplexed and troubled us not a little. It is the first thing which I remember to have seen from your pen, which, like your penchant for a human skull, indicates mental idiosyncrasy. It was a suggestion of something written in a fit of somnambulism, or drawn from the source of some of Byron's inspiration. We were even apprehensive that if you were sober you were a little deranged. If my tagging rhymes together after I had passed my 55th birthday encourages any of my children to do it before they have reached their 50th, I shall feel that I have made a double mistake.

He afterward referred to the "effort" as a joke. Whether it was such or not the criticism was effective. Ed's reply, dated February 6th, follows:

Your letter "chewing up" my effusion was duly received. I have finished. The world will never see my "poem" nor a Hymn I had just finished on an interesting passage of Scripture. I confess that at times I have felt that I had a gift that way, but your letter has disillusioned me. The dying notes of the swan are the sweetest, and this stanza which emerged impromptu from my teeming brain is the last that Edward, the Son of Samuel, D.D., will ever write:

Father says I must n't write—
My po'try has no metre;
Father prob'bly thinks he 's right;—
But is n't he a jealous "cretur"?

It was while he was studying law that one of the sisters conceived the idea of having a family newspaper, to be circulated in manuscript, and the contents to be furnished by the members of the family. The father's criticism had not so crushed him but that Ed was able to furnish the following:

TO A ROBIN REDBREAST

Oh, Robin,
A-bobbin
On a tree
In front of me,
How I wonder
Where in thunder
You have beenter
All the winter!

Father Wolcott did not confine his criticism to remarks upon the son's verse. A letter from Ed requesting that a Latin dictionary be sent him elicited the following response:

You do right never to pass over a word without ascertaining its exact meaning. I have habituated myself to this course, and now reap the benefit of it. Your acquaintance with terms and phrases not contained in Joe Miller's vocabulary, is less extensive than I supposed, but persevering attention to the Dictionary will supply the deficiency. We have many text-books in the house, of the kind which you mean. I will have a list made out and sent, and forward such as you may desire.

MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES

As we shall see, Mr. Wolcott possessed a great fondness for reading, but that while engaged in his studies he encountered many obstacles in this improving pastime is evident from his letters, and we find him telling his parents of distracting calls by his chums and of demands from the outside upon his time. On one occasion we are told that the young ladies of the boarding-house were somewhat in the way. "I don't know what I can do this winter with my reading," he wrote soon after reaching Boston, in 1869. "It will be too cold to sit in my own room, and if I sit down-

stairs there will be little chance for me to read, although all but one of the daughters are so unkind that for the last week they have n't spoken to me—I guess because I won't go down every evening and play backgammon and because I took the liberty the other evening of going to prayer-meeting."

Two weeks later he writes:

My greatest difficulty is to acquire what you wish me to get, and what is necessary to me—"the habit of close and uninterrupted mental application." I get almost discouraged sometimes. I find difficulty in my evening readings, and during the day I hardly ever have an hour's *uninterrupted* reading. I feel the lack of concentration in reading the reviews, etc. As I have written you, the office closes on Saturday afternoons. I generally go up to the Public Library to spend them, and I find it almost impossible for me to concentrate on some article in some of the English reviews that I know I ought to read, and which perhaps Mr. Russell has advised me to read.

And a fortnight afterward:

I am a little disappointed at not receiving those books from home. I think you had better direct them to the Winthrop House. I was about two thirds through the first volume of *Smith's History* when I came to the *History of Greece and Macedonia* and found it impossible to go on without an Atlas, and as I can keep books but a limited time from the Public Library I had to return it and shall not take it out again just yet, as after I have finished *Froude* (I am just beginning the tenth volume) I shall take up the course I sent home in my letter to Hattie. I wish, Father, that you would, at your convenience, make out a list of books on any subjects—History, Belles Lettres, etc., that a young man ought to read. I mean to get, if I can, a complete list of works, that are indispensable as a *foundation* and then make a schedule and regular course.

Many times the young student speaks admiringly of Froude. Writing of his *History of England,* he says, "I think I have never enjoyed any book as I have this." In another connection, he says: "I have a very great admiration for Mr. Froude and for all that he writes," and then proceeds to comment upon an attack upon

the English author which had been printed in the *Catholic World*, because of his treatment of Mary Stuart. Stating that he had taken up Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* he said that he did not enjoy Prescott so much as Froude—"the latter's style is so simple and earnest." Then he adds a significant general opinion as follows: "I am beginning to find out that the simple style is better than the didactic for general reading. Even a description of some tragic and unusual event, as the murder of Darnley by Bothwell under the guidance of Mary Stuart, is brought the more vividly before the reader because painted in the simplest colors and told directly and earnestly."

Mr. Wolcott appreciated to the utmost the necessity of good society to prevent falling into bad habits. As a specimen of his frankness on this subject read his letter to his father of November 29, 1869, wherein he says: "If I write about books and about my reading it seems to me as if I was deceiving you, and you would think I had improved much more than is the fact, for I am just as heedless and selfish as I ever was, and just as incapable of shunning wrong because it is wrong." Again on June 29, 1870, he writes regarding his residence, for the time, as Medford:

> It is a very pleasant old place and I cross almost every day the old Medford bridge which Paul Revere rode over and see often the old Craddock house, the oldest house in America, built in 1634; but, above all, I have the evenings to read in, and I am improving them as I have not for the last two or three months. I don't think it was a bad move to leave Chelsea, but as I grow older I don't grow more stable, and I find that my only way to resist temptation is to run away from it.

On another occasion we find him writing to his parents and saying: "I never see any of the young men in their rooms and I give them no encouragement to call on me. I have accomplished more reading here than I did in Chelsea."

PUBLIC MEN AND PUBLIC QUESTIONS

We find in Mr. Wolcott's letters frequent mention of public lectures, with occasional outlines of their addresses. There

are two such references to lectures by Ralph Waldo Emerson. The first discourses by Mr. Emerson which Mr. Wolcott attended were on the distinguished author's favorite theme of Transcendentalism, "not twenty words of which could I understand," he says. That letter was written in December, 1870, and writing a year later he promised to give a detailed account of Mr. Emerson's lectures on the human intellect, which he pronounces "quite interesting and instructive." If the fuller account was written it has not been preserved.

Early in December, 1869, Mr. Wolcott tells of having heard a lecture for the first time by Wendell Phillips, and he says he never enjoyed a public address more. "I think," he says, "his style is magnificent. Mr. Russell says the French Revolutionists are his ideal—Mirabeau, and the rest. What he says is of course folly, but his manner of saying it is wonderful." April 6, 1870, we are told: "I have had two splendid intellectual treats since I wrote last; one, last Friday evening, in hearing President Wolsey on the Police Power, but especially last evening when David Dudley Field lectured on the Representation of Minorities." He adds: "I think I never listened to so instructive a lecture. He showed how unjustly the people were represented in our present system of elections, and suggested several remedies. I was surprised at many facts he laid before us, as, for example, that sixteen States elect thirty-two United States senators on a smaller vote than New York State casts for two." He heard and greatly admired Phillips Brooks.

April 28, 1870, Mr. Wolcott speaks of the honors paid to Anson Burlingame after his death, saying:

> I went to Faneuil Hall last Friday where Burlingame lay in state, and the following day I saw the funeral procession. The whole thing was very impressive. Mr. Russell was at the Law School years ago with him. He says he was the most ambitious man he ever knew; that his acceptance of his office under the Chinese Government was with the expectation that the prestige he would gain would carry him to the Presidency. I think he had a better chance for it than any civilian in the country. It seems hard that after a man has spent his whole life laying plans he should be cut off when he was near the goal.

It is interesting to note that in this correspondence we have two expressions of appreciation by his contemporaries of the style of Webster as compared with that of Choate. The first of these is reported by the younger Wolcott in a letter to his father, dated November 15, 1869, in which he says:

He [Mr. Russell] is very entertaining and is full of anecdotes of Webster, Choate, Jere Mason, and others, whose contemporary he was, and although he talks a great deal, I think most of what he says is very instructive to me. I was rather surprised at his definition of Webster's style:—he says it was very simple, and that he used the Saxon almost wholly. I always supposed it was the opposite, the Johnsonian style. He has tried cases often with Rufus Choate.

The second reference to Webster and Choate is from Dr. Wolcott under the date of November 17, 1869, and is as follows:

I have heard Webster and Choate often, and had the same impression as Mr. Russell. You will see, on reading Webster, how simple and perspicuous he is—remembering, as he once said, that it was the thought which impressed. Choate was always coruscating; his metaphors were exuberant and often very brilliant. In some plain matter-of-fact case, when he had got off his usual pyrotechnics, Webster, who followed him, commenced by reminding the court that the case before them was not one which called for that kind of eloquence "which shook the arsenal and fulmin'd over Greece."

During these times the young student gave no little attention to general religious and political questions. He seems, for a time, to have been attracted toward the subjects of Catholicism and free trade. Speaking of the latter in a letter dated December 8, 1870, he says:

I am very much interested at present in the question of free trade and protection, though as yet I have not read up much on the question. I don't know whether I told you that we have at the Law School besides smaller societies one to which almost every member belongs called "Parliament," conducted very correctly and according to the manual, and there

we settle conclusively some of the great questions which seem to bother other statesmen. We have settled almost everything but the free trade question. The Society meets every Friday evening.

Nor were the young man's observations confined entirely to subjects upon which he was reading. He began thus early in life to think along independent lines on national questions, and that his thoughts were quite radical may be inferred from the following extract from a letter to his father written May 27, 1871:

Great preparations are being made for the observance of Decoration Day to-morrow. It is, I think, a foolish custom. Not as foolish, however, as the erection of soldiers' monuments. Every common in Massachusetts has one, and in fifty years our descendants will cart them to the cemeteries—anywhere to get out of sight the reminders of a war between brothers. Half the fuss about Decoration Day is made for political effect. So is most everything. Grant found that Santo Domingo fell flat; so he fell back on Ku Klux.

MONEY AND CLOTHING

We find in Mr. Wolcott's letters much concerning his accounts, his clothes, his boarding-places, and like subjects, and he discusses all of them in an interesting way. Restricted as he was to a limit of fifty dollars a month for all expenses, he necessarily had difficulty in living as his tastes demanded. Even as a young man he required the best when he could get it, and while he devotes pages to recitals of his cares in the matter of clothing, it is evident that even then the taste which afterward became so pronounced was there in embryo. It is not intended to reproduce here many of his representations on the subject. The following extract from a letter dated April 19, 1870, will afford an idea of the attention he gave to it:

I have the checked pants—new when I left home. They have been re-seated and mended, but there is a good deal of wear left in them. They are, however, altogether too thick for spring and summer wear. I have the pair of pants I bought here the 27th

of November. They have also been re-seated and a piece set in at the foot. They are not in as good a condition as the others. I have the blue vest, new when I left Cleveland, and in pretty good condition.

I have the thick short coat, bought two years ago, and lots of wear still left in it; but it is altogether too heavy to wear except in cold weather, and I could n't wear it with the two pairs of pants I have mentioned, as it wants a coat-tail to cover up the seat which shows very plainly where it has been set in.

I have the blue coat, new when I left home, which I have worn every day since the 1st of March, and which I am sorry to say is worn out; the seams have become worn out and the back shiny. I would like to wear it as an office coat and for stormy weather.

I have my new suit of clothes—the best I ever had—made very nicely and of a material that will wear splendidly. The whole suit is dark, and I want to keep them for my best for a long time to come.

Now, as the warm weather is coming on, would n't it be economy for me to have a coat and vest made of not very thick material and a pair of lighter pants than my present ones for a spring-summer suit and save my best suit? It seems so to me, and yet I dislike to write about it, for it costs money.

Both wit and practicability are to be found in the following extract from a letter of February 6, 1871:

"Next to a clean heart there is nothing in this world I need so much as a clean night shirt. I was going to buy some, but you wrote that mother had some made and I have been hoping every day for them."

As further evidence that he was practising what to him must have been severe economy we find him relating that on one occasion he had had his black suit bound over and cleaned and a seat put in the pants, "so that they seem like new ones." At another time he informs his parents that he is having his landlady make some shirts for him, "so that they will not cost me as much as if I bought them ready made." Once his overcoat was to be rebound, cleaned, repaired, and supplied with a new collar at a charge of eight dollars, which price he said he considered very reasonable. That, however, he did not hold himself strictly to the

economical side is found in the announcement that he had bought for himself a fourteen-dollar pair of shoes.

Many changes in boarding-houses were made, and the last place generally was the best. We find him always looking for well-fitted rooms, and, young as he was, he sought the best surroundings in his boarding-places. On one occasion he entered upon a long argument to support his position that it was better for him to be at a hotel than at a private boarding-house. He then contemplated locating in Boston as an attorney, and even at that early date looked forward to entering upon a political career, in which event he was of opinion that residence at a hotel would be of greater assistance to him than a home in a family. The summer months were generally spent at country places.

Mr. Wolcott's father adopted the general plan of sending his son ten dollars each week with which to pay his current expenses, adding more when necessary to meet some extraordinary demand, and he required not only a strict acknowledgment of the receipt of the money, but a detailed statement of the expenditure, which, while cheerfully given when it could be given at all, still appears to have been the subject of no little care to young Wolcott. He always was impatient of detail, and it may readily be supposed that he found it somewhat difficult to keep an accurate account of all his outlays. More than once his memoranda were lost, and it not infrequently happened that, even when these data were furnished, some items were missing. In either event we find him making due explanation and frankly acknowledging his deficiency in the matter of bookkeeping.

It is not the intention to give all the details of his difficulties in these matters, but merely to relate a few instances for the purpose of showing the character of the boy, who, in this as in other instances, proved to be the father of the man. "In my account you will notice an item of fifty cents for boots," he says in a letter to his father written in December, 1869. He was then staying at a hotel, and he proceeds to explain: "When I came to the house I noticed that all the men left their boots outside their doors. In large hotels nothing is charged for cleaning them, but the other day I found a bill in my shoes for two weeks at

twenty-five cents a week. Since then I have polished my own shoes." This incident seems to have influenced the young man to a serious line of thought, and after narrating it he says: "I have fallen into a way of figuring which helps me keep down my expenses more than any other method. It is figuring by the year. That is, if something costs twenty-five cents a week, I ask myself what it will cost in fifty-two weeks. Very simple arithmetic, but if I had learned it four years ago I would be a Yale Senior to-day."

We have another letter, without date, but probably written from Cambridge, showing an awakening in the direction of economy, and suggesting a method of reducing expenses by serving himself. In this letter, for the second time in his correspondence, Mr. Wolcott resorted to his crude talent for drawing to express his ideas. He wanted a shaving-set, and not only by word but by sketch undertook to convince his father that it would be more economical for him to shave himself than to have others perform the tonsorial service for him. The letter, together with the sketch, is very unique, and the latter and a portion of the former are reproduced.

Christmas of the same year finds young Mr. Wolcott with no very large sum of money in his pocket, but, slender as is the amount, his big heart is moved when he meets a poor woman begging in the street, and he generously hands her fifty cents, "because," he says, "she really needed it." In the same letter he generalizes somewhat regarding his expenditures, saying:

> There was one sentence in Father's letter that I have thought of a good deal and which I think has done me good—the remark about my expenses, and it has impressed me the more because it is the first time since I have been in Boston that they have been referred to. I never mean to reach that stage again that I feel obliged to apologize for my expenses. But, on comparing my account of the last week or two with former ones, I find that I have unconsciously drifted into, at last, a more liberal construction of the word economy. Take my present account. I went to the Young Men's Christian Association Fair because all Boston went and because the Central Church had a table and I rather wanted to meet the few acquaintances I

"Cosmetics"

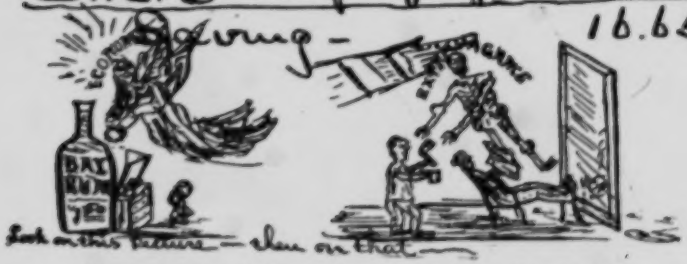
My hard grows rapidly and stiff.
I need shaving - do shave three times a week.
I rarely get shaved - only when I am going out - where a cut, which I almost always adorn myself with, would not be an ornament.
Bay Rum is indispensable when one shaves. I especially need it as my face is rough + very liable to break out.

Estimate

If I must go to the Barber -
Shave 3 times a week @ 15¢ - 52 weeks $23.40

Estimate my way.
Shaving Razor - for year. I say .75¢
Get shaved for year say 20 times @ 15 3.00
"B.R." @ 1.50 per qt say 3.00 6.75
16.65

Saving -



Facsimile of Mr. Wolcott's letter requesting a shaving outfit.

have there; but it was not necessary. And the Christmas present was not absolutely necessary, but I thought you would have given it. With my new boarding-house arrangement, when I get settled, the saving in price will pay my incidentals and washing. The next thing I shall need, after shirts, will be a pair of gaiters. I can save from one to three dollars by getting them made in Cleveland, at Gross's. He has my measure. I shall not need any clothes for some time, except perhaps a vest. I am very anxious to earn some money and have been looking for some evening employment.

LECTURES FOR A STEREOPTICON

This desire to enter upon some employment which would add to his receipts led Mr. Wolcott into a line of employment in which it is difficult to contemplate him, which, however, was not entirely uncongenial. At any rate, it served a useful purpose.

He became a lecturer for a stereopticon exhibition. In his determination to take work of this character, he encountered the opposition of his father, but, before the latter could make his objection known to the son, the enterprise had been undertaken. The young orator was then holding forth nightly in front of the picture exhibition, and earning $5 a night. The father based his objections to the lecturing upon the ground that it would interfere with the young man's course of night reading; but that Ed appreciated that there might be another reason is discoverable in a statement made in a later letter, in which he said that he had not called upon a distantly related and well-to-do member of the Wolcott family residing in Boston, to which statement he added the opinion that the gentleman referred to was "the only member of the family who might feel compromised by my going into the show business."

Acknowledging the receipt of the father's letter of objection, young Wolcott explained that he had already begun the work and expressed his appreciation of the father's interest in his welfare. "I have," he says, "no doubt whatever that it unsettles me somewhat, and I know that there are few advantages connected with it except those of a pecuniary character." He then adds:

But this fact is true: I am getting an excellent knowledge of the Arctic regions and of the formation of glaciers, icebergs, etc. It is, to a certain extent, only moving from Castile and Grenada to Greenland. My week is up to-morrow, and I shall draw thirty dollars, earning enough in the evenings of one week to support me more than two. It may last but a few evenings, but possibly it may continue for three weeks. I hope the latter. When this lecturing began I found myself very short of shirts. So I bought two nice ones, ready made, and I think they will carry me through. But I may have to get another.

His wish that the lecturing might continue for some length of time was to be disappointed, for a week later, on January 18, 1870, we find him writing that his engagement had ceased three or four days previously. He could remain with the show only on condition that he would take time enough each day to attend to the advertising. That he could not do and give proper attention to his studies, and he accordingly declined.

As usual, the experience brought Mr. Wolcott into a line of reflection, and he did not fail to see wherein it had been of assistance to him. It had given him confidence before an audience, but at the same time it had shown him that, as he says, "he was very deficient in extemporary speaking." He concluded that he must cultivate this habit.

The experience was also valuable to him in another respect. Through it he found his voice. "I don't mean to speak of it egotistically," he says, "but I have discovered that I have an unusually fine voice for public speaking, though pitched in a rather high key. A good part of the time I have been troubled with a severe cold, but my voice has not failed in the least."

Recurring in this connection to his desire to earn money for himself and at the same time meeting his father's objections to the line of business in which he had been engaged, Mr. Wolcott continues:

It has undoubtedly unsettled me somewhat in my studies, for the time being. That I shall get over now, but it leaves me the desire, stronger than ever before, to find some way to earn

money, either by evening work or by sacrificing two or three hours during the day. It is pleasant to know that your parents are so interested in your getting an education that they will deny themselves to give it, but it is much pleasanter to have the feeling that you are paying your own way.

That the young lecturer made a favorable impression on his stereopticon employers is evidenced by the fact that they besought him afterward to resume his connection with them, and prevailed upon him to join them temporarily while at Providence a month or so later. He remained with the show two days while in the Rhode Island metropolis, where there were crowded houses at each of three daily performances. The entertainment was of such a popular character as to cause the public schools to close in order to permit their pupils to attend. Giving an account of these performances, Mr. Wolcott says: "I find I have a pair of lungs and a voice that will bear almost any strain."

This is the last reference we have from the young man to his connection with the stereopticon, but one of the father's letters relative to the son's work is entirely too good to be lost. Writing on the 10th of January, 1870, he says:

Yours of the 6th instant opening with the very remarkable sentence, "Please don't send me any more money just yet"—reached us Saturday evening, and fairly startled us. We read it with great doubts of its authenticity; but on comparing the handwriting with that of your other letters, we conclude that it is genuine,—though you lack your younger brother Will's accomplishment of a handwriting which can't be imitated.

In the face of your deprecatory appeal, I can scarcely refrain from inclosing an X, both because I cannot help feeling that you will want it before the week is out and because I cannot make this seem to be any letter at all without it.

We shall all feel interested to know how you succeed in your new rôle. I am, of course, glad to have you earn something, but not at the expense of the future of your profession. You will please send me right along, as you have done, your weekly account of receipts and expenses, and I shall know when you will need another remittance without your asking it.

Early in life Mr. Wolcott contracted the habit of walk-

ing in his sleep, and there are many accounts of such experiences to be found in his letters. The habit was probably due to poor health, from which at this period he suffered, though he repeats, but as a joke, the explanation made by one of the Messrs. Russell, who attributed it to *over mental exercise*. One of his recitals on this subject is sufficient. Writing to his father, June 23, 1870, he says:

I had a delightful experience last night. I have just gone to my new boarding-place in Medford—the house by the way is a very quiet one filled mostly with ladies—and last evening about 11:30, half an hour after I had retired, I treated them to the most horrible nightmare I have ever indulged in, and as a consequence I feel a little used up to-day. I didn't feel very well yesterday, and so ate no supper but a cracker and a cup of tea. I'd do anything to rid myself of these turns, but it seems as if they would never leave me.

SEEKING GOVERNMENT SERVICE

While still in the Law School, and even before he went to the school, Mr. Wolcott became quite impressed with the idea of obtaining an appointment in the service of the National Government, probably with the view of earning enough money to make him independent while pursuing his studies. His father had an extensive acquaintance among public men, including Secretary Belknap, who was a connection by marriage, and Senator Pomeroy, the latter of Kansas, and as early as April, 1870, Ed began trying to persuade his father to get these friends to find a place for him in the Government employ. In his first letter, he says:

If you can obtain a position for me, it will be everything to me. It is so discouraging to stay here and earn nothing, with a portion of my time now spent in doing work which teaches me nothing and which might just as well be passed in profitable industry. I have few acquaintances now. If I could get the right position it would give me an acquaintanceship which some day, when I get into practice, I could make profitable.

The father was not inclined to encourage office-seeking, and he made prompt reply, saying:

You are much mistaken if you imagine that Secretary Belknap, for me or any other friend, will try to get a place for a young man in any other Department like his own, already overrun with applicants. It is a little degrading to join this horde of office-seekers. It would be more manly and self-reliant to let government patronage alone. Besides, you cannot get a place without displacing some one, and one, it may be, who is both worthy and dependent, which I should be very sorry to do.

Ed would not agree with his father on the subject of the inadvisability of the effort, and, still urging his case in writing to his mother on the 28th of April, 1870, he said:

I don't look at it as Father does; I know there is a horde of office-seekers, but I think it is safe to say that not one in five hundred could have the influence to aid them that Father could give me through Gibbs, Pomeroy, Buckingham, etc. He certainly would sacrifice nothing by making an effort. He seems to think it would involve a sort of lowering of his self-respect. I cannot see how.

Tenacious as was the insistence of the young man, he did not get the place at that time, nor later; but we find him renewing his effort in December, 1871, when he suggests the desirability of getting the position of an assistant attorneyship, because it would aid him in his law-practice. When it became apparent that nothing would be done in that direction, he seems to have become despondent and to have reverted to his old idea of entering upon a mercantile pursuit, and presumably he wrote his father to that effect. The letter elicited a really pathetic reply, and such portion of it as is pertinent is herewith reproduced. The father's letter was written from Cleveland, January 11, 1871. He says:

You suggest the going into some other pursuit—taking a clerkship in some wholesale house, etc. Oh, Edward! Are you never to stick to anything? Never to accomplish anything? Never to be self-reliant? Never self-resolved? In throwing a part of my patrimony into your education for the law, am I only sapping your manliness, and bringing on you the curse of all impotency? Why do you not tell me, son, that, having started on this course, if I now withdraw my support, you will

master your chosen calling, if you have to work a half decade for it and "wear your ten fingers to thin stumps"? and then, if spared, you will achieve your fortune in it, "heart within, and God overhead"?

I hope to be able to meet all your expenses, as purposed, for one year at the Law School, making two years in all. I know that it is unwise to borrow trouble from the future; and I do not do it. I calmly and contentedly leave it all in God's hands and give myself to present duties. You, my son, may do the same. Were it now certain that you could be aided in your studies but four months longer, reflect how much you may accomplish in that time, with God's blessing on an unrelaxing diligence.

If the past has fulfilled neither your hopes nor mine, do not let any present opportunity be marred by any desperate or desponding mood; but remember that the New Year is the time for good resolutions. Form them, and fortify them with a higher strength than your own.

Mother Wolcott also had some advice to give about this time apropos of her son's state of mind. He seems to have fallen into a despondent mood shorty before his graduation, out of which both his father and mother were constantly using their best endeavors to rally him. Writing on May 29, 1871, only a month before his final term closed and evidently in reply to a letter from him, Mrs. Wolcott thus addressed him:

Why, my son, has this been the unhappiest year you have ever passed? I supposed you were very happy, and were looking forward hopefully, as we all are for you, though we who are older realize, as you cannot, what a struggle life is, and how few ever realize the early hopes of themselves or their friends. The only life that is not a failure is that which is consecrated to the service of Christ.

GRADUATION

We have gotten somewhat ahead of the main thread of our story, which necessarily deals with Mr. Wolcott's progress with his law studies.

Early in the fall of 1870 he entered the Harvard Law School, and soon afterward he located in a boarding-

house at Cambridge. For the time he had abandoned all effort to obtain outside employment, because the requirements of the course were such as to employ his entire time. Writing on the 8th of October, he said that he would be pleased if he could do other work, but could not.

> I find [he says] that the past year has been but child's play to the work before me this year. Heretofore there have been two lectures a day. This year we have three two days in the week, and four the other three days. Two lectures a day are required; the others are optional. I have taken them all so far and mean to the year through if I possibly can. The lectures are in the morning from nine o'clock to one, and I find the remainder of the day and the evening hardly long enough to read up on them.

Then he adds a hopeful note. "But the little experience I have had so far makes me," he says, "more hopeful for the future than I have ever been before."

November 8th, Edward wrote his father requesting him to send him money to purchase law books, which, he said, would not only be of present use, but of great advantage to him in the future, after he should begin the practice of the law. In the same letter we find the following interesting allusion to Yale: "Did I tell you that two of my Yale classmates are here at the Law School, and that I have the advantage of them now and use when I am with them only the longest words in the legal vocabulary and talk often and learnedly of 'conditional limitations,' 'writs of certiorari,' and the like."

January, 1871, found the young law student engaged in a moot court case involving a question of bankruptcy. The briefs in the case he duly forwarded to his father, and, writing on the 25th of January, he says: "The case came off yesterday, and I was told that I did remarkably well, but perhaps it was the partiality of my friends that prompted them to say so. At all events, for once, I felt satisfied with myself." The case was taken under advisement, and in the main the decision was favorable to the Wolcott side of the controversy.

In the letter giving account of the moot case there is further reference to the necessity for the purchase of books, not only for use in the school, but for the adornment of a future law library. It appears that the young man's grandfather then had been appealed to and had made him a loan with which to buy these works, so necessary to him then and afterward.

Replying on the 30th of April, 1871, to a question from his father as to when he would be able to begin the practice of his profession, Mr. Wolcott said:

I think I shall be by the end of summer. Perhaps, before. Governor Washburne thinks it is very unwise for any one to start into practice short of three years' hard study, but the majority of lawyers never did it. I enclose a note I received from George Hobb in answer to one I wrote him to see if he knew of any opportunity in an office on salary or with some older lawyer. I hope you won't delay writing to him, for a great deal will be gained if I can start in my profession with a certainty for the first two or three years of an income. Success, I am reasonably confident, would come in time, but if I started alone it would be after years of poverty and toil.

June 17th he tells his father that after the close of the term he wanted to study up the statutes, pleadings, and the more abstruse parts of real property law and get admitted to the Massachusetts bar. "The Massachusetts bar," he says, "stands higher than any in the United States. An admission to it is recognized everywhere, and if I pass my examination to it I shall feel confident to hang out my shingle anywhere. By staying here I can have the use of the library during vacation." In the same letter, Mr. Wolcott writes:

As you probably heard by the circular sent you sometime since, the rule has been changed and every member of the Law School after October 1, 1870, who wishes a degree must be examined for it. The old men get it without. I entered for the examination and am now in the midst of it. We are examined in thirteen different studies, several of which we have not heard lectures on at all this year and I have been study-

ing very hard lately. Crammed all night Thursday and so far have got along well.

The final and happy culmination was achieved a few weeks later, and on June 30, 1871, we find Mr. Wolcott writing to his father:

I am happy to inform you that I succeeded in getting my degree with a good stand in each department and with an examination harder than any I will have to pass to get admitted to the bar. About forty were examined; twenty-four got through. If I have written elatingly(?) about my getting this degree, please bear in mind that it is the first I ever passed, and that I obtained it by examination and not, as most did, by remaining here the requisite time.

Mr. Wolcott did not spend the summer in Boston as he had hoped to do, but left for home immediately after graduating.

FIRST YEARS IN COLORADO

COLORADO claimed Mr. Wolcott very soon after he had concluded his law course. He was partial to Boston, and would have located in that city for the practice of his profession if conditions had been favorable. But, discovering that there were more than eight hundred lawyers there, he concluded that, without means, as he was, there would be little opportunity to gain a foothold. Accordingly, we find him returning to his home in Cleveland after the close of his term in the latter part of June, 1871, with his much prized diploma in his pocket. We may imagine him enjoying himself for a brief period with his family, and then starting out to win his fortune in the far West—in what to him was practically an unknown land.

There is no evidence that the young man was irresistibly drawn to Colorado for Colorado's sake. Conditions rather than his own inclination decided his choice. Even after he was compelled to surrender his ambition of remaining in Boston, he would have tarried at a less remote place if there had been sufficient inducement. In view of his wonderful success in the Centennial State, then a territory, and because he afterward became such a favorite there, it would be pleasant to record that it had long been predetermined by his own preference that he should proceed to that territory as soon as he could do so; and if this were a novel and not history that turn could be given the narrative. The fact remains, however, that Mr. Wolcott went to Colorado because he was in search of a place to locate for the practice of his profession, and because the presence of his brother Henry in that territory led him to turn his attention thitherward.

HENRY WOLCOTT AS PIONEER

From their infancy up, Henry Wolcott and Ed Wolcott had been the closest of chums. There was a difference of only two years in their ages, and while in many respects they were temperamentally unlike, their tastes were similar.

The bond of union was so strong that they sought every opportunity to be together, and it was most natural that with Henry in the West and with nothing to hold him in the East, Ed should seek to join him. It does not appear, however, that Henry sought to unduly influence his brother to establish himself in Colorado, but rather that, after pointing out the advantages of settling in the territory, he left him to choose his own course. They were in constant correspondence, and there can be little doubt that in casting about in his mind for a location, Ed's thoughts turned frequently toward the far West, but as a necessity rather than as a matter of choice. Such is indicated to have been the case by a letter written by him to his father in December, 1870, six months before he graduated.

He then was possessed of the idea that if he could obtain an assistant United States district attorneyship, the position would be of vast advantage to him in the future in establishing himself, and, realizing the difficulty of getting such an appointment in the East, he suggested to his father the advisability of trying to obtain one in some of the Western States; and as his father was personally acquainted with Honorable Samuel C. Pomeroy, then a Senator from Kansas, he urged him to importune that gentleman to aid him. "It would not be quite as congenial to me as the East," he wrote, "but the prospects for the future would be much better." Whether Father Wolcott wrote to Mr. Pomeroy does not appear, but when eight months later Ed started West, he made a call on the Kansas Senator. He stopped for a day or two at both Leavenworth and Lawrence, Kansas, and doubtless if he had been given encouragement to expect an official appointment would have remained in Kansas. Naturally, however, there was little or nothing that Mr. Pomeroy could do to assist him, for, even then, sparsely populated though the State was, there were more office-

seekers than offices in Kansas. In consequence of this failure we find Mr. Wolcott turning his back on the "Sunflower" State while he proceeded upon his Western course.

Henry Wolcott had preceded his brother to Colorado, and, when Ed arrived, had been located there for about two years. He had gone direct to Central City in the neighborhood of which place the first important discovery of gold in Colorado had been made only ten years before. Central was the county seat of Gilpin County, and until the discovery of the rich deposits at Cripple Creek, that town remained the centre of the greatest gold-producing district in the State. Indeed, in that early day, Gilpin was the only county in the State which was producing quartz gold in quantity. On this account it was the Mecca of all the treasure-seekers of the Rocky Mountain region. Denver was the capital of the then territory, as it now is of the State, and was the most important trading centre of that section of the Rocky Mountain region; but it was entirely dependent upon the surrounding region for its existence, and Gilpin County was the most important of all its feeders. Central naturally attracted the gold hunters, and in addition many professional men sought location there. In consequence of its superior importance the town became the home of many lawyers and writers of ability, and its banks and other business houses soon came to be known for their stability.

In those days one heard seldom of Gilpin County, for Gilpin County was "The Kingdom of Gilpin." Named in honor of Governor Gilpin, the first chief executive of the territory, that county was destined to give to the State in the persons of Henry M. Teller and Jerome B. Chaffee the State's first two United States Senators, and in the person of James B. Belford, whom "Sunset" Cox dubbed the "Red-headed Rooster of the Rockies," the State's first Representative in Congress. In addition, the county also was to supply in Professor Nathaniel P. Hill another of the State's representatives in the upper House of Congress, and in Henry R. Wolcott it came near giving to the State one of its early governors.

Subsequent discoveries of gold and silver and the agricultural development of the State have had the effect of

placing other cities in the lead over Central, but it should be said that, while those places have gone ahead, Central has held her own, and her loss has been only that of relative position. In those days Central was practically the only place in the State "to go to," if one desired to be at the centre of activity. Naturally, then, Henry Wolcott chose Central as the first scene of his operations. Thither he went early in the summer of 1869.

Colorado then was in its infancy. When Henry arrived there was not a foot of railroad in the State, except in the extreme northeastern corner, the nearest railroad station being at Cheyenne, Wyoming, more than a hundred miles north of Denver. A year later we find him writing with much ecstasy over the arrival of the "iron horse" at Denver. "This," he said, "leaves but forty miles of staging and seems to reduce the distance to the States nearly a quarter." The territory was admitted into the Union in 1876, seven years after Henry's arrival, and because of the date it bears the distinction of being called the "Centennial State."

The Western third of the territory was occupied by Indians, and its great fastnesses were practically unknown to men of the white race. The entire population was fewer than fifty thousand, and Denver, the capital city, had a population of only about five thousand. Some placer mining had been done on the present site of Leadville, and silver had been discovered in Clear Creek County, adjoining Gilpin on the west. The mining area was, however, extremely limited, and the total production of the precious metals, which has since reached the sum of $30,000,000 was then only $2,500,000 annually. Practically, there was no agriculture, although some sheep and cattle were raised on the plains. But the potentialities of a great State were there, and Henry Wolcott was not slow in appreciating this fact. Hence, notwithstanding that for a time after his arrival he was without employment, he frequently wrote enthusiastically over the prospects.

As early as September 9, 1869, in the course of a long letter to his mother, he says: "I have as yet been unable to find any position, but think I shall stick to this country. I have travelled around trying to find something, and I have

made up my mind that in years this is going to become the richest section I have seen. Although they have been working their mines now for nearly ten years they have but made a beginning." Two weeks later he writes in the same strain: "I like this country very much indeed. There is the strongest kind of fascination about it, and if a young man once gets started he cannot help doing well if there is anything in him and he does himself justice."

His desire then was to obtain a position as a clerk in a bank, where high salaries were paid, but in this ambition he was not successful, and soon afterward he turned his attention to mining. He already had made friends, and writing briefly of the people of the section, said: "There are not, of course, many fine people here, but what there are are among God's chosen few, or I lose my guess." And again, December 21st, this time to Ed:

> Colorado is the place for me. Have just fitted up a nice room and am getting along first rate. Have already a good reputation for milling among the miners. Have been studying assaying, etc., for the past two weeks. I reached Colorado with thirty-five cents in pocket and not even an acquaintance. Am something ahead, but am going to put it all into a mine I have leased.

Another enticing letter, and a longer one, was sent to the brother, who then was poring over his books in Boston, on the 14th of January, 1870. It was full of hope and of enthusiasm over the prospects. "If I ever make a fortune I expect it will be made in Colorado," he said, in this as he had said in previous letters; "unless," he added, "I marry one, and I expect to make it in mining."

He then presents the following captivating picture of the situation: "I should like to see you, Ed, and out here, too. There are some splendid fellows here; plenty of good tobacco, good parties of the stag variety; good stories, good board, light air, lots of reading matter, lots of wood and oil; good shave (hot-water arrangement); good bed blankets, (no sheets); and I have a devilish smart 'dorg.'" Surely no younger brother could long resist such allurement.

Judging from Henry's next letter to his brother, which

was written in the following June, he had made rather rapid progress. Again reciting that when he arrived in Colorado he had only thirty-five cents in his pocket, he said that at the end of a month he was a hundred dollars in debt; at the end of four about even, while at the time the letter was written he was *about fifteen hundred dollars in debt.* However, his credit was still good and he was not worrying. He had been mining. "I had started eight men working on the Missouri lode," he says, "expecting to make a fortune in a few months, but did not get a pound of pay. When the men would work no longer on faith I quit working, or, rather, they did." He then tells of his experience in running a mill, which also was disastrous. In that business he found the competition to be very great and "prices for crushing so low a man would have to steal to make money, and," he adds, "I am afraid I would be caught if I tried that."

Having presented this doleful picture, Henry announced his acceptance of a position in the Boston and Colorado Smelting Works, of which Professor, afterward United States Senator, Hill, was the general manager, and of which Mr. Wolcott was ere long to become the assistant and acting manager with responsibility and influence almost, if not quite, equal to those of his chief. He assumed the position in the Hill works on the 19th of June, 1870. Later he was sent by the Company to South Park to examine the mining possibilities of that section, and on the strength of the report which he made was commissioned to build and operate branch smelting works at Fairplay. He alternated between the two places until the plants were removed to the vicinity of Denver, where, under the name of the Argo Smelter, the works remained for years one of the most important ore-treating establishments of the world.

Writing to his father of the business on the day that he took hold, Mr. Wolcott said:

The smelting works where I shall be employed are the largest works of any kind in the territory and a concern employing over half a million of capital all the time. They buy ores and tailings, and reduce by smelting to a copper matt containing

all the gold, silver, and copper. This matt is shipped to Swansea, England, for separation. I shall keep the books, attend to the office, and do some of the outside business.

The total product of the establishment for 1870, the year Mr. Wolcott entered it, was $650,000; ten years later, under his and Professor Hill's management, the figure had increased to $2,500,000.

The Hill works were located at Blackhawk, only a mile or two down the gulch from Central, these two towns together with Nevadaville practically constituting one city. Combined, the three places had a population of 4500, only 500 below Denver's number.

ON THE WAY

That Henry's idea was to inform his brother regarding conditions and prospects rather than to influence him to settle in Colorado is made evident by the fact that in one of his letters he advised him to make sure of employment before going to any place. He wanted him with him in Colorado, but he also wanted him to ascertain before going there that there would be something for him to do and a place ready for him when he should arrive. To this end negotiations were opened with Attorney Hugh Butler, who was doing a thriving business in Blackhawk, with a view to arranging a partnership for Ed. While this negotiation failed of results in the direction intended, it was one of the circumstances which influenced the young lawyer to locate in Colorado.

Mr. Wolcott did not go direct from Cleveland to Colorado. He made several stops on the way, the first at Jacksonville, Illinois, where an uncle, Elizur Wolcott, resided. Making Jacksonville the centre of his operations, he entered upon a general investigation of the region roundabout with a view to ascertaining its desirability as a place of business for a young attorney. Uncle Elizur had resided in Jacksonville for many years, and he was anxious to have Ed establish himself there, or somewhere in that vicinity, and accordingly the young man made an effort to connect himself with an established attorney in Jacksonville. Failing in

this he in turn visited Clarksville, Hannibal, St. Charles, Quincy, and other promising towns on both sides of the upper Mississippi River. He made a trip to St. Louis and another to Springfield, but with unsatisfactory results. That he created a good impression at Jacksonville is evident from the fact that very soon after his arrival Uncle Elizur wrote to Father Wolcott concerning the nephew: "I would have no doubt of Edward's success ultimately anywhere, but the rub is to get a start; that takes so long anywhere. More than any one I have seen for many years, Edward seems to me to have the ability to make a distinguished man. There is that about him which reminds me of Bismarck." He then proceeded to outline the advantages of the young man's remaining in Illinois.

The outlook was discouraging to Ed. "I feel very much disheartened," he said, in writing to his father. "If I could only feel that I could fit up an office, buy what few books I needed, and could struggle along for the first few months, I could in the end make money in any one of these Western towns. There are lots of lawyers, but the majority are ignorant fellows and have not the confidence of the community." He continues:

My ticket and sleeping-car and meals to Chicago and to St. Louis via Jacksonville—three nights and two days travelling cost about $40. My meals cost me as little as I could make them. I bought the underclothing you know I needed, and if I go to Quincy and the other towns, I cannot possibly look through in a day. I must find out about the other lawyers, the business, and the prospects of the place.

If I do that, as it seems to me best, I shall have money enough when I get to St. Louis to take me to Springfield and then shall, if I cannot get in with some older lawyer, do, I don't know what. I can earn a living anywhere,—I am not afraid of that, but I cannot earn it without leaving my profession, and I do hope I shall not have to do that.

After turning his face again toward the West, Mr. Wolcott made his first stop at Keokuk, Iowa, where relatives resided; but before starting he wrote his father saying that it seemed best to both himself and his uncle that he should

proceed to Kansas, "and not finding anything there, to Colorado." His intention was to go first to see Senator Pomeroy, and if he did not succeed in interesting that gentleman in his behalf, to proceed westward. Further, it had been suggested to him that if both ventures should prove unsuccessful he should then return to Jacksonville and take up the practice of law on his own account, which he seemed inclined to do, or go to Memphis, Tennessee, and enter upon a business career.

Not only did Senator Pomeroy fail to offer any substantial inducements to Mr. Wolcott to remain in Kansas, but he made an unfavorable impression on the young man. The Kansas dignitary told the youthful fortune-hunter that "he would do anything he could for him," but did nothing. Evidently, Mr. Wolcott soon discovered that he could expect little more than agreeable assurances from the Kansas statesman, and what he heard from Senator Pomeroy's neighbors did not prepossess him in the Senator's favor. "They tell bad stories of Pomeroy in Kansas," he wrote to his father after his arrival in Colorado, and, adding his own impression of him, he said, "My opinion is that he is a thorough demagogue, though in the better sense of the word, if it has a better sense; not a bad man." The only real gratifying results of his stop in the Sunflower State were the pleasant references made by people who had become acquainted with the elder Wolcott's anti-slavery views. Speaking of this experience, he says: "I met several gentlemen, old settlers in Lawrence. They all knew you, and all spoke of you, the general tone being expressed in the remark of one of them who said, 'Young man, your father has got a heap of stock in this town.'"

A SOJOURN AT BLACKHAWK

Proceeding direct from Lawrence to Blackhawk, where Henry was then securely established in the Hill works, Mr. Wolcott arrived at his destination about September 20, 1871, "thoroughly tired out and unwell," as he wrote his father a few days later. He found the prospects for an engagement with Mr. Butler unsatisfactory, because that gentle-

man had entered into negotiations with another attorney. In view, however, of the possibilities, he decided to remain for the time; but in case of failure, he was inclined to return to the Mississippi Valley, where he had received an offer in a mercantile way from Memphis.

By the 15th of October it was quite definitely determined that there would be no opening for him with Mr. Butler, and it was that gentleman who made the first suggestion that Mr. Wolcott should locate in Georgetown, where, soon afterward, he first entered upon the practice of the law. He did not, however, proceed immediately to Georgetown, but remained in Blackhawk until the Christmas holidays, putting in most of his time as principal of the Blackhawk school, where he taught for about two months.

That Mr. Wolcott had become somewhat despondent by the time he had decided upon this change was made very evident from a letter written to his father, from which the following is an extract:

If I could get the money I would stay here; otherwise of course I had better go to Memphis. Since I have been here, nearly a month, I have involved Henry in debt for my board at $15 per week (the cheapest place in the town) and for a pair of pants which I was obliged to purchase, and some other items. I could not help this. If I stay here I shall need some money to start, and to buy some few indispensable books and a little furniture. I should sleep in my office. Is not Grandfather willing to help me this much? I could certainly repay him, and it would be of so much assistance to me in starting.

I have tried in every way to get some writing or anything to do, but without success. I could do nothing but go into some mine or mill. I have felt so discouraged that I was anxious to do that, but Henry would not listen to my giving up. I have spent my days at Mr. Butler's office and my evenings at Mrs. Hill's. Henry has been very kind to me here, but he is unable to assist me pecuniarily, and the money he has paid for me here must be repaid. He has had to run into debt for it.

I had hoped that I should never have to ask my father for another cent, after what he had done for me, but I know not where else to turn. I have tried to do the best thing, but I have not succeeded. I find by talking with other lawyers that

I have an education far above the average, and if I can get started I feel certain I can succeed. Should I go to Memphis, I shall need funds to get there and to pay Henry. Should I stay here I should need funds to repay Henry and to start. It gives me pain and mortification to write this letter, but I must write it.

In the same letter he tells of disagreeable news from Mr. Butler, adding that that gentleman had expressed disappointment over the fact that he could not take him in with him. He then refers to the suggestion by Mr. Butler that he should locate in Georgetown.

He is [said Mr. Wolcott] anxious that I should settle in Georgetown, a place of some 3000 inhabitants, twenty miles from Central and growing. He has promised his influence and whatever business he can send me. He says that after the first six or eight months I could support myself, and soon be making money. And he is especially anxious that I should stay because the arrangement he has partially made may still fall through, in which event he could talk with me, and wants me in this vicinity. If I could get along for a year I would like no better place than Central in which to locate.

Taking up the subject again in a letter of the 29th of October he announced his firm conviction that he should settle in Georgetown and added: "The place is growing up wonderfully of late. The mines there are doing splendidly and are all more or less involved in litigation. Butler and the other leading lawyer here are very anxious that I should settle there, and assure me of success as soon as I become acquainted." Furthermore Professor Hill had promised to give him a commission on all ore from Georgetown which he could send to the Hill smelter.

TEACHING SCHOOL

By this time he had consummated the arrangement to teach for a short time. This, he realized, would be a very brief employment and would bring him in only a small sum, but enough to pay his expenses for the time and to enable him to repay some of the money he had been com-

pelled to borrow from his brother Henry. "So," he says, "I feel better and I think I shall scrape through somehow."

Announcing in his next communication to his father that "the school-teacher is abroad," he adds:

> Everybody here seems very much pleased with the way in which I manage the school, and the school committee want me to take it for a year. I have declined so far; but could get it if I would any time within the month. I am unwilling to teach for any length of time if I can possibly get started in the law. Colorado is still a territory and has a population of less than fifty thousand, but either this or next year it is sure to become a State, and the men who start with it and grow up with it must surely reap influence. So time is precious, and if I am to start in Colorado, the sooner I begin the better.

He was offered $200 a month to continue at the head of the school. He decided instead to "emigrate to Georgetown," which meant the crossing of the sharp mountain range between the north fork and the south fork of Clear Creek, a journey of about eighteen or twenty miles.

While Mr. Wolcott's service as a teacher was confined to a period of about eight weeks, there are still a number of people living in Colorado who attended the Blackhawk school while he was in charge of it, all of whom recall the experience as a pleasant one. He was agreeable and even jovial with the pupils, but withal firm and insistent upon careful attention to their studies. Clear in his own knowledge of things, and possessed, even then, of a commanding personality, he easily obtained the attention of others, and the school made splendid progress while under the charge of the young lawyer. "I was a wee bit of a thing," said a Colorado lady to the author, "when I attended Mr. Wolcott's school, but I remember distinctly how he looked and how much I was attracted to him. He was very firm with the older students, but exceptionally gentle with and kind to the little ones. He helped us along wonderfully, and I always have felt much indebted to him. He was my first teacher." Mr. H. M. Orahord, who was treasurer of the Blackhawk school board at the time, recalls that Mr. Wolcott was a successful teacher. He says that

he was especially strong as an instructor in grammar and rhetoric, but that he was not partial to mathematics.

IN GEORGETOWN

Mr. Wolcott arrived in Georgetown during the Christmas week of 1871, and there he remained until he removed to Denver in 1879. During his two months as a teacher he had earned about $300, and having saved a portion of this sum he at last was prepared, although poorly from a financial standpoint, to enter upon his life as a lawyer. The deficit was in part made good by Mr. T. H. Potter, a Central banker, of whom Mr. Wolcott speaks as "a friend sent by Providence."

He had chosen a location and arranged for a partnership. Nothing was left to be done but to have a sign painted. His first partner was a young Southerner named Pope, Frank A. Pope, who was known to the people of Colorado as "Judge" Pope. That gentleman had been established in Georgetown for some time, and Mr. Wolcott tells us had had a practice during the previous year amounting to $2500, which it was believed could be increased during the following twelve months. The principal inducement to go in with him was the fact that he had an office and was possessed of a law library, circumstances which were of no mean importance in view of Mr. Wolcott's depleted finances and his lack of law-books. The partnership did not continue for a great while. Never greatly impressed by Mr. Pope's ability, Mr. Wolcott soon became convinced that he was disinclined to work and, while regarding him as a "good fellow, with fair legal ability," he soon terminated the association as undesirable. Thereafter while he remained in Georgetown, he continued without a partner. When he first arrived, Mr. Wolcott was unable to obtain admission to the bar because of the law controlling such admission. This circumstance kept him out of court until 1873, during which time his practice was limited to his office.

It may be well here to permit the young attorney to review his recent experiences, as he found it convenient to do in a letter to his brother Sam, written on the 29th of

December, a few days after his arrival in Georgetown. In this letter, Mr. Wolcott not only gives his brother an account of his travels from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains, speaks of an evanescent courtship, and relates his experiences as a teacher, but tells of his location in Georgetown, and indicates briefly his reasons for settling there. The letter follows:

GEORGETOWN, COLORADO TERRITORY,
29th December, 1871.

DEAR BROTHER SAM:

We made a sort of an arrangement you 'll remember when we met last in New York, by which I was to write you occasionally, tell you how and what I was doing, my hopes and fears, in a brotherly way, etc., and in return you were to do the same by me. I should have fulfilled my part long ago, but I was constantly hoping to be able to tell you that I had made some permanent arrangement for the practice of my profession.

Instead of that, I knocked around for some time, visiting some weeks at Jacksonville, where I was disappointed in the expectation I had formed of going into business with an older lawyer. Then making a three weeks' stay at Keokuk, I had a mighty pleasant visit and fell in love with a staving pretty girl; but I have about given that up, as I found out that she has comparatively nothing in her own right. And her father is too confoundedly healthy. Then, in answer to Henry's letter and advice I started for Colorado.

My embarrassment all along was the lack of funds. Grandfather gave me a hundred at first and afterwards another hundred and told me that was all I could ever expect from him. So I was compelled to leave my profession or go in with some old lawyer. Well, I reached Colorado nearly busted. I was unable to form any business arrangement and had nearly made up my mind to go to mining, when fortunately, the Blackhawk school became vacant, and I secured the position at $150 a month. When the term was nearly expired I had really flattering offers to keep it, Professor Hill and others offering to make the salary up to $200 a month, and I fully expected to accept it, when a kind and overruling Providence (with a big "P") sent me a friend, out here, who offered to back me in Georgetown, if I would hang out my shingle on "my own hook." Then I determined on taking advantage of his kindness and came to Georgetown with him, to survey the ground, when, last

week just at the termination of my school year, I had an offer from Frank A. Pope, a young lawyer here, doing the best business (perhaps $2500) a year, to form a partnership with him. That offer I accepted and came over last Tuesday (when he went East) and to-day, in front of the office, swinging proudly to the breeze, there hangs a sign:

POPE & WOLCOTT
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS
AT LAW

We have n't taken in a blamed cent yet; but I "live in hopes." Georgetown is a comparatively new place, population 1500, eighteen miles west from Central and Blackhawk and forty-five west from Denver. Heretofore it has been rather dull, but within the last six months large, true silver mines of enormous value have been discovered and everything is very lively.

I think my chance a good one and mean to stick to it. Write soon, Sam. Please don't wait as I have done.

As ever your brother,

ED.

When Mr. Wolcott arrived in Georgetown, that place was about five or six years old, but only recently had it come into any prominence. Located practically at the foot of the towering mountain known as Gray's Peak, one of the tallest of the many high mountains in Colorado, it rests at the head of a comparatively level valley, with mountains rising above it in three different directions, all of which are covered with pine and were believed to be "ribbed with silver." The location is an attractive one, and is made all the more so by the fact that the south fork of Clear Creek, fresh from the embrace of the perpetual snows of the mountains, finds its way through the heart of the little city. The altitude of the town is high, and ordinarily the winters are cold; but the summer climate is almost perfect, and the surrounding scenery is compensation to the resident for many disadvantages.

It will have been observed that in one of his letters Mr. Wolcott placed the population of the town when he went there at 1500, and in another at 3000. It is probable that

in the one instance he had in mind the entire district and in the other the town only. But this need not necessarily have been so. The census of 1870 gave the population as 802, but there was a rapid increase immediately after that enumeration, and it may well be that by the end of 1871 there were 1500, or even 3000, people in the town, for there had been such a rapid improvement in the industrial contions of the place that necessarily many newcomers were attracted to it.

Practically the first silver ore ever found in Colorado was discovered in the immediate vicinity of where Georgetown was afterward located, and Clear Creek County remained the principal silver producer of the State until 1880, when Lake County took the lead with the enormous output of the Leadville mines. The original Clear Creek discovery was made on McClellan Mountain in 1864, by men who were prospecting for gold. The discovery aroused much interest, because all realized the importance of being able to mine both of the precious metals in the territory. Hitherto the mining output of the territory had consisted of gold alone, but with silver added, the people became at once imbued with the idea that the region was to prove exceptionally productive. But, while this feeling ran high for a time after the first silver discovery, there was a long period of waiting before there could be any fruition of the hopes which had been aroused by the finding of a rich deposit of the white metal within the borders of the territory. All the ore-treating works were constructed for the reduction of gold, and none of them were adapted to the treatment of silver.

Several years elapsed before a process was found for reducing the new ores, and it was not until 1870 that the production of silver came to be of material proportions. The output for that year was about $480,000, and it was doubled in 1871, the year that Mr. Wolcott settled in the county. As justifying his expectations the production increased in 1872 to $1,500,000 and continued to grow until 1874, when it reached about $2,200,000, which for many years continued to be about the average production of the county.

Prospectors thronged the mountainsides, and new mines

were opened every few days. It was believed that the country was possessed of untold wealth, and people flocked in from all directions. A large number of business houses were established; fairly good hotels were built; two or three banks were located in the town, and for a time there were published two daily newspapers. Denver was the nearest railroad station, but there was a well-managed stage line, and large numbers of people arrived every day. The fortune-hunter was much in evidence and the settlement wore a bustling aspect, even beyond what was justified by the mining development. Many of the new arrivals were people of education and refinement, but by far the larger number were adventurers. In short, Georgetown was at that time a typical mining camp, offering many inducements, which, however, were coupled with some hardships and numerous unprepossessing conditions. It should be added that as time went on conditions generally improved until the town became, as it still is, one of the most staid and orderly in the State.

In his first letter from Georgetown to his father, Mr. Wolcott speaks of the town as "a lively little place. I board at the hotel," he continues, "there being no private boarding-houses. I feel rather blue here, among strangers and away from Henry; but I suppose I shall soon be used to it."

BUILDING UP A PRACTICE

His Georgetown office was located on Rose Street and consisted of one small room. In this, he had a home-made table, which, according to a gentleman who knew him, "he used in the daytime for a desk, and at night, for a bed, spreading upon it blankets which during the day were stowed away in a convenient corner."

Necessarily, progress was slow in the beginning, and the receipts meagre. Still, considering that he went into Georgetown without friends and without money, his success was quite marvellous. Only once during the seven years of his Georgetown residence did he permit himself to give attention to any other business than the law. This exception oc-

curred in 1873, when, for three months, he associated himself with Alex McCree and Thomas Campbell in the editorial conduct of the *Georgetown Miner,* which was one of the daily papers then published in the new mining city, and which has continued to this day as a weekly.

From the date of his settlement in Georgetown, Mr. Wolcott's letters to the folks at home became somewhat less frequent. His epistles are filled with exhortations to members of the family to write, as they are with apologies for his own infrequent letters. Even then, he was by no means as remiss in this respect as are most young men, but so strong was his attachment for his home that he always was remorseful over any neglect on his part. Indeed, he was an exceptional correspondent, and the world would have been the gainer if all his letters had been preserved.

On the 10th of March, 1872, we find him writing an apology for the irregularity and infrequency of his letters, and he explains his neglect by saying that he had been changing his office and had been very busy on a case which had been pending ever since his arrival in Georgetown and which was then being settled.

Speaking of the suit, he says:

> Like all other large cases here, it is in regard to a mine which has three claimants and a great many points have arisen regarding it. We have been making arrangements to sell to the other party for about a hundred thousand dollars. It is about the largest case they have ever had here. Every lawyer almost in the territory has been retained on one side or the other, and if we sell, I shall feel as if "Othello's occupation 's gone."

Mr. Wolcott was engaged in the conduct of the Dives-Pelican case, which was one of the notable mining suits of the time. There is no means of determining whether that is the case to which he referred in the letter quoted above. There would be many reasons for supposing it to be but for the figure named by him as the consideration in the then prospective settlement, which seems ridiculously small in view of the fierce and prolonged legal conflict. At any rate, Mr. Wolcott became identified with the historical case. He appears to have been for a time counsel in the suit and

afterward referee, in which latter capacity he took much of the testimony bearing on the points at issue.

Mr. R. S. Morrison, who was a contemporary of Mr. Wolcott in Georgetown and afterward in Denver and who had an acquaintance with that gentleman co-existent practically with Mr. Wolcott's residence in Colorado, probably is better qualified to speak of the early portion of Mr. Wolcott's Colorado life than any other man. He has prepared for this work a sketch of that portion of Mr. Wolcott's career covering his Georgetown experience. In this contribution Mr. Morrison supplies an interesting account of Mr. Wolcott's participation in the Dives–Pelican controversy, of which he speaks as "the most famous mining contest which ever occurred in Colorado." Of that litigation, he says:

Both mines were in big pay and the owners had no morbid disposition to compromise. The suits on the docket were extravagantly and uselessly multiplied, and, if we ever can truthfully say that money is unwisely expended upon lawyers, we could certainly say so in this instance. Every lawyer in the county was employed in some capacity, besides the imported talent.

There was not only litigation but there was bitter feeling, dividing the county into feuds; partisanship ran high and money flowed freely. Each party had its saloon on the side and its fighting men who stood guard or charged and fought for the ore in sight, enough of it to make the one that could hold possession rich in a month's time. There was battle, murder, and sudden death. There was judicial corruption, alleged if not proved.

At one of the trials one of the attorneys for the Pelican deliberately insulted Colonel Thornton of the Dives. The insult was patent to every one in the courtroom, and, as coolly as when he stood in the Confederate line behind a breastwork of corpses at the battle of Franklin, Thornton said, "You are a liar." He made it sure that as many heard the lie given as heard the insult which provoked it.

The Court pronounced a heavy fine upon the Colonel, which McCurdy, his client, himself a soldier on the Union side, promptly and proudly paid.

Among the counsel in the case were men learned in the law,

and among them also were others who could scarcely explain how they got a license to practice. Some were conspicuous for ability and others equally conspicuous for want of it. The case had a strange ending. One side exhausted its resources and was sold out for the debts it could not pay. The Pelican, which began the fighting, was bought in at sheriff's sale by the Dives which it had hoped to crush by the combination of law and violence. The winning party, John H. McCurdy, the most brilliant operator that ever came to the State, died just as the warfare ended in his favor.

In this litigation there was love and romance as well as war. Youth and beauty figured in it as well as fighting men. There were Union generals and Confederate colonels, and soldiers from both sides. There also were experts who swore to impossible conditions which nature refuses to produce, but with zeal, induced by heavy compensation, declared to be geological facts.

We bring in surroundings of this sort because they were making men of their participants and moulding their lives as mere conventional law suits in times of peace and order cannot make and mould, and Wolcott was in the midst of them. He had obtained the fortunate position of referee, and for months there gathered in his office the herd of witnesses to testify, and lawyers to examine.

There was Harry Thornton from California, the leading mining lawyer of his day, a splendid type of the Southern gentleman. There was Clarence King, a geologist, of wonderful acumen in his scientific specialty. Bright as these men were they found their equal in the young attorney writing out the evidence, interspersed with gems of wit and keen but good-natured sarcasm, not writable into the record, but effective to win admiration and friends. Henry M. Teller was the leading counsel for the Pelican, and little was it then imagined that himself and the referee would afterward split a Republican National Convention into two wings following the divided counsels of the Teller and the Wolcott factions.

Evidently the mining litigation produced an improvement in Mr. Wolcott's fortunes, for it scarcely had begun when he wrote home, saying:

"Business is good, and if my manner of living was even decently economical, I would even now be able to lay up something. As I told you in my last, I fear that for the

first few months after my partner returns we will be pretty poor."

After the settlement of the big mining controversy business was comparatively quiet, and our lawyer is found making a visit to Denver early in August in the hope of obtaining the nomination for District Attorney on behalf of the territory, in which, while he did not succeed, we are told by him that he "made a fair run, and would have had no difficulty whatever if my papers had been right for admission to the bar." This information is obtained from a letter written by Mr. Wolcott to his father on August 12th, and other accounts bear out the information that for a time he stood a fair show of obtaining this nomination. That he should have made so excellent an impression within the less than twelve months' time that he had been in Colorado certainly speaks well for both his legal ability and his capacity for making friends.

Following the effort for the District Attorneyship he dissolved his partnership with Mr. Pope. Business had fallen off, and his partner had returned to divide with him the slender receipts of the office. He did not enjoy making this division, and apparently had reached the conclusion that the partner was not earning his share of the receipts. Consequently, he decided to dissolve the partnership. Giving his reasons to his father, he says: "Business has been very quiet for the last two months. As soon as I can raise the money to buy some law-books, I shall dissolve my connection with my partner. He is a chivalrous, lazy Southerner, gentlemanly, and polite; but, after all, his name 'Pope' [Mr. Wolcott's mother's maiden name] is about the only good thing about him."

This determination to enter upon the practice alone did not assume definite form until well along in the fall, when, finding that his partner had taken out of the business over $800 more than he [Wolcott] had drawn, he decided definitely upon the step, and soon afterward acted in accordance with his decision.

The dissolution of partnership came on the first of November, 1872, and we find Mr. Wolcott on the next day writing his first letter under his own individual letter-head,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, AT ABOUT THE AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE.

which was a neat inscription, making the following announcement to the world:

E. O. WOLCOTT,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

GEORGETOWN, COLO.

CONDITIONS IN COLORADO

The young man had enough of leisure in those days to afford time for writing accounts of the country. One of these descriptions in a letter to his father dated October 24th is worth copying. He says:

You use in your letter the term "frontier post." It is peculiarly appropriate. A person is apt to think of the mountain towns of Colorado as being, to be sure, in the Far West, but also, as being on the way to something beyond. This is entirely inaccurate. Get a recent map and you will see that the point where the Union Pacific Railroad crosses the Range is far north of us. No practicable route has ever been projected for hundreds of miles south of us. The Rocky Mountains stand like a Chinese Wall west, forbidding progress in that direction. There is no town west of Georgetown for a hundred miles north or south, till you reach Salt Lake City.

Georgetown is now growing rapidly. We have fourteen lawyers to a population of 2000, but very likely any year some El Dorado will spring up somewhere hereabouts entirely eclipsing it. The saddest thing to me, in Colorado, is the deserted settlements. I can now recall, within a radius of forty miles, at least eight towns, all of which have since 1859 exceeded Georgetown in population at the present time, and some of them reaching as high as 5000 people, the population of which now varies from one to ten inhabitants.

Colorado is enormously rich in minerals. One reason why we are now depressed is because in the latter years of the war and just after its close, everybody was rich in greenbacks and restless and speculative. The consequence was that properties here that would pay a good dividend on fifty or one hundred thousand dollars, were put upon the market and sold at prices ranging from three to five million dollars and were of course failures; and people East considered Colorado mines a humbug. New

York City alone has invested over a hundred million dollars in mining property in the territory. But the country is destined to have a glorious future.

A few days later we discover the young man moralizing over the fascination and uncertainty of mining as a business, and as he was writing on a Saturday night, he gave an incidental insight into the condition of religious matters at this "frontier post" at that time. Business was depressed, not because the mines were not producing well, but because the reducing works were not able to handle the ores. "I am," he writes, after midnight following a Saturday, "feeling particularly blue over the outlook, and it occurred to me as a happy thought to write and tell somebody about it." Speaking of the large number of miners that had been in town on that day, he said they were seldom seen at any other time and that they generally brought an influx of business. Proceeding, he says:

You can have no idea what a fascinating thing mining is. If a man has a good paying lode he is wholly independent. In every other business, as that of a merchant, agent or professional man you must toady to some one. But a miner has his wealth and his sustenance down in the rock and is "beholden to nobody"; and when a man does make money out of his mine (which happens in about one instance in forty) he always makes it fast. The money in mining, however, is in selling, for you get it all at once.

Coming then to the consideration of the churches, he speaks of having met the Congregational pastor, a Mr. Tuthill. "I shall go to hear him preach to-morrow, D. V.," he writes, and then adds: "Religion in this country is at a pretty low ebb. I believe Mr. Tuthill has four or five members. The Presbyterians are building a fine stone church. They are away ahead in this territory. They are great proselyters and have excellent go-ahead managers."

As late as May 22, 1876, in a letter to his father Mr. Wolcott makes a record of one of Colorado's late spring outbursts of weather, which every one who has lived in that mountainous region for any length of time

will recognize as true to nature. "After revelling for the past fortnight in almost Italian weather, we awoke this morning," he says, "to find the snow more than eighteen inches on a level, and so drifted that for the first time in four years no coach is able to leave or arrive. In fact," he adds facetiously, "navigation is closed, and were it not that I am always anxious to hear from home I should wish it to stay closed for a twelve-months."

As going to show that he had by no means lost his interest in the churches and that he was not above cracking a joke at their expense, he writes on the same date, mixing somewhat his Bible quotation:

> There is no business yet to speak of, and I have rushed into a new extravagance. I have rented one of the most desirable pews in the Presbyterian Church (the Congregational Church has closed up by reason of the measles having settled in the last pastor's head). I hesitated awhile about renting this pew, but remembered what the inspired Psalmist said: "He that giveth to the Lord lendeth to the poor, and after many days it shall return unto him, to some tenfold, to some an hundred-fold."
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> I went to church twice yesterday and sat for half an hour while the minister preached from a text somewhere in Amos, about a dream some fellow had in which he saw God standing with a plumb-line, such as was used especially in building the Hoosac tunnel. But the preaching is as good as we pay for. And then the minister has three pretty daughters; but I have n't met them yet.

AS EDITOR

Mention has been made of the fact that for a time Mr. Wolcott wielded the editorial pen on the daily *Georgetown Miner*. He engaged only incidentally in newspaper work, and never abandoned his law practice for it. Most of his newspaper writing was done at night, and after the legal cares of the day had been put aside. In addition to writing for the *Miner*, he contributed a number of letters to the Cleveland papers, soon after he went to Georgetown, and on one occasion he entertained a desire to form a connection as a regular correspondent for one of them. His association with the *Miner* lasted from April 14 to July 28, 1873.

His work seems to have consisted of a mixture of editorial writing and reporting, but it is evident that he gave comparatively little attention to either branch. As a specimen of his editorial productions, the following from the *Miner* of July 10th of the year mentioned must suffice:

Poets have sung of the afflictions of poverty, orators have descanted on its trials, and artists have depicted its terrors, since thoughts were first recorded and pigments known, but seldom has there been a period when the complaints of hard times have been so general and universal as the present. For our own part we see but little difference in the recurring years, as we are in such a continual state of dead brokedness, that we have come to consider it as our normal condition, and accept it as the inevitable. At first it was rather annoying to be eternally dunned by persistent creditors, but one finally becomes used to everything—even the patient eel loses his skin without a murmur—and now after our long experience we can smile blandly at those we owe, and keep our equanimity during the most unpleasant interviews. Some of the creditors are not as philosophical, and foolishly lose their tempers; but then they will learn better, poor fellows, in time, and we hopefully look forward to a peaceful future.

Ever since the war, more or less complaint of the scarcity of money, and the dullness of business, has prevailed. This is due in a great degree, no doubt, to the extravagant habits contracted during the flush years of greenbacks, fat contracts, and reckless speculation, when money was thought fit only to be squandered in riotous living and shoddy displays, so that when new greenbacks ceased to be issued, and opportunities for drawing on the government purse were withdrawn, people could not content themselves with moderate incomes. A sum which before the war was thought ample for all necessities, is now looked upon as a mere pittance. What was formerly classed among the luxuries, is now considered as indispensable. All this of course makes it difficult to fall back upon legitimate business, and ordinary remuneration, and causes us to consider the times unusually hard.

We must learn to live less expensively, and content ourselves with fewer extravagancies, before we can hope to become really prosperous as a people. In our own midst the money which is being made is less generally scattered than heretofore. As much ore is being sold, apparently, as at any previous time, but it is

produced by fewer mines. Last year the float ore from Leavenworth was affording remunerative employment to many, and more mines were being successfully developed by private parties than now, so that money was more equally distributed. To-day the main recipients from our ore-buyers can be easily numbered on our fingers, and the community as a whole are comparatively poor.

That this state of affairs will gradually rectify itself is very probable. We are learning, from necessity, to become more economical in our habits, and more careful in our ventures, all of which will, in the end, result in good.

In an article printed on the 3d of July, 1873, Mr. Wolcott related an incident of the then recent visit of President Grant to the new mining regions. The President had made a brief stop at the town of Idaho Springs, which, like Georgetown, was an important mining centre in Clear Creek County, and while there, according to our reporter's testimony, he was approached by two mysterious strangers who were prospectors, each of whom handed to him a sealed envelope containing a properly acknowledged deed to a half interest in a mine. In both cases the donors disappeared without then making themselves known, but the name of one of the men afterward came out and proved to be that of an old soldier who had fought under Grant in the Peninsular campaign.

In this case the mine was subsequently developed, and Mr. Wolcott tells us that at the depth of fifty feet the owner came upon "a body of ore abundant enough and rich enough to turn the brain of the oldest prospector." Further along in the story, he says that the body of the ore increased in size and the pay streak in richness with increasing depth, until one assay was procured which indicated a value of $19,280 to the ton.

Unfortunately the name both of the miner and his mine were withheld by the writer of the story, so that the historical revelation of this modern Golconda must remain incomplete. It does not appear that General Grant placed either deed on record, but Mr. Wolcott expressed confidence that he had been informed regarding the value of the property of which he was half owner. Mr. Wolcott adds:

"What his future course will be we do not know; we respectfully suggest, however, that the President insist that our delegate to Congress, Honorable J. B. Chaffee, who is an experienced miner, shall come to Colorado at once and look after the property."

Thus disposing of his story, the young lawyer-editor indulges in a little sentimentality as follows:

> So fortune smiles upon the deserving. The hero of a hundred battle-fields, who now wears the laurels he so nobly won, may yet, after his retirement from his high office, seek in Colorado, among our majestic peaks, a place of retirement and a home; and our mountains may pour into his coffers, from their abundance, a fortune which will be a fit recompense to him, and a tribute from Colorado.

The editorial work scarcely had been begun before it was found to be somewhat onerous, for as early as May 7th we find Mr. Wolcott saying to his parents: "This editorial business is troubling me considerably. I know I could do well at it if I really had the time, but I am busy all day, and when night comes the printers are calling for copy, and I have to write it out without time to think or correct." If his writing for the *Miner* was a bit amateurish this confession was a sufficient explanation.

This seems to have been his last venture as an editorial writer, but he was afterward identified more or less intimately with the management of the *Denver Tribune*. He seldom, however, wrote for that paper, and his interest was largely of a political character.

From this time forward for a year or two, Mr. Wolcott's life seems to have been without especial incident, until November, 1874, when he made a visit to the family home in Cleveland. We may imagine him going along from day to day, attending to his duties as they came to him, getting probably more of business than his share among the fourteen lawyers of the camp. Once in a while he seems to have stopped long enough to write a letter to the homefolks, and in those days he spoke frequently of the prosperous

outlook of his section of the territory. He never, however, ceased to turn his gaze toward the Eastern States as a place of residence. On March 4, 1874, we find him writing to his parents:

Georgetown is very quiet, but it is becoming more prosperous every season. It never will be a large place, but with the exception of portions of Nevada this vicinity undoubtedly contains the best and richest silver mines in the country. A man who attends to business ought to make a comfortable fortune in ten or fifteen years. I hope to do this and then move back into New England, the only civilized section in the United States. I would rather live in Boston, I think, than anywhere else in the world. I wish Father would get a call to some Eastern church, even if it is a small one and in some quiet village.

On the 19th of February, 1875, three months after his return from his visit to Cleveland, he writes: "I figured up my business yesterday. Since my return I have taken in about $1100. I have paid some old debts, but it is like dropping it into a well; it does n't seem to make an impression. The Lord knows I don't mean to squander money, but the amount that seems to go to pay my expenses is a very extravagant sum."

DISTRICT ATTORNEY

IN 1876, the Centennial year and the year in which Colorado was admitted as a State into the Union, Mr. Wolcott was elected to the two offices of State's Attorney for the district in which he lived, the First District of the State, and Town Attorney for Georgetown, which offices he continued to hold until elected to the State Senate in 1878, when he resigned from both of them. The judicial district was comprised of Clear Creek, Gilpin, Jefferson, Boulder, Summit, and Grand counties, and included such towns as Georgetown, Idaho Springs, Central City, Blackhawk, Golden, Boulder, Longmont, Breckenridge, and Hot Sulphur Springs.

He had obtained his formal admission to the bar in 1873, and when these two offices came to him had been in active practice for three years, but without going much into the courts. One writer of the time attributes his nomination and election to the good influences of his brother Henry and the latter's associate in business, Professor Hill. Doubtless they were of material assistance to him, for, notwithstanding they resided in another county, they had become large purchasers of Clear Creek ores and were necessarily possessed of extensive influence among the miners in that county. But, while others may have given assistance, there can be little doubt that Ed Wolcott's own personality was the greatest factor in his election. Always a man of exceptional magnetism, he made friends easily, and it may be imagined that a strong personal following went into the district convention in his support.

Mr. Wolcott was placed in nomination by Mr. Nathan S.

Hurd, then a resident of Georgetown, but for many years afterward of Denver. Speaking in 1910 of the incident, Mr. Hurd said that, in addition to himself, Mr. Wolcott's especial Georgetown friends and supporters in that contest had been William A. Clark, who afterward became Secretary of State for Colorado; William Campbell; James White; Horace Atkins; General William A. Hamill; William Barton; G. W. Hall; Daniel Glaye; Edward Eddy; William Spruance; Judge McCoy; and Ed Parmelee, all of whom except Mr. Hurd have "crossed the Great Divide."

The nomination once obtained, the election, which occurred in October, 1876, and which was the first after the admission of the State into the Union, resulted in Wolcott's success by a handsome majority. The most populous of the six counties comprising the district were securely Republican in politics, and in those times a nomination on a Republican ticket was almost equivalent to an election. Hon. Platt Rogers, still a prominent attorney in Denver, was Wolcott's opponent, and he was beaten by a majority of 805.

Corresponding majorities were not necessarily the rule in the State as an entirety at that time. It will be recalled that the Colorado ballot for the year under consideration proved to be of momentous national consequence.

When the territory was admitted to the Union, its delegate in Congress was Hon. Thomas M. Patterson, a staunch Democrat. The Democratic party had assisted in bringing in the new State in the expectation that it would continue in the Democratic column. Colorado, however, cast her first Presidential vote for Rutherford B. Hayes, and thus decided the great contest of 1876 in his favor. If the Democratic expectation had been realized and Colorado had gone Democratic, Samuel J. Tilden would have been President for four years regardless of the votes of the contested States. The entire Republican State ticket also was successful. Most of the counties, especially in the northern part of the State, went Republican, a Republican Legislature was elected, and Mr. Wolcott was landed on this tidal wave.

The election to the office of Town Attorney followed the other election about six months afterward. It occurred April 17, 1877, and Mr. Wolcott served as attorney for the

town corporation at the same time that Jacob Fillius, who afterward studied law in his office, was Mayor. The duties of the Town Attorneyship were not in any respect onerous; nor did they conflict with his service as District Attorney. While acting for the town he compiled the ordinances of the municipality.

AN ERA OF GROWTH

Important as was the District Attorneyship on its own account, its real significance in the case of Mr. Wolcott is to be found in the bearing it had upon his subsequent career. It did much to make the man. Theretofore Mr. Wolcott had been known as "a good fellow." He had many friends and was popular; but, like most young men, was not possessed of a very great sense of responsibility or of his own importance as a factor in the world. The duties of his office were exacting, and he soon came to know that he had not entered upon any boy's play. He rose to the occasion. Indeed, it is evident that from the beginning of his term he was impressed with the seriousness of the work he had undertaken, and there is abundant record of the efficiency of his administration. Writing thirty years afterward, a prominent resident of Georgetown said:

> He was the most energetic and the most successful District Attorney we ever had. Human life was held rather lightly in Georgetown at that time, and, as a result, there were many violent deaths. He undertook to bring some of the murderers to punishment, and did so, having the record of being a terror to evil-doers in this respect. During the two years after his assumption of that office, he sent four to the penitentiary for life, besides bringing to punishment a number of minor criminals.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's career as District Attorney, Mr. Hurd says that it was brilliant from the start.

> Energetic, untiring, and persistent, he never let up [writes Mr. Hurd]. In Georgetown, where I knew more about his work than in any other part of the District, he cleared out a gang of ore thieves and ore salters, and sent them all to the penitentiary. He was a terror to evil-doers, and a joy to all honest

men. When he left his office, the whole district was satisfied with his record. Democrats as well as Republicans regretted to have him quit the work.

In view of this record, it is interesting to mention the fact, recalled by one of Mr. Wolcott's old-time Georgetown friends, that when Wolcott received the nomination for the office the principal opposition to him was on the ground that he would not prosecute offenders because of his good nature and of his attitude toward all classes. There then were three or four men in jail awaiting trial for murder, and the chief argument made by his opponents was that he would not convict these men, although it was known they were guilty. He surprised both friends and enemies by convicting every one of the prisoners. What he did in Clear Creek County he did in degree in other counties of the district.

The work of a prosecuting attorney was, however, distasteful to him, because he disliked to deal with criminal matters. Indeed, within a day or two after his election and long before he assumed office, we find him telling his father in a letter how uninviting the outlook was to him.

> I have always shunned criminal business [he says], and I have a great deal of work to do in studying the procedure as well as the law. I shall not be able to qualify, probably, before the December term of court here, and I look forward to it with some dread. There are two cases of murder, continued over from last term, besides any quantity of new business, and this all in one term. Those pending cases haunt me already. Unless this office changes me greatly, I shall never be fitted for that kind of work, and in my district there will probably be three or four such cases. But "fiat justitia!"

So seriously had he taken the matter of criminal prosecutions that by the time he had been in office a month he was contemplating resigning on account of them, as will be seen by reference to a letter to his parents of date December 13, 1876, in which he said:

> There is another term of the court here next month, and

it will be a very busy one for me. I shall have three murder cases to try, one, quite recent, having been committed under circumstances of peculiar brutality. I shall undoubtedly be able to hang the murderer, and then I think I shall have done enough, and may be allowed to resign my office in favor of some one who is more fond of that sort of business. In spite of what anybody may say, a familiarity with crime and criminals breeds an indifference to them and deadens the sensibilities.

He did not resign at that time nor at all on account of the obnoxious character of the work, and by April 8, 1877, he was beginning to accept the situation with more complacency. "I am," he says, writing to a sister on that date, "kept very busy most of the time and rather like it. I have already been the means (under Providence) of sending several poor fellows to the penitentiary for various terms, from ten years down, and have some more serious crimes to prosecute the coming three months." He added: "This isn't very entertaining reading I fear, but don't exactly know what else to write about; so I talk shop."

But a few days later, when the spectre of another capital case presented itself, he reverted to his previous state of mind. A murder was committed in Georgetown in April, 1877, and after expressing his regret at having to try the case he adds: "Anything of a less degree than murder I can prosecute with something akin to pleasure if I believe the party to be guilty. Otherwise," he adds, "I never prosecute."

February 3, 1878, he wrote from Blackhawk to his father and mother, saying:

I haven't written home for some little time, but I have been busy in court at Georgetown every day for more than three weeks. I came over here last night, and go to Boulder tomorrow. Court opens there on Tuesday morning. My office is not a lucrative one, but the practice and training are a good deal, and my civil business is increasing constantly. We had two murder cases at Georgetown, and both the prisoners have been sentenced to imprisonment for life. There is another murder case at Boulder to try and still another here, in March. I am sick of them.

In September of the same year he writes his father taking a more cheerful view of his duties. In this letter he shows appreciation of the effect of his work upon his own character. He says:

I had the most extraordinary good fortune at this term of court, and succeeded in convicting every man I prosecuted. The murderer was sentenced to the penitentiary for life, and three other criminals, one for five years and two for four years each,—a larger batch of them than have been convicted in Clear Creek County for the last ten years altogether. It has made already a wonderful change in my position here, and I hope it won't spoil me. I lack confidence and ambition and feel that I shall never do so well again. I go to Central to-morrow, where court opens on Tuesday and where I have a month's hard work before me, one murderer to try and perhaps two.

Christmas, 1877, witnessed a lynching in Georgetown. A man named Schmale had been arrested on the charge of committing a murder, and after his incarceration he was taken out of prison and hanged. Mr. Wolcott's account of the incident is brief, but it affords a graphic view of the condition of society at the time. He writes:

I sent you a paper the other day containing the account of the hanging of Schmale, arrested for murder. I would be most willing to prosecute the lynchers, but unfortunately no grand jury here would indict them. I understand that the preacher at the Presbyterian Church here applauded the action of the mob in a sermon on the succeeding Sabbath. I hope to get a rap at him in some way.

The last murder prosecution with which he was connected was conducted in Leadville in 1884. This was six years after his term as prosecuting attorney had expired and he was employed as special counsel in the case. Writing to his father on December 22d that year, he said:

"I go to Leadville to-night to help prosecute a murder case. The prisoner has means and is 70 years old, and I have little hope of convicting. I don't care for this sort of thing, but I could not decline in this instance. My business is good."

Another reason why Mr. Wolcott disliked the criminal business is found in the fact that it interfered with his private practice. While the work of prosecution was more spectacular it did not bring in so much money as a similar amount of civil business would have brought. It served to advertise him for the other line of work, and then robbed him of the time for attending to it.

The salary paid the District Attorney was only $800 a year, but the fees brought the remuneration up to $2500 or $3000. For successful indictments the fees in those days were $10; for each trial for a misdemeanor $15; for an ordinary felony $25; for capital cases $50. "My predecessors," he wrote to his parents, "have made a regular business of each term indicting liquor saloons and disreputable houses for the purpose of levying a sort of blackmail. This I will not do, and it will cut down my income from the office considerably."

DEVELOPING THE ORATOR

The most important influence of this office upon Mr. Wolcott's own fortunes was on his standing as a jury lawyer and a public speaker. Previous to taking the position, he was so timid that he could not bring himself to address a court. Confident of his real ability in that direction, his friends found a means of forcing him to a trial of his powers with wonderful results, as is told elsewhere.

Of the six counties constituting the First Judicial District, three have claimed the honor of being the scene of Mr. Wolcott's first oratorical triumph at the bar. One authority has given the credit to Gilpin County, Mr. Wolcott's first stopping place in Colorado, while another has laid the scene in Clear Creek County. But both were in error. Boulder County and the city of Boulder may properly claim all the credit. Hon. Clinton Reed, now of Denver, but formerly of Central City, who was Mr. Wolcott's predecessor as District Attorney furnishes the following account:

Mr. Wolcott and myself were very well acquainted and became quite intimate and were associated, more or less, in law and politics, while Mr. Wolcott lived in Georgetown and I in

Central City. Mr. Wolcott's first effort in arguing a case before a jury, or in making a public speech of any kind, was soon after his election. I had been District Attorney for that district and was familiar with the cases then pending, which would be brought on for trial at the ensuing term, which commenced the first Monday in November. Mr. Wolcott knew nothing about the cases, and wished me to go with him to Boulder a day ahead of the time of the opening of court, and go over the criminal docket with him.

We accordingly went to Boulder on a Saturday and spent the remainder of the day in looking over the records of the criminal cases on the docket, and, in fact, spent most of Sunday the same way.

Court was duly convened and the first trials, as usual, were the trials of criminal cases. The first case was one in which a man had been indicted at a previous term for grand larceny —the stealing, as I now recollect it, of a cow, steer, or some other domestic animal. A jury was empanelled and Mr. Wolcott was to try the case. Being there at his request, I sat with him when the trial began, and he said to me: "Now, if I make any blunders about this thing, I want you to correct me."

The trial proceeded and he examined the witnesses in a very clear and forceful manner. There was such directness and so much force behind his questions that even a reluctant witness could not have withheld any knowledge which he might have had concerning the matters at hand. He did the work in a manner which would have indicated that he had had much experience in examining witnesses before a jury, although this was the first jury case he ever had tried.

He had practiced before the court before that time and was esteemed as a promising lawyer, but, while not many of his associates or acquaintances knew it, Mr. Wolcott was naturally a very modest or diffident person. In fact, at one time previous to the time I speak about, he told me that he felt he had had a good many opportunities to go in and make a speech; that he had in mind just what ought to be said, but had never been able to get up and say it. In fact, he said that he had stood on the outside when political meetings were going on and wished that he had nerve enough to go in and take a hand in the discussion which was going on and say what he wanted to say; but he had always been restrained by the fear that he would make a failure of it.

The examination of the witnesses was concluded and the time

came for him to address the jury, which he did; and while I might be mistaken as to the time he consumed in his speech, I do not believe it was more than five or ten minutes. He was the most rapid talker I have ever heard, and in that brief time he explained the case fully and in a very able manner to the jury. In fact, it was as effective a speech to a jury as I have ever heard.

When he sat down, he turned to me and whispered, "How was it; did I cover all the points?"

"Yes," I said; "completely."

"How long did I talk?" he then asked.

"Well," I said, "I think you talked about half an hour; you have convicted your man." At which he seemed much pleased.

"Do you know, Clint," he said, "I could not see a single one of those jurymen all the time I was speaking?"

That speech was the beginning of Mr. Wolcott's wonderful career as an orator, and, if that beginning was an honor to the county in which it occurred, I insist that Boulder County is entitled to the credit of his first oratorical triumph. It cleared away and banished forever all doubt that he might have had as to his being an orator, and from that time on he never hesitated a particle when called upon to address a jury or make a speech at any political function.

Harper M. Orahood, of Denver, who succeeded Mr. Wolcott as District Attorney, as Mr. Reed had preceded him, and who was Wolcott's deputy while he held the office, also has kindly supplied a brief reminiscence of his chief's disinclination in the early days of his career to face the court. Mr. Orahood says that the feeling was so pronounced that at one time Mr. Wolcott seriously contemplated quitting the practice of the law. He adds:

During Mr. Wolcott's incumbency of the office of District Attorney I did a great deal of his detail work, especially in the preparation of indictments and pleadings in criminal cases and also did a great deal of his court work. He was very liberal indeed in the matter of fees in the cases. He received a salary of $800 a year from the State, and I received a greater part of the fees which were charged and paid by the counties. His election to the office of District Attorney had the desired effect and the work seemed to overcome his fear of appearing in court

and before a jury. The office of District Attorney and the prosecution of criminal cases made it absolutely necessary for him to take the initiative and to assume the burden, usually from start to finish. In the meantime he had opened his office and was practicing law in Georgetown, Clear Creek County. He was immediately retained in important mining litigation and took a leading place at the bar as a mining attorney.

Mr. Hurd also testifies to Mr. Wolcott's timidity when on his feet. He says:

I remember that after Mr. Wolcott had received the nomination, it was talked over and seriously regretted that *he could not talk,* and in after years I would sit and wonder when he filled the largest halls and held his audiences spellbound with his splendid individuality and his matchless eloquence, how it could be that the stammering, blundering boy could ever have obtained such eminence.

Mr. Fillius, who already has been quoted, has supplied the writer with his recollection of one incident illustrating not only Mr. Wolcott's eloquence, but his direct and straightforward methods as well. The case referred to by Mr. Fillius was a criminal prosecution of two prisoners of which Mr. Wolcott was in charge and in which Mr. George G. White and Mr. R. S. Morrison represented the defence. The defendants were James Jones and Charles May.

Mr. White [says Mr. Fillius] had quite a reputation as a criminal lawyer and in his address to the jury referred to the fact that the prosecution had introduced and examined two young boys as witnesses, perhaps twelve and fourteen years of age, saying that Mr. Wolcott had not only talked with them prior to their testimony, which was quite proper, but that he had also coached them as to what to say, which was manifestly improper. In his closing address to the jury, Mr. Wolcott used substantially these words:

"I am charged by the leading counsel for the defence with having not only talked to these boys, but with having coached them in respect to their testimony in this case. That I talked to them I admit, but that I coached them as to a single word as to what their testimony should be, I utterly deny. I taught them, in the single interview I had with them, the obligation

of an oath; that a human life was at stake; that I wanted them to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and to do this in their own simple way. Gentlemen of the jury, you have seen these boys upon the stand, and have heard their testimony, and I leave it to you to say whether they testified truthfully or not. I know that what I taught those boys that day, if remembered by them, will make them better citizens when they arrive at man's estate." It is unnecessary to say [adds Mr. Fillius] that the jury promptly brought in a verdict of murder in the first degree.

Speaking of the same case, Mr. Morrison also testifies to Mr. Wolcott's able management of it, and he adds an interesting sequel. He says that, next to Mr. Wolcott, Mr. White was the most powerful advocate at the bar of Clear Creek County, and, proceeding with his narrative, says:

Both defendants were convicted, and an overwhelming torrent of eloquence held spellbound the audience and the jury. In particular in the case of May, the defence was broken down and a verdict secured of a degree of homicide greater than the facts on cold examination would justify. In all ages the prosecution has striven for the greatest results obtainable and sometimes the gift of persuasion has induced juries to severity greater than the crime demanded. In this instance after a part of the sentence had been served, Mr. Wolcott acceded to the petition for clemency and May was pardoned.

Both Mr. Fillius and Mr. Morrison pay high tribute to Mr. Wolcott's newly developed oratorical ability. We quote Mr. Morrison elsewhere. Mr. Fillius says:

"I well remember the magnetic influence that he had in those days before a jury. He was practically irresistible. His method of conducting a prosecution was eminently fair. He was most resourceful, his mentality acute and his instant grasp of a legal proposition was little short of genius."

THE STATE SENATE

MR. WOLCOTT'S friends were not long in determining that he should have a more congenial field for the exercise of his newly discovered gifts.

Before his term as District Attorney had expired in 1878, he was elected as a member of the Senate in the second General Assembly of the Colorado Legislature, and at the same election his brother Henry was chosen for the same body from Gilpin County. Professor Hill had become a candidate for the United States Senate, and the Wolcotts entered the legislative contest for the avowed purpose of aiding his ambition.

As we have seen, Mr. Hill was at the head of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Works, then located at Blackhawk, when, in 1869, Henry Wolcott, and in 1871, Ed Wolcott, emigrated to Colorado. He and his family were people of culture, and as both Mr. and Mrs. Hill had been acquainted with Dr. Wolcott in the Eastern home, it was most natural that his two sons should have been attracted to the Hill residence, then the centre of refined society in northern Colorado. Long before Ed's arrival, Henry had found what was to him a second home at Professor Hill's residence, and, before that date also had been given a responsible position in connection with the management of the Hill works. When the younger brother reached Colorado he was hospitably received by the friend of his brother and offered the same congenial association and agreeable surroundings. Both of the brothers were at all times most outspoken in their appreciation of the courtesy and kindness shown them.

But, while Mr. Hill was a hospitable and educated man,

he was inexperienced in politics, and, as will be shown in the end, did not prove successful as a political leader. He never had given attention to politics, and while he showed an aptitude in the study of some phases of political economy, he soon became involved to such an extent in the practical side of political life as to bewilder and in the end defeat himself. Consequently, while successful in his first race for the Senate in 1879, he failed of re-election after one term, and never succeeded in regaining his influence in the management of Colorado's political affairs.

The selection of Mr. Hill as Senator in 1879 was due almost entirely to the active support of the Wolcott brothers and of their friend General William A. Hamill, of Clear Creek County.

General Hamill was one of the strongest men who ever figured in Colorado politics. An Englishman by birth, he had spent most of his life in the United States and for several years had been in charge of the Terrible Mine at Georgetown, which was owned by an English syndicate. He was the possessor of some wealth. He had the peculiar faculty of controlling men without saying much to them. No man who ever has participated in Colorado politics has been more successful in deciphering a situation and in so directing events as to influence results. He read men as easily as he read books. He knew from very slight indications what this local leader or that would do, and he was so familiar with conditions in the State that he was able often to command a situation where others would have failed. He was in the prime of a vigorous manhood when he went to Georgetown, and he and Ed Wolcott soon were close friends. Mr. Hamill was acquainted with Professor Hill, and naturally would have been his friend regardless of the Wolcott influence; but there is little doubt that he was induced by the younger Wolcott to enter with his whole heart into the contest in Hill's behalf. Thus was Mr. Hill supplied with a political manager of rare ability.

The opening for Mr. Hill's candidacy was made by Senator Chaffee, whom he succeeded. As has been narrated, Mr. Chaffee was chosen one of the first two Senators from the State. His election and that of his colleague, Senator

Teller, occurred in November, 1876, but the terms for which they were chosen were brief. One of these terms must expire March 4, 1877, and the other March 4, 1879. They drew lots, and the shorter term fell to Mr. Teller. Mr. Teller was re-elected in 1877 and thus was started on his long legislative career.

That, but for his own act, Mr. Chaffee would have been the choice of the people and of the Legislature in 1879, there can be little doubt. He was a pioneer. He not only had been engaged in mining and banking since the earliest days of the settlement of the territory, but he had been much in politics, and was greatly admired by a large following. But before the end of his short term, without consulting his friends in Colorado, he announced a determination not to be a candidate for re-election. The step was much regretted by his Colorado supporters, some of whom, notwithstanding his announcement, insisted upon keeping his name to the front as a candidate. This course he did not specifically discourage, but in the face of the activity of the Hill forces, there never was a chance for him after his first announcement.

Mr. Chaffee's determination was based upon his ill health, the beginning of the kidney trouble which caused his death in 1884. His business interests, which were large and complicated, also had much to do with his decision.

The announcement of his intention was made just at the time that the politicians were beginning to prepare for the campaign of 1878. Mr. Chaffee's letter had such important bearing upon early Colorado politics and was so potent a factor in bringing Mr. Wolcott to the front that it is deemed worth while to reproduce it here, and it is given entire:

NEW YORK, May 30, 1878.

Hon. W. H. PIERCE, Chairman Republican State Committee:

SIR: I desire to make known to the Republicans of the State, through you, that I cannot be a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. My health will not permit me to take any active part in the ensuing canvass of the State, and I have concluded that the time long sought for by me for retiring from politics has arrived. I now gladly avail myself of the

opportunity of making public this decision. I am sensibly impressed with the uniform kindness and the generosity of my friends and party in times past. I have always been generously sustained by the people of the territory and the State, for which I shall always be grateful beyond the power of words to express. It is better to leave my record to the public, but I hope I may be pardoned in saying that my aim has always been for the public good. I beg of my friends to believe that I have not come to this conclusion hastily. It has long been my wish to retire from political life, and I would have done so upon the admission of the State into the Union, except that the political situation at that time seemed to demand the utmost exertion of all true patriots. Hoping the Republican party may continue successful in the State and country, I am, very truly

Your obedient servant,

JEROME B. CHAFFEE.

The publication of Mr. Chaffee's letter had a startling effect upon the Republicans of the State. The preponderance of the Republican party had not been established sufficiently to cause its adherents to feel sure of their ground. All appreciated that Mr. Chaffee's retirement meant division of counsel and a scramble for his place, and there were grave apprehensions that it would be difficult to find a worthy successor to him. Many names were mentioned, but none seemed to meet the requirements until Professor Hill's candidacy was announced. He was accepted immediately by many as a thoroughly available man, and Mr. Chaffee himself wrote him a letter of warm endorsement. The latter's friends were, however, unwilling to give him up, and they were so persistent in their advocacy of his re-election as to somewhat complicate the situation.

Mr. R. G. Dill, in his valuable little book, *Political Campaigns of Colorado,* has supplied an account of the inception of Mr. Hill's candidacy which throws light on that gentleman's campaign. After stating the intimate relationship between Mr. Wolcott and General Hamill, Mr. Dill says that following a conference between the two, Mr. Wolcott went to Blackhawk to consult his brother regarding the possibility of Hill's candidacy.

The result of his mission [says Mr. Dill] was that shortly

afterward Professor Hill visited General Hamill at Georgetown. During this conference the situation was thoroughly discussed, and after a careful and critical canvass of Mr. Hill's chances throughout the State, Professor Hill agreed that, if Hamill would take the chairmanship of the State Committee, he would become a candidate for the United States Senate.

That Mr. Wolcott made the race simply to accommodate Professor Hill and to please his brother Henry is apparent from a letter written to his parents just before beginning the contest. The letter covers several interesting points and is given practically entire:

GEORGETOWN, COL., Aug. 12, 1878.

MY DEAR PARENTS:

Father's letter was forwarded to me at Denver, where I have been for the past week, in attendance upon the Republican State Convention.

My sincere wish would be to keep out of politics altogether; I am no politician. I have no aspirations, and at heart I have more sympathy with the Hayes than with the Grant faction of the party. But there is a possibility of my being wanted in the State Senate for a certain purpose, and in that case, I shall, if I receive the nomination, run for office this fall. It is at the sacrifice of my business, which is now growing immensely and of many of my prospects, which never looked so fair. But I am under obligations to both Prof. Hill and Henry that such a sacrifice would not begin to repay.

It seems as if circumstances were against me. In the past years my habits and frequent absences almost destroyed my practice. Now, when, if I could devote myself at home constantly to my profession, it looks as though I could make something of a name and a fortune, I shall have to begin again.

In regard to moving to Denver, am quite undecided. My wisest policy would be to stay at Georgetown for the next three or four years, but it is hard to tell what I will do.

This letter is full of myself, but Father asked me the questions. We won the suit of the Government against the Smelting Company for $100,000 for cutting timber on government land.

I would esteem it a great favor if Father would send me

any good points, speeches, or otherwise, he picks up, as I may make a few speeches this month or next.

With love to all,

Ever your affectionate son,

Ed.

With Mr. Hill's candidacy decided upon, it was to be expected that the three men who had been most influential in bringing about this decision should be selected to take charge of the campaign. No man was stronger with the people in Gilpin County than was Henry Wolcott, and Ed had thoroughly popularized himself in Clear Creek. What more natural then than that these two brothers should be asked to enter the Legislature in Mr. Hill's behalf? This was the plan of General Hamill, who already had taken upon himself the management of the Hill contest, and in accordance with this plan the two brothers were nominated for the Senate, the one from Gilpin and the other from Clear Creek. Hamill became Chairman of the State Committee and commander-in-chief of the Hill forces.

The campaign was a spirited one. In Gilpin County Henry Wolcott had as his antagonist Dennis Sullivan, a Democrat of great popularity and a man of much strength of character. In Clear Creek there were two candidates opposed to Ed Wolcott. Henry was triumphantly elected over Mr. Sullivan, and Ed received more votes than both of his opponents. Ed canvassed his county under the direction of General Hamill, and Mr. Morrison, who was on the ground and entirely familiar with the circumstances, tells us that "there was not an element in political work which was not brought to bear in favor of Mr. Wolcott. The natural result followed and the night of the election was one of wild enthusiasm."

We find in the newspapers of the day only slight references to the campaign. The *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, the leading Democratic paper of the State, failing, of course, to appreciate the future prominence of the Republican candidate in Clear Creek County, mentioned his name only once during the contest, and this mention was

contained in a communication from a miner, who, writing on the 30th of September, said:

> E. O. Wolcott, the Republican candidate for the Senate, has been around interviewing many of us. But it won't do. The Old War-horse, Frank Bourne, has the inside track, and is bound to win. Bill Hamill has been marshalling the forces under his subordinates, and will strain every nerve, but it won't do—the people are tired of Republican misrule and will have a change. So look out for a rousing majority for Loveland [the Democratic candidate for governor] and a legislative ticket.

The "Old War-horse," however, failed to score.

General Hamill had done much as Chairman of the State Committee to insure the success of the Republican ticket, which was headed by Frederick W. Pitkin for Governor and Horace A. W. Tabor for Lieutenant-Governor. But while he had succeeded in landing the entire ticket he had given especial attention to the Legislature in the interest of his friend, Mr. Hill, with the result that out of an entire membership of sixty-two there were forty-six Republicans in the assembly.

HILL'S ELECTION

With Mr. Chaffee practically out of the race, the campaign had been made largely in Hill's interest, and there were no other pronounced candidates. Still, there was a large number of men in the State who had attained to positions of prominence, whose names were mentioned, and when the time approached for holding the caucus, several candidates developed, including Hon. George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo County, who afterward served a brief appointive term in the Senate; Hon. Samuel H. Elbert, who had been a territorial governor; Hon. Thomas M. Bowen, then a circuit judge, who later served six years in the Senate; Hon. W. S. Jackson, a banker of Colorado Springs, whose wife was Helen Hunt Jackson, known to literary fame as "H. H.," and who afterward became the receiver of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company, and Hon. John L. Routt, the last territorial and the first State governor.

All of these had their adherents, and it was found at the last moment that Mr. Chaffee's friends were also pressing his claims. Mr. Chaffee himself, however, refused to do anything in his own behalf, with the inevitable consequence that he failed of election, as did all of the other opponents of Mr. Hill. There were fifty-three votes cast in the caucus which was held on the night of January 9, 1879, and Mr. Hill was nominated on the fifth ballot, receiving thirty-two votes.

Senator Teller had been among those who advocated the re-election of Mr. Chaffee, so that when Mr. Hill entered the Senate the relations between the two Colorado Senators were somewhat strained. Instead of improving, they grew worse, and in time the Republican party of the State was divided into factions by these two leaders. For a period of years the feeling was intense, and personal resentment on the part of the chiefs was very marked.

In the early stages of the fight between Teller and Hill the two Wolcotts were enthusiastic adherents of the latter, and throughout Colorado they were known as the principal supporters of the junior Senator. In time, however, Edward Wolcott's championship of Mr. Hill grew less ardent, and he had quite abandoned the Hill standard before his own election to the Senate just ten years after Mr. Hill's election. By that time he had at least partly made terms with the opposing faction, and, when his election came on, he received the support of many of Mr. Teller's followers. One of the results of this dissension was the defeat in 1882 of Henry Wolcott for the nomination for Governor and the consequent election of the first Democratic Governor of the State.

STANDING IN THE STATE SENATE

We are, however, getting far ahead of our story. The activity of the Wolcotts at this period was not confined to the election of a United States Senator. They easily became the leaders of the Republican party in the upper house of the Legislature, and so pre-eminent was the combined ability of the two men that they dominated the entire assembly.

Henry Wolcott became President *pro tempore* of the Senate during the second term of his service, and Ed so outshone all other members as a public speaker that comparatively little attention was given to others who addressed the Senate. By the time he entered the Senate, he had come into complete possession of his powers, and then, as always afterward, absolutely fearless and outspoken on all subjects, he was heard on one side or the other of almost every question. He was the leader in every caucus and the spokesman for every measure that he advocated. Altogether he led an extremely busy life. Long before their terms had come to an end, the two brothers had removed from Georgetown and Blackhawk respectively to Denver, and from that time forward both made the capital city their place of residence.

Mr. Wolcott has left very little of his own impressions regarding his career in the Legislature. We find but one letter from him on this subject, and in this letter he frankly confesses his tendency to make enemies unnecessarily. The letter is to his father, and he makes complaint of being constantly called upon by his personal and political friends to champion causes which were theirs and not his. Impulsive by nature and impetuous in speech, he never undertook the espousal or the opposition of any cause that he did not throw his whole heart into the work. Mentioning this fact, he tells his parents that his disposition had been the cause of getting him into more or less trouble. Often, he says, he made enemies for himself, while those who really were interested retained the friendship of their opponents. Evidently he deprecated this disposition, but knowing himself as he did, he probably understood perfectly well that there was little or no hope for a change.

This letter was written March 5, 1881, a few weeks after the close of the second session of the Senate. It not only is an exceptionally candid statement, but it shows a very just appreciation by Mr. Wolcott of his own characteristics. Making his father's interest in him and in his connection with Colorado politics the excuse for the letter, he says:

> The State Senate was divided into two bitter factions, Re-

publican factions, on the start, arising mainly through Henry's candidacy, and fomented by jealousies among politicians outside the body. We had a clear majority among the Republicans, and the Democrats, six in number, followed us. I was the only speaker on our side, and that, more than anything else, gave me the leadership. I am impulsive and hasty. I unconsciously, often, throw so much ardor into my advocacy or opposition to a measure, that I almost always engender a personal feeling against me on the part of those opposing me, which I am quick to resent and to reciprocate. All those within our own ranks insisted upon my making their fight for them. If they wanted a bill passed, I must champion it; if a bill was to be beaten on their account, I must defeat it. The result has been, and I knew it would be so, that all the odium and all the hostility have been fastened on me; those who did nothing but vote incurred no enmity,—everything was laid at my door. And often I would find myself at "outs" personally with some member over some measure, when the person on whose behalf I had undertaken the fight had long since made up his differences and was on the best of terms with all the world. By reason of these things, and also by reason of my overbearing disposition and my habit of saying bitter things which the recipient does not easily forget, I have, I think, more active enemies than any man of my years in the State. I have a few staunch friends. But one's enemies are twice as constant and assiduous as one's friends.

He closed by saying that he was sick of politics and did not expect to become interested again. But we shall see about that.

Owing to the fact that no complete record is made of the proceedings of the Colorado Legislature, very few of Mr. Wolcott's speeches in the State Senate have been preserved. Occasionally a newspaper reporter would take down a few sentences, and in the absence of "copy" of a more thrilling character would print them. In this way we get a fugitive extract from a fierce denunciation by the Senator from Clear Creek of the bill before the Legislature in 1879 for the codification of the State laws. He opposed the bill and in place of it advocated a measure of his own for the regulation of legal procedure, which was Senate Bill No. 1. The newspaper account of this effort by Mr. Wolcott from which we

copy tells us that "after a few general observations at the opening of his speech, he commenced to show up the defects of the code, which he did in clear, legal manner, and then showed the advantages as they appeared to him in Senate Bill No. 1." But we are told that "only a full report could do justice to the various arguments brought forward, which were listened to by the lawyers in the Senate and lobby." The peroration is given as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am but young in the profession whose paths when rightly followed lead only to honor. I know no settled ruts out of which I cannot travel, but I do confess that I worship at a shrine and within a temple which has been gradually reared from eight hundred years of effort, and embellished and adorned by the genuine, the best thought of the English-speaking people. By your votes two years ago you undermined the foundation of this edifice, and if you now defeat this bill you complete the overthrow.

The law, wisely or unwisely, has put into your hands the power of determining the times and manner in which the halls of justice shall be open, and the sort of justice that shall be administered therein, and you are taking from us that glorious system which so long proved to be the strongest bulwark and best protection to the liberties of the people and in its place would give us—*this*. You might as well say to the physicians of the State: "There is too much sickness, and the ill are too long recovering; therefore, you shall lay aside your books, your systems, and the matured result of generations of intelligent labor, and shall hereafter prescribe this pill for this disease and this nostrum for this malady, and shall administer this pill and this nostrum only at the times and in the manner prescribed by this Legislature." Or you might with equal propriety say to the ministers of the Gospel in Colorado: "There is too much wickedness in the State, too many crimes, too much evil abroad; therefore, you shall no longer teach Christ crucified, and teach your people to follow in the path of the Master, but you shall preach a new doctrine and teach a new faith brought from the Pacific slope by way of Montana."

The last remark was a reference to the fact that the proposed code had been modelled after the code in use in Montana and California.

During his first term, Mr. Wolcott was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, and he held positions of prominence on a number of other Senate committees.

While none of Mr. Wolcott's speeches pertaining to legislation were reported entire a better fate was awarded his remarks, when, acting as spokesman for his colleagues, he presented a silver service to Senator M. A. Rogers of Arapahoe County. Mr. Rogers had generally antagonized Mr. Wolcott in the Senate, as he had many other senators; but he was a man of such sturdy integrity and of such unselfish purpose that he was generally loved and respected. The present was intended to express this feeling, which, as the most eloquent as well as the staunchest of Mr. Rogers's opponents, Mr. Wolcott of Clear Creek was asked to put into words, which he did, saying:

Mr. Chairman, in the last hours of the session, and just before the last roll-call in this body, I rise for the first time during the forty days of the session, with the full assurance that what I am about to say will receive the sanction and the approbation of every other member of this assembly. We have been here, sir, for our allotted time; and we have had our quarrels and our bickerings and our fights—our triumphs and our defeats, and with it all there have come heart-burnings and troubles and sores; but now, as we approach the end of the session, as we are just about to have the last roll-call that this body will ever have this side of the river, I trust these feelings are passing away—that there are no burdens left in the heart of any member of this body.

Our happiness, Mr. Chairman, lies mostly in retrospection. Long after these days have passed away, when time has worn down the edges, the fond memory treasures nothing but the pleasant visions of the past; and remembering these things, and remembering further that this body as a body, that the individuals who compose it, can never again, under any circumstances meet again in an official capacity, remembering the things that have transpired that have not been of an unpleasant nature—recollecting only the pleasant things and remembering that if the roll could be called year after year it would each time grow briefer and shorter, and remembering that we know not who would be the first to drop in the list, nor who would follow him, I believe that there is no member of this House, of this

General Assembly, who cannot take the other by the hand and bid him God-speed.

Mr. Chairman, during the days that some of us have been dallying and some of us improvident of legislation, you, sir, have been ever busy; in the committee-room and at your place here in the Senate, ever at work. While we have been slumbering or idle, you have been looking after the interests of your constituents and the State. Whatever there is in the measures that we have passed that is good, whatever there is efficient in the measures that have passed, the people of Colorado are more indebted to you for the ascertainment of those facts than to any other person. You have voted "no" three times to everybody else voting "no" once; but in that vote there has never been one thing that has grown out of personal malice or personal feeling. We have all realized that these votes were the expression of your rugged independence and of your rugged determination that the Constitution of Colorado should not suffer at your hands. Those in this body who have met you for the first time at this session have, by reason of your action, but learned to respect you the more. To those of us who had the pleasure of sitting with you two years ago, your conduct in this session has brought increased esteem, and your friends in this body, Mr. Chairman, including every single member of the twenty-six of us, led by your friend and colleague who sat by your side two years ago, and sits by your side there this session —your friends have resolved that they would procure some slight testimonial for you, that in the years that are before you—and we hope they may be many and may be happy—that in the years which are before you, you would occasionally recall the fact that among your friends in this body there were twenty-five gentlemen who desired that in these tokens you might have some evidence of the respect and the friendship and the esteem which they all bear for you.

One of the measures to which Mr. Wolcott gave attention during his first term in the Senate was Senate Bill No. 13, the object of which was the prevention of the use of the natural scenery of the State for the convenience of advertisers. He spoke in support of the bill, January 10, 1879. He stated that in his own county about every available stone was plastered and painted; told of some amusing and some disgusting advertisements, which, he said, could be seen on

rocks which the Almighty had intended should be only things of beauty, and expressed the thought that the further spread of the curse should be stopped. "We invite tourists to Colorado to see our grand and beautiful scenery and not to buy vermifuge," he said. The bill became a law.

During his first session in the State Senate he introduced a bill granting equal suffrage to women. The bill did not find a place on the statute books, but it was the forerunner of the law which was enacted fifteen years later.

As going to show the esteem in which the Wolcotts were held by their contemporaries, the expressions of a few who survive who were members of the Legislature, or were observers of its proceedings, may be quoted to advantage. One of the most prominent of the contemporaneous State senators was Hon. Joseph C. Helm, who represented the Tenth Senatorial District, and who afterward held the high office of Chief Justice of the State. Mr. Helm says:

I remember that Mr. Wolcott showed, during the session I served with him, an unusual brightness and skill in grasping the merits of a bill or measure, and was very effective in the presentation of his views. His arguments were characterized by the same wit, eloquence and persuasiveness that became more pronounced and distinguished him in later life. When he espoused a measure or cause, he did it enthusiastically and impulsively. He soon became popular among the members and inspired many a warm friendship, some of which continued through life. He was a hard fighter and did not spare his enemies, or those whom he considered enemies; but on the other hand he would go to almost any length in helping a friend.

Among the members of the lower House in the Second Legislative Assembly was Hon. William D. Todd, who was one of the Representatives from Arapahoe County, with residence in Denver. He was much interested in the establishment of the State Historical and Natural History Society, which since has become an important institution, and introduced in the House a bill to that end. He succeeded in passing the bill through the House, and when it reached the Senate prevailed upon Ed Wolcott to take charge of

it there. Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's assistance in this work in a letter dated May 11, 1909, Mr. Todd says:

Senator Wolcott made probably a five-minute impromptu talk in the Senate, and it was considered by all who were fortunate enough to hear it as an effort hardly, if at all, excelled by any of his later brilliant speeches. His references to our State and its then unwritten history were as eloquent as was possible. I heard him many times, and while I cannot now attempt to tell what he said, the little talk on the Historical Society still comes back as it then affected me, even though the words are gone.

Mr. Morrison gives us the following picture of the Wolcott brothers in the Legislature:

During the two legislative sessions which the four-year term covered, the two brothers were active in the contests which occupied the time of the Legislature, with dominating force, but each in his own individual way.

Mr. Wolcott exercised over the Senate the same magic control that he had shown the power to command over juries, and that deliberative body became, as it were, a jury to render verdicts in his favor. His style of address was found equally as effective in appeal to the reasoning faculties of his fellow-members standing with him as equals in council on the public welfare. It was in this body that his original and hypnotic personality became more thoroughly developed, and where he built up that following which afterward brought him to the Federal Senate.

The talents of Edward O. Wolcott were what may be classed as brilliant coming into bearing in open session, especially in debate. Those of his brother were exercised in committee and may be described as wise and tactful. The combination made the two brothers the most potent unit in the biennial sessions of 1879 and 1881. No combination ever worked more harmoniously, the talents of the junior being nursed by the pride of the elder, whose ambition in life it became to champion and forward the more strenuous career of the younger. No element of jealousy existed between them. One was the complement to the other, and the elder was ever ready to replace what the younger wasted or destroyed. Time after time when the violent energies of the younger resulted in excess or folly, the devotion and abiding affection of Henry brought him back to steadiness

and to the exercise in sobriety of talents which led to extravagance when unrestrained by the moderation and wisdom of the elder.

O. H. Rothacker, who was editor of the *Denver Tribune* at the time the Wolcotts were in the State Senate and who was intimately acquainted with both of them, as also he was with Senator E. P. Jacobson, the Clear Creek Senator's principal opponent in the Senate, fortunately has left an estimate of the two men—Jacobson and the younger Wolcott. It was written for the *Denver News* four years after the close of the two men from the Legislature. Beginning with the statement that his recollection had been revived by meeting a friend of Jacobson's on a train in the East, he proceeded to say that the second session in which the Wolcotts served was the most exciting session ever held in the State, as it was up to that time, and he then added:

> Jacobson was the leader of the minority and Ed Wolcott of the majority. Henry Wolcott was president *pro tem.* of the body. . . .
>
> Jacobson began the session with a fierce determination to contest Wolcott's supremacy. He was an antagonist not to be sneered at. Not a ready debater, for he had not learned the English language until he was twenty years of age, he was still a determined and persistent one. He had fine social accomplishments, and he used them with effect to keep his forlorn hope together. Probably in his way he was the most dangerous opponent whom Wolcott ever had in the State. Possessed of unquestioned intellect, of high spirit and singular perseverance, he was sleepless in his efforts to gain an advantage. But it was like fighting a stone-wall with naked fists. The Wolcott majority was always there and still more exasperating was the leader of that majority. Never was there seen a finer intellectual struggle. On one side easy strength; on the other an almost painful effort of hopeless opposition. Ed Wolcott's remarkable ability and fertility were as striking as his opponent's persistency. His rapier thrusts were marvellous in their keenness and dexterity. His ready tongue met and overthrew every obstacle of logic. Without any previous preparation he was always equipped. Yet day after day Jacobson returned to the assault

until the very last hours of the session, when I was the medium through which a compromise was arranged.

A few weeks later Jacobson died. I think it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the mental strain of the contest combined with the foul atmosphere of the inconvenient hole into which the then Secretary of State had crowded the Senators killed him. He felt the sting of his defeat very deeply, but if he had lived he would have been a striking figure in Colorado politics. He was a singularly able man.

In the *Colorado Springs Gazette* of February 18, 1881, we have a very just estimate of the rising statesman, made by the discriminating editor of that paper, B. W. Steele. Noting the fact that Mr. Wolcott frequently had been pitted against Senator Jacobson, of Arapahoe County, Mr. Steele tells us that while Mr. Jacobson was "shrewd and plucky as a leader rather than a success," Senator E. O. Wolcott was a leader of a very different type.

He had personal magnetism and dash [continues Mr. Steele], but lacked the staying qualities. He frequently showed an abandon in his acts so far as his political future was concerned. The opposition he aroused was frequently unnecessary, judged from a politician's standpoint. We cannot say that he was always sincere, but he was generally so, and impressed his associates as being so. He always had a strong personal following because men believed in him and trusted him.

His triumphs were many and repeated, dating from the organization of the Senate to the passage of the House apportionment bill which he was the first to champion as the only measure which could become a law. His triumphs over Jacobson, with whom he will be compared, were complete. The two men measured their strength on Jacobson's amendment to the Railroad Bill and the votes showed that Jacobson had but one Senator. The dashing, earnest, convincing logic was more potent than a tricky amendment to gain political strength.

On the floor Senator Wolcott was always ready and quick. His motions had a frankness and transparency about them that lulled suspicion and gave him unexpected support. He sometimes gave the motives for his votes with an astonishing frankness, as in the case of his motion to add Park to Summit County for a Senatorial District so as to make it a sure Republican district.

He cannot be said to have done himself justice in some of his legislative work. He did not have the ease and industry of Jacobson and Rogers. He might have opposed some measures that he supported had he been more critical and less faithful to his friends. Judging by the usual tests Senator E. O. Wolcott must be considered the most successful leader in the Senate, for he won the most victories.

To a woman writer in the *Denver News* of February 13, 1881, we are indebted for the following pen-picture of the Wolcott brothers:

The two most prominent persons in the Senate are the president thereof, Hon. H. R. Wolcott, and his brother, Hon. E. O. Wolcott. The latter is the younger and appears to be the more popular with the masses, hence ought, perhaps, to be described first.

"The gentleman from the Sixth," as he is officially designated, has a very attractive presence. He is of medium height, finely proportioned, and has a manly and graceful bearing. He has blond hair and very handsome brown eyes. Indeed he is a man whose good points even the most superficial discover. He is a physically comfortable man, and suggests a certain *bonhomie* full of magnetic attraction to the majority of his fellow-creatures. This perfectly well-adjusted physical organization is an immense advantage to his mental operations. He has no dyspeptic blood creeping into his brain and clogging its fine machinery, and introducing crotchets and sophistries as the result of reason turned aside by adverse physical conditions. Moreover, his magnificent physical life imparts courage and self-possession making him adequate to those sudden emergencies and exigencies when a man needs perfect command of his mental forces, unchecked by any treachery of nerve or lack of physical stamina.

Mr. Wolcott is what may be called a well-balanced man. He is cautious enough not to be reckless—yet is by no means timid. His method with an opponent is not to attempt to browbeat him with invective nor always to deal out to him sarcasm—though he is capable even of this—but one of his methods is good-humoredly to magnetize opposition into acquiescence. His smile, his tone of voice, a well-timed word or two, and his opponent is ashamed of his objections and abandons them. Mr. Wolcott has a good command of language and is considered a very

effective speaker. He is undoubtedly destined to hold a very high position, and wield a wide influence. He appears to be about thirty years of age and has the air of one born for success—the sort of success that comes to well-balanced, good-tempered, and well-informed people, who have sufficient energy and ambition to go in boldly and win the world's acknowledged prizes. He is the sort of man who will always have friends for the reason that he is full of generous good-will, kindly tolerance, magnetic force, and laudable ambitions. All these advantages, however, that Mr. Wolcott possesses, have their peril—inasmuch as torment and defeat rouse the more heroic attributes of a man's soul, and teach him facts that there is no gainsaying. It was a wise man who said, "As long as all that is said is said against me, I feel as one that lies unprotected before his enemies!" It is a new rendering of the old saying: "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you."

Hon. H. R. Wolcott, the President of the Senate, is an entirely different man. He is not the sort of person about whom the mob would be enthusiastic. Nature intended him not so much for the success of place and power as for the higher success of character. Instead of the graceful, winning, magnetic presence of "the gentleman from the Sixth," his face and form somehow suggest one of the old statues of the gods. So firmly chiselled, so royally self-controlled, so full of the high attributes that never yet were put into the show-windows of "Vanity Fair," one sees at a glance that he is not one of the men who are "for sale." Not money, nor flattery, nor position, nor any other bribe could purchase this man's self-respect. Moreover, his self-respect is not a garrulous vanity, not an unreasoning pride, nor yet an unfounded prejudice in regard to himself. It is that which forces him to measure himself by a definite standard and hold himself up to the immutable laws of "cause and effect, those chancellors of God," whom there is no gainsaying.

He is the sort of man who makes one realize the full meaning of the old declaration: "Where McDonald sits *is* the head of the table." He could carry a hod and perform menial labor with such dignity as to exalt the work. He gives the impression always of being superior to what he does, yet of doing it with uncompromising fidelity, not for the work's sake, but for the man's sake. He can do nothing flippantly nor anything frivolously. He wears in his face, and carries in his voice that which declares him to belong to the few foremost souls of earth who are in earnest; who would scorn to trifle with the

humblest duty or the weakest soul, who can be patient of neglect yet never tolerant of dishonor.

It is Ralph Waldo Emerson who says: "The eyes show the antiquity of the soul." Mr. Wolcott has those clear blue-gray eyes that telegraph at once a message of deep insight such as frivolous people do not understand. These eyes have no distrust, no weak experimental curiosity; no impertinent scrutiny of imbecile speculation. They carry with them lights that flash far into a soul, and, reading its secrets, recognize its meaning and mission, and so do away with the vulgar necessities of explanation. They carry in them a promise of good faith to the deserving, yet also a warning that they have no pearls to cast before the unclean. They are penetrating but not unkind—tolerant, but not credulous—self-contained, but not self-assertive—magnanimous, but not extravagant—altogether the eyes of a man whose soul has been regnant and whose life has been subservient to purpose rather than mere emotion.

"The gifts of the people" and "the glitter of success" may not be the distinguishing features of this man's life, but whoever has looked at him with intelligent eyes has thought better for his sake of the possibilities of manhood. Whoever has entered the atmosphere of his character has been stimulated to remember heroism and admire all those attributes of the soul that shame into insignificance mere appetites and pretences.

It must not be supposed, however, that only complimentary expressions were heard regarding the Wolcotts. Ed especially made enemies as well as friends, and criticism was by no means infrequent. He did not shrink from taking any necessary and proper step because of possible censure and thus called forth many expressions regarding himself which were unpleasant to his friends if not to him. Often too, he was blamed for the acts of others, as was the case in connection with a controversy between General Hamilton and Judge Belford. The *Denver Tribune* of May 12, 1881, made reference to such a condition, and, defending Mr. Wolcott against an attack by the *Leadville Herald,* said:

There is no man in the Republican party in this State who has been more unjustly dealt with than the Hon. Edward O. Wolcott. Personal organs and clique organs have never failed to assault him whenever they have had a chance. They have

been bitter and unjust without the slightest provocation for either the injustice or the bitterness, and the malice of invention has exhausted itself in the manufacture of charges which were as base as they were baseless. The last one comes from the *Leadville Herald* on the Belford–Hamill matter. Entirely without a particle of evidence, either direct or indirect, the *Herald* charges Mr. Wolcott with using money against Belford. The accusation is utterly false. The charge of jealousy is an utterly absurd one. Mr. Wolcott has no reason to be jealous of Mr. Belford or any one else. In point of ability he ranks any politician in the State. He has, to a greater degree, the elements which make a man strong in the national sense than any one in the Republican party between the Mississippi and the Pacific. The fault of frankness and genuineness have interfered with his political advance; but these are faults which attract men, and they are virtues in the long run. That a man who worked as hard as he did for Republican success in the last campaign should be made the target of a paper among whose proprietors is a United States Senator, is one of the disgraces of factional warfare in the State.

In the Broader Field

LAW AND POLITICS

MR. WOLCOTT'S election to the State Senate proved an important turning point in his life. Scarcely had he been chosen to represent Clear Creek County in the upper House of the Legislature when conditions became favorable for his removal from Georgetown to Denver, and he no sooner had established himself in the capital city than he entered upon an astonishingly active professional and political career. Indeed, there have been few instances of such a rapid rise in either direction as was made by the young attorney. Within a very short time his business calendar was full, and soon he was recognized as the leading lawyer of the city and of the State. His change in residence led to change in the character of his practice. Hitherto litigation over mining claims had occupied his time in the main, but he now began to turn his attention to railroads, which finally became his chief field of operation. In politics he was active from the time of his arrival. Before the expiration of his term, he was discussed as a candidate for Representative in the lower House of Congress, and within ten years after his location in Denver he was representing the State on the floor of the United States Senate.

Necessarily, his life was a busy one. His practice was such during this period as to require not only the greater part of his own time but also the time of many assistants, some of whom were themselves lawyers of acknowledged ability and established reputation.

This was a formative period of the State's progress. Railroads were building in all directions. There were many sharp conflicts over right of way through the narrow defiles

of the mountains. Suits for damages were frequent. The State was uncertain as to the course to be pursued in the matter of railroad legislation, and many were inclined toward a radical course. Clearly the roads stood in need of the counsel, not alone of a lawyer, but of a man familiar with political conditions who had the courage and independence to champion their cause. Frequently the railroad and other corporations were called upon to face prejudice and persistent opposition as well as intriguing political chicanery. All of them demanded ability, loyalty, fearlessness, in their legal work. These qualities found exceptional combination in Mr. Wolcott. Clients of this order were drawn to him almost without effort on his part, and after a time more business was offered than could be accepted. He was in that rare condition of an attorney able to choose his clients.

It was in June, 1879, that he transferred his office to Denver, where it continued so long as he lived. The immediate occasion of the change was his appointment as attorney for Colonel Lewis C. Ellsworth, receiver for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad.

What is now the extensive system of the Denver & Rio Grande Company consisted then of only two or three hundred miles of narrow gauge track extending from Denver southward through Colorado Springs and Pueblo to Trinidad and Alamosa, with a few short feeders in other directions. The road had been built even to that extent with difficulty, and business in the State had been so dull previous to the opening up of the carbonate mines at Leadville that very few enterprises were profitable. Always sensitive to general commercial conditions, the railroads in Colorado were the greatest sufferers from the financial depression, and the Rio Grande was forced into a receivership. Colonel Ellsworth, the receiver, was a Georgetown man, and had been receiver for a Georgetown bank, in which capacity Mr. Wolcott had served as his attorney.

Before leaving Georgetown for Denver, Mr. Wolcott debated considerably over the wisdom of the change, and after his departure, he does not seem to have been satisfied entirely with his move. Writing to his father, November 30, 1879, he said:

I returned from Georgetown to-night, where I have been attending a contested election case for the past three days. It is already a wonder to me how I could have lived in that mountain town for more than seven years. And yet it is not altogether certain that I have done well to leave a sure remuneration for a field where I must build up a new practice.

The railroad receivership continued only until April, 1880, but it sufficed to introduce Mr. Wolcott to the financiers, railroad-builders, and managers of the West, and there was a constant improvement of his position until 1886, when he was elected General Counsel for the railroad company, a position he held until his death. The office was fairly lucrative in the beginning and it improved in this respect with increasing years.

It should also be noted that about this time the Hill smelting works were removed to Argo, a suburb of Denver, and with those works came not only Professor Hill, but Mr. Wolcott's brother Henry, as assistant manager. This change not only gave E. O. Wolcott the benefit of the companionship of his brother, but furnished allies in his business and political plans. Before long he was representing most of the important corporations of the State. He also was still much sought after as a mining lawyer. Indeed, Mr. Wolcott had been in Denver only a few years before his name was found on one side or the other of almost every important law-suit in the State or Federal courts of that jurisdiction.

After the discharge of Colonel Ellsworth as receiver of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company and upon its reorganization, Hon. Lyman K. Bass became the General Counsel of that company. Mr. Bass had removed from Buffalo, New York, to Colorado Springs on account of his health. He at one time had been a partner in the practice of the law with Grover Cleveland, and he also had been an influential member of Congress from the Buffalo district. A man of incisive intellect and a good lawyer, he appealed to Mr. Wolcott, and the two soon became close friends, as well as business associates. In a letter to his father of July

14, 1883, Mr. Wolcott writes of Mr. Bass in the following high terms: "He is the clearest-headed lawyer I ever knew and one of the best friends I ever had." When Mr. Bass was placed at the head of the legal department of the company Mr. Wolcott was made his first aid with the title of General Attorney. More familiar with general local conditions than was Mr. Bass, Mr. Wolcott held a very responsible position from the beginning. The headquarters of the company were then at Colorado Springs, and Mr. Bass maintained his office there, while Mr. Wolcott represented the company at the more important commercial centre of Denver. As Mr. Bass's health continued to fail Mr. Wolcott's responsibilities correspondingly increased, until, after Mr. Bass's retirement in 1886, Mr. Wolcott was selected as his successor at the head of the law department of the system, which had grown into large proportions. He was also elected a director of the company.

In 1884 the road again passed into the hands of a receiver, who, in this instance, was the Colorado Springs banker, William S. Jackson. Notwithstanding apprehensions that his connection with the road might cease, Mr. Wolcott continued to act under Mr. Jackson as legal representative of the railroad company. His doubts regarding his position, both before and after the beginning of the receivership, are set forth in his letters to his parents regarding the affairs of the railroad. On the 2d of January, 1884, he wrote his father, saying:

"The Denver & Rio Grande has passed through some changes recently and nobody here knew how he might be affected. I was gratified to find myself retained as before and upon the same compensation as was paid the firm when there were two of us. So I shall be able to keep the wolf from the door for another year at least."

And on June 29th of the same year he told his mother of the return of the road to the control of a receiver.

The Denver & Rio Grande Railway, with which I have in some way been connected for five years now, has gone to smash [he said]. It is n't attributable to the present management, nor, of course, am I in any way involved; but it was not

until trouble came to the railway that I realized how closely I had been attached to it. The concern will go into the hands of a receiver, and my connection with it will probably cease. There are other clients, however, and I suppose I shall find other work, plenty of it, for we must keep the pot boiling.

Again on July 13, 1884, he wrote his father: "The railway has gone into the hands of a receiver. I am at present representing him, but doubt whether the relation is one that will continue long, but suppose something else will turn up."

During 1881, he had become the Colorado attorney for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, and it was also in this year that he was appointed as the attorney for the Colorado Telephone Company. In 1882 he added to his clientage the First National Bank of Denver, the strongest financial institution in the Rocky Mountain region, and the Colorado Coal & Iron Company, then a most important enterprise, and which subsequently developed into the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Afterward he was appointed attorney for the Union Depot & Railroad Company, the Denver Street Railway Company, and several other corporations.

Not until he went to Denver had Mr. Wolcott enjoyed the luxury of a clerk. Soon after he established himself there, however, he employed his first clerical assistant, and soon a second man was necessary. Later, as business grew, the force in his office was rapidly enlarged until it included several able lawyers and a corresponding number of clerks. In 1882, he formed a partnership with Mr. John G. Milburn. Although not of long duration, this relationship terminated with the utmost good-will on both sides, after which Mr. Milburn removed to Buffalo and later to New York, where he occupies an eminent position in his profession.

In the trial of one of the many cases in which the late Senator Tabor was involved, Mr. Wolcott found himself opposed by Mr. Joel F. Vaile, who had come to Denver a few years previously from Indiana. The marked ability and skill displayed by Mr. Vaile so impressed Mr. Wolcott that

he resolved, if possible, to prevail upon Mr. Vaile to enter his office; and a little later, in 1884, we find Mr. Vaile one of the mainstays of the Wolcott establishment. Thus began an association which in 1888, ripened into a partnership, and, with ever growing mutual attachment and esteem, endured until Mr. Wolcott passed away in 1905.

In 1888 Mr. Wolcott's campaign for the United States Senate absorbed much of his time; in 1889 he was elected and took up his residence in Washington, leaving the immediate supervision and control of the business in Mr. Vaile's hands. A diligent student; patient, indefatigable; possessing a keen and analytical mind; strong and self-reliant, no man could have been better equipped to assume and direct the conduct of a large and active practice than was Mr. Wolcott's partner. This partnership was unchanged until 1902, when Mr. Charles W. Waterman, who had entered the office some ten years previously and who had in the meantime developed into a very able lawyer, was admitted into partnership, under the firm name of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman; and so the firm remained until after Senator Wolcott's death.

The dozen years from 1880 to 1892 covered a period of extraordinary activity and development in railroad-building, mining, smelting, irrigation, and other enterprises in Colorado. The discoveries of Leadville, Aspen, and San Juan were followed by the rich yields of silver from Creede beginning in 1891 and the richer gold production of Cripple Creek beginning in 1892.

The business, established and built up, as we have seen, by Mr. Wolcott, and so ably maintained in character and strength with the aid of Mr. Vaile and Mr. Waterman, grew in volume and in importance with years. Perhaps nothing could better illustrate the high standard and efficiency of the office than the fact that in several instances retainers paid to Mr. Wolcott in the early days of his professional career were never withdrawn. Many clients of those days were clients of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman at Mr. Wolcott's death, notably the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company.

In the course of a letter to the author, Mr. Milburn furnishes an account of the circumstances under which he entered into partnership with Mr. Wolcott and also supplies an estimate of the young attorney as he appeared at that time. The contribution affords an interesting view of the growing man, showing that under the stimulus of prosperity and congenial employment he was coming rapidly into his own. Mr. Milburn's letter is dated at New York, September 5, 1910, and reads:

The first time I met Edward Wolcott was in the summer of 1882 when we were guests in the same house at Colorado Springs. Seldom has a personality made instantaneously so deep an impression upon me. Tall, well-proportioned, fair-haired, and blue-eyed; rapid in speech and quick-witted; active, alert, and restless; flashing from grave to gay in his moods and conversation and back again;—they were vivid days we then spent together and he moved through them like a meteor. An attachment sprang up between us at once, and before we parted we were so drawn to each other that it had occurred to both of us in a dim and half-expressed sort of way that we could work effectively together in the profession to which we both belonged. This suggestion took definite shape in the next two or three months, and in September, 1882, I went to Denver and joined him in his practice. We were associated for nearly a year—one of the most delightful years of my life—when I returned to the East for reasons quite disconnected with relations between us.

At that time Wolcott was the General Attorney of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway system, the Attorney of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad lines in Colorado, and had besides a large practice in mining, commercial and miscellaneous matters. He had no partner, but was ably assisted by a number of young men headed by Lucius M. Cuthbert. He had a large and commodious set of offices furnished in excellent taste, and a very large and complete legal library. I have never seen a more attractive or better equipped law-office. His nature was such that he could not have tolerated mean surroundings. I recall now as a sort of intimate personal touch, revealing one side of the man, that every morning there were a few fresh flowers found in each of the offices, which relieved the monotony of piles of law-books and legal documents. There was a great deal of leading and important business in the office of unusual in-

terest because Colorado was then a young State with its law in the making, and more through the decision of actual cases than by legislation. The year I spent there was for me rich in its experience, education and associations, and I was never engaged in more novel or interesting cases. Many of them were pioneer cases and concerned matters and conditions peculiar to those regions of our country;—such, for instance, as irrigation. With only a few volumes of Colorado reports and a limited body of statute law one felt and enjoyed the advantage of scope in solving the problems of each case. Those were the conditions under which Wolcott's legal life developed and expanded.

To estimate his gifts and qualities as a lawyer is not easy in the case of such a complex, varied and impulsive personality. I speak of him only as I knew him during the period of our association. He was not a quiet, methodical or plodding worker, or a continuous student by nature or habit. He was so overrunning with nervous force and energy that every hour took its own line and often a different one. I do not mean by this that he was not capable of long stretches of work on the same subject, because he was, and sometimes almost to an abnormal extent. He did his work according to the ways of the impulsive, flashing, intuitive mind, moving rapidly over a subject and yet seeing into the heart of it and grasping its essential features, and always with luminous and suggestive results. The mechanical work of the profession was irksome to him. His strength was in advocacy, that being a domain in which he could avail himself of the aid of patient, painstaking and diligent assistants. His gifts and powers were natural rather than acquired. He had a distinctly legal mind; a voice of rare charm and power; a manner and personality that arrested and held the attention of men; high spirits, humor, distinction and a passionate seriousness when aroused; and the gift of pure and genuine eloquence. He was an able and effective lawyer, and if he had given his energies and devotion entirely to the law he would have been one of the commanding advocates of his time.

This letter is already too long, but I cannot help adding one illustration of his powers as a lawyer. At the end of my stay in Colorado there came on for trial a case brought by a firm of contractors against a railroad company to recover on certain claims growing out of the construction of a tunnel. We represented the plaintiffs. Some of the claims raised very close questions, and through lapse of time it was difficult to support them by substantial evidence. Though they aggregated about $47,000

the case was so full of difficulties that we offered to take $15,000 in settlement. The company declined the offer and we had to go to trial. The taking of the testimony occupied four or five days, and when it was all in I should have been glad to be assured of a verdict for the amount we had offered to take. Wolcott made the closing argument to the jury on behalf of the plaintiffs. He had followed the case closely and was thoroughly prepared. He amazed me by the power, dignity, and overwhelming effect of his speech. It was simply irresistible, and he carried the jury on every point in the case, even the weakest. After a very short consultation they rendered a verdict for the total amount of all the claims with interest, making an aggregate of $64,000. On a motion for a new trial made at once the Judge struck off the interest and allowed the remainder of the verdict to stand, and it was paid without further delay or litigation. That the victory was so complete was due to Wolcott's remarkable forensic powers; and I never witnessed a finer display of the advocate's art before a jury.

Our intimacy was unbroken and unclouded to the end of his life; and all my intercourse with him in after years was made delightful by his loyal friendship, his many and varied interests, his unique individuality, and his engaging personal qualities.

IN STATE POLITICS

During none of this time was our busy attorney idle in politics. Indeed, he was not only the most completely occupied lawer, but he was by long odds the busiest politician in the State. As he was the real leader in the campaign which terminated in the election of Professor Hill to the Senate, so he continued to head the forces of the Hill faction so long as he remained with it. He bore the brunt of his brother Henry's contest for the Governorship in 1882, and although he failed in his efforts then he did not forfeit his prestige. More successful in 1886 in determining the nomination for Governor, when Hon. William H. Meyer was named, he then failed in the election of his candidate. Undeterred by these disasters, he held his position in the forefront of the battle, and at last, in 1889, forced his own election to the United States Senate.

Then, as since, the United States Senatorship was the

capital prize in the Colorado political lottery. With the State too far from the centre of population to supply a Presidential candidate, the Senatorship soon came to be regarded as the farthest goal of a Colorado man's ambition, and many bent their energies to attain it. Never a public man of any prominence who did not sooner or later develop Senatorial ambitions. It is not strange, then, that in time Mr. Wolcott came to be a Senatorial aspirant, and that the people manifested no astonishment when they found him to be one.

Not only were there many candidates for the Senate in those days, but there were more than the usual number of seats to be filled. Indeed by the time Colorado had been in the Union six years, the State had had a half-dozen representatives in the Senate—one for each year. These were Chaffee and Teller, the first two chosen; Hill, Chaffee's successor; Chilcott, appointed by Governor Pitkin to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Teller's becoming a member of President Arthur's cabinet; Tabor, who was chosen by the Legislature to succeed Chilcott in filling the unexpired term, and Bowen, elected to take up the work after the expiration of the Teller term. Mr. Wolcott was active in politics when four of the six were chosen. Little wonder that his ambition was kindled!

The differences between Senators Teller and Hill and between their respective followers were so sharp during all these years that they gave color to all political questions. From the time that Mr. Hill entered the Senate it became evident that it would be difficult to maintain the harmony which hitherto had marked the Congressional delegation when it consisted of Teller, Chaffee, and Belford. These three men had been neighbors in Gilpin County before going to Congress and they conducted the affairs of the State in Washington as neighbors would have been expected to do. Mr. Hill also was a Gilpin County man, but with his election new conditions presented themselves, resulting in a sharp division between himself and Mr. Teller, with Representative Belford generally inclining toward the Teller side. Apparently the strife had its origin in the selection of the Federal officers of the State, but it really owed its existence

to the desire to control party affairs, and in the beginning was stronger with the following of the two men than with the men themselves. This estrangement continued during the entire six years that Mr. Hill remained in the Senate, and echoes of it were heard for several years afterward. It rent the Republican party of the State in twain, and resulted in the election of at least two Democratic Governors, J. B. Grant in 1882 and Alva Adams in 1886.

At the beginning of this feud Mr. Wolcott naturally stood with the Hill forces. When elected to the Senate, Mr. Hill was an untried man in politics. He had been successful as a tutor in chemistry at an Eastern college, and he had given the State the largest and most complete smelting works within its borders. As an individual citizen he ranked very high. But he knew little about men, and it was evident from the beginning that the political life was not suited to his temperament. Young Wolcott, who had an instinct for politics, was not long in discovering this fact. The first inclination to break away was manifested in 1880, when there was talk of nominating him for Congress. He then discovered, doubtless much to his surprise, that the man for the promotion of whose political interests he had done so much was not inclined to reciprocate.

Possibly Mr. Hill found obstacles in his way. He may have been under obligations to other aspirants, or perhaps complications existed that rendered it difficult for him to support Mr. Wolcott. It may be, too, that he feared that with another man of his own faction occupying so prominent a place it would not be so easy for him to continue in the Senate. Whatever Mr. Hill's reasons, Mr. Wolcott was not the man to accept them. He knew as well as any one could know the service he had rendered, and he felt, and rightly, that no return would be too great a compensation for that service. When, then, he discovered that the man whom he had so generously assisted was not disposed to return the favor, he naturally suspected that his political affections had been misplaced. He continued, however, for some years to be considered a member of and a leader in the Hill contingent and the world knew little

or nothing of his change of heart. Indeed, at the time, there was no public information of Mr. Hill's defection, and it seems generally to have been supposed that he was strongly advocating the nomination of his lieutenant. Mr. Wolcott has, however, left testimony to the contrary, and this must be received as authoritative.

FIRST NATIONAL CONTEST

There were two State conventions in 1880, the first being held in May for the selection of delegates to the National Republican Convention, which was to meet in Chicago in the coming June, and the second in August, for the nomination of State officers. In the latter convention Governor Pitkin, who had served most acceptably for the previous two years, was renominated by acclamation, and the principal contest was over the Congressional nomination in which Mr. Wolcott figured as a candidate.

The May convention was a very animated one. It will be recalled that 1880 was the year in which there was a strong effort to have General Grant nominated for a third Presidential term.

Mr. Wolcott was intensely opposed to the Grant nomination, and together with General Hamill bitterly antagonized instructions in favor of the Civil War hero. Both of them sat in the convention as delegates from Clear Creek County, a county whose delegation was solidly for Blaine. Although not at that time a Blaine enthusiast, Mr. Wolcott favored him as the most available candidate with whom to defeat Grant. Hamill, on the other hand, was a strong personal follower of Blaine.

They soon discovered that the State had been so thoroughly canvassed and that so much attention had been given to obtaining pro-Grant delegates, that to stem the tide was quite out of the question. In one of his letters, Mr. Wolcott asserts that between twenty and thirty thousand dollars was spent in the various counties in Grant's interest. This letter was written in advance of the convention, but the writer then plainly foresaw that Grant would carry it, notwithstanding that, as he declared, the sentiment of the

State was three to one against the General. The result of the State Convention was as had been foretold. The convention stood about two to one in Grant's favor. Grant resolutions were adopted, and a solid Grant delegation was chosen to represent the State at Chicago. So intensely in earnest, however, were the opponents of the third-term idea, that a bolt was at one time seriously threatened by them, and seems to have been averted only by the adoption of a resolution commendatory of Blaine. The resolution was, of course, of but little practical use to Mr. Blaine, but it soothed the feelings of his followers—"saved their faces" for them. The State's six delegates were all staunch Grant men, and they were among the famous 306 who stood out to the last in the National Convention. The delegation was headed by former Governor John L. Routt, a personal friend of Grant's, who had hopes of obtaining a cabinet position in case of the success of his favorite.

But neither Colorado's Grant delegation nor the Blaine resolutions influenced the convention in favor of either of these candidates. General Garfield, who was not a candidate, was awarded the prize over these and other aspirants for the Presidency. Thus the members of the Colorado delegation were enabled to carry home with them only the consolation of having assisted in defeating Grant's chief opponent without having promoted the success of their own candidate. In Colorado, Garfield was a popular candidate, and the Republicans of the State soon were engaged in a vigorous fight for him. Mr. Wolcott did his first general campaigning in this contest.

CONGRESSIONAL ASPIRATIONS

At that time Colorado had only one member in the National House of Representatives, and the active candidates for that office before the State Convention in 1880 were Hon. James B. Belford, the incumbent of the office, Hon. Westbrook S. Decker, of Denver, and Hon. Charles I. Thompson, of Leadville. Mr. Wolcott never was officially mentioned in the convention as a candidate, and no vote was cast for him. Still he was "in the hands of his

friends," and would have been placed in nomination if there had been any probability of his success. It was soon discovered, however, that in case his name should be brought before the convention, the other candidates would combine to insure his defeat. Indeed, this combination was effected as a result of the informal mention of his name, for when it became probable that he would be sprung as a candidate the friends of Thompson and Decker deserted their respective leaders for Belford. Thus it happened that while Wolcott and his supporters were opposed to Belford more than to either of the other candidates they really forced his nomination. Mr. Wolcott has left a word on this subject, and it appears that they were not acting blindly, but were crowding Belford to the front in the hope that they would thus the more certainly eliminate him from State politics.

The use of Mr. Wolcott's name in connection with the Congressional nomination was due entirely to the circumstance that the Hill faction, if not Hill himself, were anxious to place upon the ticket the name of a man who would represent them, and they found in Mr. Wolcott the most available material for this service. Indeed, the Legislature scarcely had adjourned in the winter of 1879 when there were occasional references to Mr. Wolcott as a factor in the Congressional race, and as early as May, 1880, we find him taking note of the possibility of his candidacy. He then was determined, however, to remain aloof from the contest. "I shall," he says in a letter to his father of May 22d, "keep entirely out of the field under any and all circumstances. I would not take the nomination for Congress if it were offered to me, which it will not be. If a man spends money enough and time enough in courting the popular will, the people want him; if he does n't, they don't."

By the time, however, the convention met, he had been influenced to change his attitude, and if the nomination had been tendered to him he would have accepted. In a letter to his father of September 30th, he says:

My name did n't come before the convention at all. I would accept nothing but the Congressional nomination, and would not go in for that as a candidate, or if a choice could be ar-

rived at without me. This last resolve helped very much to hasten the decision arrived at by the convention, for the three candidates arranged among themselves that, if my name was sprung in the convention, they would throw at once all their strength to the leading candidate of the three, and thus bar me out. If [he adds] it is any satisfaction to me to know it, I am aware that we had them all badly scared. Belford was the bitterest of all, and yet at the last moment we threw all the strength we could to Belford, knowing that the coming two years will complete his political dissolution.

Without explanation Mr. Wolcott then declared that Hill was against him, "or would have been had I been in the field. But," he adds, "Henry was, as usual, my mainstay. He exerts a greater amount of influence than almost anybody in the State, and is the best backer, as well as the best brother, in the world."

In this convention, Hon. Charles H. Toll, who afterward married Miss Katherine Wolcott, a sister of Henry and Ed Wolcott, was nominated for Attorney-General. Mr. Toll was a rising young lawyer of Rio Grande County, and had been a member of the lower House of the State Legislature in 1878 and 1879, occupying in that body much the same position that E. O. Wolcott occupied in the Senate. He was a sturdy supporter of the Hill interests, and a fluent speaker. He soon formed an intimacy with the Wolcott brothers, and his nomination for Attorney-General was traceable largely to their influence. Mr. Wolcott has left a brief word regarding this event. He says in the letter to his father, which already has been quoted: "Toll was nominated by acclamation, and made a most creditable showing in every way. His speech of acceptance was the best of the convention."

The tickets, both State and National, were popular and were elected by good majorities.

STUMPING THE STATE

It was in this campaign that Mr. Wolcott made his first appearance as a stump speaker. He toured the State in company

with Mr. Toll, and together they visited almost every county. To those who knew Mr. Wolcott in later years and to whom he seemed not only ever ready to make a speech, but capable of acquitting himself with more credit than others, his letters are a revelation. Governor Routt had been made Chairman of the State Committee, and he no sooner had entered upon this responsible service than he sought out Mr. Wolcott and exacted from him a promise to make a campaign of the State. "I shrink from it as I never did from anything and fear I shall make a complete failure of it; and my fear is augmented by the fact that everybody seems to expect me to do so well. But I suppose I shall have to make the attempt." Such was the young politician's confession to his father. He not only did make the attempt, but his campaign was a whirlwind success from its beginning. Indeed, it scarcely had been begun before he had become the most sought after of all the speakers on the list. It was the first of many tours made by the young orator, and served to introduce him to a constituency with whom he soon was destined to become very familiar. On the 8th of September, we find him informing his parents that he had been preparing the itinerary for his speech-making tour, which he then expected to begin on the 25th of that month. It was his purpose to make only fifteen or twenty speeches, and he promised his father that in them he would "stand always on high ground." "I have," he adds, "done this uniformly in my jury cases."

He seems to have begun his speech-making earlier than he had anticipated, and yet to have postponed the beginning of his regular tour to a somewhat later date: for on September 26th he writes to his father, saying that he had spoken twice preparatory to beginning his advertised trip, once, most appropriately at Georgetown, where he had begun his professional career in Colorado, and once at Silver Plume, also in Clear Creek County. In his report to his father he says that at Silver Plume he had an audience of six hundred or seven hundred and that he spoke in the open air. In this letter he takes occasion to assure his parents regarding the care of his health and that of Mr. Toll, who was to be his travelling companion. He says:

I appreciate both mother's anxiety and yours respecting the necessity of keeping good hours, and taking care of one's health on the stump; but there is n't the least occasion for worry so far as I am concerned. I am living a perfectly regular life these days, and am indulging in no excesses either in the matter of late hours or appetites. And as to Toll, he always takes excellent care of his health.

We do not hear directly from Mr. Wolcott again until October 13th, when there is a brief narration of his course to his father. By that time he had scored a decided success, but had grown tired of the service and was ready to quit. "I have," he says, "been so far particularly successful in my stump speaking, and I am heartily sick of it, and want to cancel most of the rest of my engagements; but Henry and my other friends won't listen to it. I have shown that I can do that sort of thing, have satisfied myself of it, and that seems enough." He then complains of the impossibility of finding variety in theme and expression, and this difficulty, notwithstanding it is the experience of all stump speakers, seems to have been very discouraging to him. In this letter he outlined his feelings, and while he proceeded with his campaign, he does not seem to have changed his pessimistic view of political life and especially of the speech-making end of it, for in a letter of October 18th we find him exclaiming, "What a lot of clap-trap there is in public life!" and bemoaning the fact that "such a life requires one to pose so much before his constituency."

The speech of October 24th was made in Denver, and was reported in the *Denver Tribune* of the next day. Forwarding extra copies of the paper to his father, he says:

There are a hundred or more errors or mistakes in the report, and all of my stories and several portions of the speech were omitted. But you will get a tolerably accurate idea of it, and I only hope it sounded better than it reads, for it by no means suits me in print. The closing of my speech, the reference to the mountains as the Home of Liberty, everybody appreciated.

We may even now almost hear him heaving a sigh of

relief over the fact that the end was so near. "I am," he says in the same letter, "so glad it is over." He then adds: "I have had some thirty invitations for this week and have declined them all. I shall not speak again except perhaps for half an hour with Belford the night before election. The only pride I have had in the whole matter was that I might gratify you and Henry, and might justify the good things my friends have said of me."

This speech as printed in the *Tribune* will be found in another part of this work. If its author had the difficulty he represents in preparing his speeches this specimen does not betray it. He discussed the broad questions of the day in a way that showed the speaker's grasp of national affairs, even though he modestly professed to lack familiarity with them. He also evinced a generous interest in the welfare of the candidates on the State ticket, going to the extent of praising some who had not been so liberal with him. It was just the kind of speech to arouse the enthusiasm of the young Westerners, and it did arouse this feeling in them as the speeches of no other campaigner did. Wherever Mr. Wolcott spoke, the cause was strengthened, and the close of the contest brought him many expressions of gratitude as well as many compliments on the method and matter of his addresses. From that time forward the young Clear Creek attorney's reputation was established in Colorado. Never again was it necessary to beat the bush to get an audience for him.

IMPROVED FINANCES

The next campaign did not come on for two years. The interim was devoted by Mr. Wolcott to building up his law practice and to laying the plans for the nomination of his brother as Governor. His legal work for Receiver Ellsworth occupied much of his time during the first year or two in Denver, but some outside business drifted in upon him. Many of his suits were perhaps not of great importance, for in those days Mr. Wolcott was not above taking small cases. The attorneyship for the receiver was a more lucrative employment than he yet had had, but it did not

occupy all of his time, and there were periods when he felt that he could well take care of other business. He had contemplated suspending his stumping tour of the State during the campaign of 1880 to give attention to his law practice, because, as he said, clients were not so numerous that he could afford to neglect their business in the interest of the party welfare.

The publicity which came to him as one of the results of the 1880 campaign added materially to his law practice, and the new year of 1881 had not progressed far when we find him indicating in his letters, and manifesting in his manner of life, a degree of opulence which hitherto he had not known. Up to this time he had been able to do but little toward redeeming a promise he had voluntarily made during his school career to assist in the education of his brothers and sisters. For several years after his settlement in Georgetown he found it difficult at times to make both ends meet. Never, however, after his arrival in Colorado did his father find it necessary to give him financial assistance. Now our lawyer and politician had reached the turn in the road, and while still there were to be periods when he did not have all the money he wanted, there never afterward was a time when he did not have all that he really needed and more than the average man would have known how to spend profitably. His business grew rapidly until it became necessary for him to turn clients away.

As early as March of 1881 Mr. Wolcott was sending money home and supplying younger members of the family with the means to support them at school. Not only did he furnish these means, but he urged the spending of the money freely. Remembering his own school-days, when economy was so necessary and when his father required from him the strictest acknowledgment of all remittances, he refused to accept an accounting from those who received his favors, and he almost made it a part of the contract that there should be no particular care as to how the money went. In one instance he exacted from a sister the condition that she should expend the money he was sending to her on luxuries rather than on necessities, and, in another, in forwarding $200, he said: "I would like it if you would

devote $150 of the amount to your general expenses and expend the $50 in frivolity or dissipation of some sort, or if you are unwilling to do that, in books or something else that you would n't otherwise buy." Again, on October 6th of that year, he addressed the same sister as follows:

I enclose you a draft on New York for $200, the receipt of which please acknowledge. You are *not* to send your accounts to me this year. I don't want to see any accounts; they are a great nuisance, anyhow, and were always a stumbling block to me. But I do want you always to be sure to let me know when you can use any money. I take a great deal more pleasure in sending it to you than you possibly can in receiving it, and I 'll appreciate it if you 'll write me frankly for anything you want.

And again, in the same vein and to the same sister, on January 13, 1882:

I have just received your letter. How can I make you understand that what I send you is a pleasure to me—that I enjoy it? I want to send it. I want you to be extravagant if you can on what I send you. I want you to taste some of the pleasures of extravagance; to heed the old adage:

"Catch your pleasures as they fly;
Fly time will soon be over."

All I ask is that you let me know when you want money, for I keep no dates on my remittances, and am apt to forget. I cannot tell from your letter now before me whether you are out of money now or not. Are you? My practice is an excellent one these days, and it looks as if it would continue good.

Writing to his father on the 5th of March, of 1881, he reports business as "good," but says that he finds it very difficult to give it his steady attention. He adds, however, that "somehow my expenses increase faster than my income does," a remark which his intimates would have appreciated. Coming again on the 13th of May to an expression concerning the tediousness of every-day work, he says in a letter to his father:

When one is reasonably busy and following the humdrum life that knows no difference between one day and another, there is n't much news to write home. The only variety I have is that one day my time is taken up with the examination into a claim for damages, and another respecting some breach of contract, or the examination of a title. It 's all very fine. You have with you the consciousness of having done your duty and earned your salt, but there is very little spice in it, after all. There ought to be a next world for such people; they cannot find much enjoyment in this one.

By the 6th of October of the same year Mr. Wolcott was reporting business as so crowding that he had not time to read anything but law-books, and on October 18th he was able to state that he was employing three men as assistants in his office. But he did not like the arrangement because he thought it might induce habits of carelessness on his part. Writing to his father concerning his improved condition, he said:

I see but little of either of the sisters [two of whom were living in Denver], but I literally cannot find the time. I have three men in the office now, but I hope it will be only temporarily, for, after all, you must do your own work, and there does n't seem to be any more income now than there was when I was able to do all my own work and have plenty of leisure. Too much business is destructive to any continuity or depth of research.

This letter had been written after midnight, a fact which brought out a remonstrance from the father. The elder Wolcott was of quite the same mind as the son regarding the employment of help. In his reply he said:

Your good long favor, 18th instant, came duly to hand. It is a great pleasure to get such a letter from you, but I would never have you abridge your night's rest for the sake of gratifying me. Henry wrote us that your business was increasing so that you might have to employ a third man. The most satisfactory part of your work will be what you do yourself, and anything which you can do, you had better do, than put upon another. Then, of course, you must guard against over-

work. It must require a very great income to justify such a steady outlay for help. The railroad appointment named in your letter, 6th instant (for I think I have the rare, unprecedented pleasure of acknowledging two letters from you since I wrote), is important because the income is fixed and reliable. I hope you will be able to retain all your present business, and gain more, and be able to give all needful personal attention to the whole.

I never shall find a better time to carry into effect the long-deferred importunity of your good grandfather, and exhort you to practise economy. I want you to have a touch—just a touch—of the miser's joy.

With the increased office force came new and better offices and more books, as is to be gathered from the following of May 11, 1882, to Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott:

"My new offices are delightful, or will be when I get them fully arranged. I have been adding very extensively to my law library and have now the reports of twenty States and an admirable collection of English reports. I wish I knew more of the law that is in them."

That the young man was not only well officed but well housed at home is also gathered from the following extract from the same letter:

I have a scheme: Why cannot father return when Henry does and spend a month with us here? We have room for him at our house and can insure him a good table. I cannot promise him any particularly hilarious enjoyment. But, seriously, it would gratify me very much if he would come, and I know father would enjoy the trip, and it would do him good. I have a fair miscellaneous library, and we are so situated that his visit would be pleasant to him.

HENRY WOLCOTT'S CAMPAIGN

Mr. Wolcott had begun by this time to prepare for the gubernatorial contest of his brother, and probably was the busiest man in the State. The fight against Henry Wolcott was a part of the distressing political quarrel between the Teller and Hill factions. The antagonism between the two Senators had become acute in Washington early in the season.

Mr. Teller's acceptance of the portfolio of the Interior Department in April of this year had not produced, as some had hoped, a reconciliation of the chiefs, and if it had, it is doubtful if they could have carried their followers with them. The change in the position of the senior Senator seemed, indeed, to intensify the feeling instead of mollifying it. It created more opportunities for contest, and more objectives for vaulting ambition. Mr. Teller's place in the Senate must immediately be filled by appointment by the Governor. The Legislature was not in session and would not be for almost a year. When it did meet there must be an election to complete Teller's term, which was to have terminated in the following March. In addition, a senator must be chosen for the six years beginning March 4, 1883. Three chances at the Senate in less than a year! This was more than in her wildest imaginings Colorado ever had hoped for. And there was so much material! A dozen avowed candidates, and quite as many more good men and true, willing to sacrifice themselves on the senatorial altar of duty! With so many openings, with Teller in no sense a candidate; with Hill already seated in the Senate, and with Chaffee quite out of the running, any acceptable man might hope to wear the toga.

No wonder that when the elder of the Colorado Wolcotts sought the more modest but scarcely less responsible office of Governor, he found himself entangled in the senatorial web.

Mr. Teller's retirement from the Senate had been followed within less than a week by the appointment of George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo, as his successor. Many prominent men in the State were disappointed over the Governor's selection, and most of those who had felt themselves entitled to the appointment now became candidates for election by the Legislature to be chosen in the following November. Henry Wolcott was everywhere recognized as the champion of his business partner, Senator Hill, and as such he went into the convention. This condition caused Mr. Teller and all the anti-Hill forces to take up arms against him, regardless of the facts that most of them were pleased to consider him a personal friend and that almost all of them regarded

him as better equipped than any of the other aspirants to assume the duties of the gubernatorial office.

Mr. Dill thus describes in his work on *Political Campaigns of Colorado* the relations of the parties, his testimony being peculiarly significant from the fact of his being intensely partisan against Mr. Wolcott and personally attached to one of the other candidates:

> There was no objection to Mr. Wolcott, personally. He was then considered a sterling Republican who deserved well of his party, and under other circumstances there is little doubt that he would have received the nomination. Less aggressive than his brother, he had created fewer antagonisms, and among the most earnest supporters of Mr. Campbell there were many who sincerely regretted that the contest had assumed such a shape that they could not vote for Wolcott. The contest was purely the outgrowth of the bitterness needlessly engendered through personal ambitions—a condition almost inseparable from active politics—and which had been enhanced by the aggressiveness of the younger Wolcott. Neither Mr. Chaffee nor Mr. Teller was opposed to Wolcott on personal grounds. They objected to his candidacy at that time for the sole reason that he was the representative of Senator Hill, and the senatorial question was involved in the gubernatorial contest. Mr. Chaffee replied to the request of General Hamill for the withdrawal of his opposition to Wolcott, that if Wolcott would wait until after the senatorial question was disposed of he would cheerfully support him for Governor, but he absolutely refused his consent to the nomination of Wolcott, with the certainty that in the event of his election the entire strength of the State administration would be used to secure the re-election of Hill to the Senate. The opposition of Chaffee and Teller to Hill's re-election was at the bottom of the whole controversy and led to the formation of a combination between those gentlemen of which Campbell's nomination was merely a necessary incident. The actual contest was between Chaffee and Teller on one side, and Hill on the other, with the senatorial succession as the prize. Supporting Senator Hill were General Hamill and Ed Wolcott.

The situation at this point is set forth in the following letter of Ed Wolcott to his father:

DENVER, COLO., Aug. 22, 1882.

MY DEAR FATHER:

I have n't time to write more than a line.

I cannot now present the letter concerning Mr. Wolcott, of Washington, to Mr. Teller. We are actively engaged here in a fight which is assuming some bitterness, and I am unwilling to ask any favors at his hands.

Teller is bringing the whole power of his position in the cabinet, and his personal influence, joined with that of Chaffee and Evans, to beat Henry. They announce that Henry must not be nominated because it would be a triumph for Hill, and that they desire to test now whether Hill is "boss" in this State. Their position is untenable, but Hill is not a popular man throughout the State. We are badly frightened, but it looks as if we might pull through, after all. I should look upon Henry's chances to-day as rather against him, but with the advantage on our side of a compact organization and what Mrs. Partington called "spree de corps" we may win.

Tabor has not yet taken sides. Routt cannot be against us, but we cannot hope for much from him. The other side have repudiated Belford. We won't touch Pitkin. Hamill is helping splendidly.

Hastily, with love to all,

ED.

The convention began its sittings in the historic Tabor Opera House at Denver, September 14th, with about two thousand spectators, and it was one of the most exciting political gatherings in the history of the State, being the first open trial of strength between the two sections of the Republican party. In the picturesque language of the day, the Hill forces were called "Argonauts" because the Hill-Wolcott smelter was located at Argo, and their opponents were nicknamed "Windmills" because of their alleged tendency to boastfulness. The lines were much more definitely traced than in 1880, and it was understood on all sides that it was to be "a fight to the finish." For the first time Mr. Wolcott occupied a seat from Arapahoe County, his new home.

Ed Wolcott had General Hamill as his right-hand man, and he also was strongly flanked by numbers of splendid

representatives from all portions of the State. Among these were numerous young men who were just coming into their own in politics and in the professions and the growing industries of the State. They were glad to acknowledge in Mr. Wolcott a leader, and it may as well be said here as elsewhere that no man in politics ever had a more loyal, more zealous or more admiring throng of young men as followers than had Ed Wolcott. He was their choice at all times and their champion on every occasion. Wherever there was a college graduate of recent years; wherever there was a man under middle age who was striving to establish himself in the world, there one was almost sure to find a Wolcott man. And they were of the kind that stayed with and supported and made sacrifices for and on behalf of a leader. There were numbers of them sitting in the Denver Convention as delegates, but there were still more who had gone to the convention as mere spectators.

The principal controversy in the convention was in connection with the Arapahoe delegation. At that time Denver was the county seat and it had by far the largest delegation in the State. The control of this county had been bitterly contested in the primaries, and some of the contests were taken to the County convention.

The principal contests in the County convention had been from the First and the Fifth wards of Denver, gross irregularities being charged in both. From the former the Wolcott delegation was seated and from the latter the anti-Wolcott delegation. As a body the County convention was favorable to Mr. Wolcott and a delegation to the State convention friendly to him was chosen.

The State convention was called upon to consider the situation in Arapahoe, the seats of the regular or Wolcott delegation being contested by anti-Wolcott claimants. The organization was in the hands of the Windmills, and the Chairman appointed a Committee on Credentials which was favorable to that side of the controversy.

The committee reported without recommendation as to the county as a whole except in the case of the delegates from the First Ward, concerning which the committee expressed the opinion that they did not fairly represent the

H. R. Wolcott, soon after his Removal to Denver.

county and recommended that the contestants should have pro rata representation.

As soon as the report was submitted Ed Wolcott moved the seating of the delegates bearing the certificates of the County convention. The motion aroused an animated debate in which Mr. Wolcott and Willard Teller, a brother of Senator Teller, were the principal participants. Mr. Teller occupied the seat of one of the delegates from Saguache County, which was represented by an anti-Wolcott delegation. In his speech, Mr. Teller attacked the Arapahoe representation, declaring that it had been chosen by questionable means.

Mr. Wolcott closed the discussion with a speech which we of the present day read under unfavorable circumstances. We cannot project ourselves into the past sufficiently to feel the intense interest in the outcome that his hearers had; we have not their familiarity with the people and the facts and the spirit underlying all; we do not hear the music of his voice; we do not receive the impression of his earnestness and sincerity. On the printed page it seems to be but a simple statement of sordid events and a discussion of the rights of participants in primary elections, with a little flourish at the close in behalf of Republicanism. It was, nevertheless, an effective utterance. Those who heard it felt afterward that they had been witnesses of a triumph of oratory. The speaker demolished the contentions of the other party, and forced his antagonists to concur with him.

When he arose to speak, Mr. Wolcott was urged to take the stage. "No," he responded promptly, "I will stay where I am and where I belong." This assertion was meant to bear on his right to hold his seat as a delegate, and was received with applause. Continuing, he said:

I shall endeavor to confine myself entirely to the facts which were laid before the committee. I understand, first, that this convention has no jurisdiction whatsoever over any question relating to the conduct of the primaries in any county or in any precinct in Colorado. The sole custodian of the papers and of the records of those primaries and the sole judge as to the regularity of their proceedings is the County convention.

These primaries were held, and no man thinks them less defensible than I do. In the Fifth Ward, from which the friends of Mr. Teller were admitted to the county convention, more votes were cast in three hours than during the whole day of the last election. There were Democratic and Republican votes together. That delegation was admitted by the convention. The affidavits of two or three judges were presented to the convention showing that no fraud was committed; that there was an unfortunate quarrel or fight in the vicinity of the tables, but that no ballots were cast upon them. The secretary makes affidavit that he was known as a Teller man and that he knows that no additional tickets were cast upon the table. The "delegate from Saguache," Mr. Teller, didn't refer to this evidence. The convention admitted these delegates and rejected the contesting delegates from the Fifth Ward. They rejected the contesting delegates from the First Ward. Had we admitted them we still would have had from eleven to fourteen majority.

The "delegate from Saguache" has spoken of the fact that the minority is not represented in this delegation. In Gilpin County, in the Kingdom of Gilpin, last week there were some primaries held, and the town of Nevada, by an overwhelming majority, sent delegates to the County convention for Henry Wolcott, and when that convention met they were choked off and a solid anti-Wolcott delegation sent here.

In the county of Summit there was also a time-honored custom of selecting the delegates by different precincts. In that county the convention went so far as to appoint a committee for that purpose and to adopt the report of that committee. But when they found they were outvoted and that the voice of the people would have an opportunity to express itself, they came down upon the unit rule, and they lifted up their voices, and named a delegation, ignoring completely the report of the committee and the protests of four out of seven of the precincts of the county. It seems to me that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Had we admitted these First Ward delegates in the Arapahoe convention, we would have had a clean majority. Mr. Teller concealed that we would have had a majority, and yet he asks you to name five delegates who never were elected to the State convention. He asks you to seat five delegates who were voted for in the primaries only delegates to a County convention. How can they under any rule or precedent, or, in fairness, be

E. O. Wolcott, soon after his Removal to Denver.

admitted as delegates to the State convention? So much for the facts, Mr. Chairman.

I want to inform this convention and all the combinations about this convention that the delegation of forty-three who now hold their seats from Arapahoe County are Republicans. I say on their behalf and on behalf of hundreds of the younger Republicans of this State that we were Republicans when Garfield was elected, because we looked to his administration for that which was good and for the elimination of that which was bad. We were Republicans when our President was assassinated and the Vice-President took his seat, because we hoped and still hope for all that is good.

I care too much for the feelings of those who are opposed to us to make personal reference to the occurrences in this convention; but I assure you that in spite of all combinations and in spite of all efforts to crush us; in spite of men at home and men imported from abroad, we are Republicans because we believe that the principles of the Republican party will live forever.

The speech was received with long and loud applause, and the convention, notwithstanding its anti-Wolcott proclivities, immediately proceeded to adopt his substitute, seating the entire Wolcott delegation from Arapahoe. This was done by the decisive vote of 220 to 91.

Writing in the *Denver News* a few years after the convention, O. H. Rothacker, who had been present, said of the speech:

Although in a hopeless minority, Mr. Wolcott was the most striking figure in the convention. His ten minutes' speech on the adverse report against the admission of the First Ward Wolcott delegates was one of the most vigorous bits of oratory I ever heard. It struck the enemy amidships and they were absolutely dumbfounded when he closed. Stevenson of Gunnison, next to Hamill, the shrewdest Republican politician in Colorado, was the only member of the majority who had the brains to measure the full force of the telling retort, and who was smart enough to accept it at its best effect and pay it the compliment of acquiescence. It is rarely that a Colorado political faction is turned from its purpose. The speech brought about one of the exceptions.

It will be seen by a letter herein quoted that Mr. Wolcott was of the opinion that, if the vote on the Governorship could have come at once, Mr. Henry Wolcott would have been easily successful. He was not alone in that belief. The opera house, however, unfortunately was engaged for an entertainment that evening, and the convention adjourned until the next morning. This allowed time for many of the anti-Wolcott delegates to combine on Ernest L. Campbell of Leadville, and to make bargains in his behalf. One of these bargains was with the delegation of seven men from Fremont County, who were promised that if elected Mr. Campbell would appoint a Fremont County man as warden of the penitentiary. Five candidates had places on the first ballot of the morning, Mr. Wolcott having 106 votes out of 311, and Mr. Campbell 149, the latter thus lacking seven of a majority. This deficiency was provided for in the second ballot by the shifting of the Fremont County delegation from one of the minor candidates to Campbell. A dozen other delegates also hastened to be with the winner, but it was the Fremont County delegation which gave him the nomination.

Before the close of the convention Ed Wolcott was afforded an unexpected opportunity to show his metal. Two years before he had been willing if not anxious to accept the nomination for Congress, and with his own consent was still regarded as a prospective candidate for Congressional honors. Up to this time he had not fixed his gaze on the Senate. Knowing of his aspiration to represent the State in Washington, the Windmills sought to tempt him with the proffer of the honor at this time. Recognizing the difficulty of carrying the State without the aid of the Argonauts, soon after the nomination of Campbell they sent a committee to him to say that the Congressional nomination would be his for the asking. He instantly and indignantly refused.

Mr. Hamill and Mr. Wolcott nominated as Chairman of the State Committee, Mr. Chaffee who had been prominent in the direction of the anti-Wolcott forces, and then left him and his associates to win success if they could. Mr. Campbell was soon discovered to be a weak candidate. He

had little acquaintance through the State; he was a brother-in-law of the Democratic leader, T. M. Patterson, and was charged with having been affiliated with the Democrats. The opposing candidate, James B. Grant, a Democrat, had long been resident in the State, and was at the head of the great smelting industry at Leadville. He was recognized everywhere as a man of splendid probity and superior executive force. The Democrats could not have chosen more wisely, and it was soon evident that nothing less than a miracle could prevent Mr. Campbell's defeat.

It was in the early days of the campaign that the following letter was written:

DENVER, COLO., Oct. 8, 1882.

MY DEAR FATHER:

I haven't written home because, when I haven't been laid up with the quinzy, I have been generally demoralized by a crowd of politicians mingled with a few clients, and I knew you were getting the news.

I am anxious to see this ticket beaten, but am undecided how active a part it is prudent for me to take. I have been invited to stump the State, but shall decline. We had a curious State convention. There wasn't anything to my speech, but somehow it raised a whirlwind. If we could have balloted that day, Henry would have been nominated. If the convention could be called to-day he would be nominated by acclamation. We stand stronger in the State than ever before, and much stronger than any other faction. We are liable to throw it all away by not supporting the ticket actively. But there are some things a man cannot do.

With love, and in haste,

Your affectionate son,

ED.

It remains only to be said that in the campaign which followed the Wolcotts took no active part. Their quiet influence was against Campbell, however, and the election resulted in the choice of Mr. Grant by a majority of almost three thousand out of a vote of sixty thousand. The Legislature was Republican and elected Mr. Tabor to serve in the Senate during the thirty-three days remaining of the Teller term, and Thomas M. Bowen for the six years fol-

lowing that term. Belford was again returned to Congress, but by a reduced majority.

A correspondent of a Denver newspaper told during the pre-convention struggle of the frequent experience of Colorado promoters in being told by Eastern capitalists that the latter would go into the enterprises presented to them if Henry Wolcott's endorsement could be procured. There can be no question that his election would have given the State a high standing in business circles, and would have stimulated her commercial development. This in turn would have strengthened the conservative sentiment, and would have retarded the torrent of radicalism which swept over the State a few years later. And although they helped to inflict such an injury upon the commonwealth, the delegates from Fremont County did not obtain the wardenship of the penitentiary after all.

Edward Wolcott never made an attempt to justify his bolting of Campbell, but during the next campaign, in 1884, stated his general position on the subject of party loyalty as follows:

> Parties, like individuals, become sometimes careless of the appearances of things, and if for the time no great issues are presented in local matters, it sometimes happens that primary elections are carried in the interest of some unworthy man who seeks for office and preferment to glaze and cover an unsavory record, of some man whom the acquisition of wealth which he never earned by the sweat of his brow, has made ambitious, and who fancies that his dollars will serve instead of brains and sense. If enough primaries are carried in this way the minority of the convention is powerless; and when we are told that the majority must govern and that we must "take our medicine" without wincing and vote for unfit men for the sake of the "Grand Old Party" such a doctrine, gentlemen, may do for some, but it won't do for me.
>
> I love the party to which I belong. I love it for its splendid record in the past. I love it for the principles upon which it has planted its feet as upon the eternal rock. I learned to love it as a boy when fugitive slaves were hidden in the attic of my father's house by day to leave it by night to follow their weary way to freedom out of this slave-holding country to the

free air of Canada. I loved it when as a boy I took my musket and earned an honorable discharge from the armies of my country. I loved it four years ago when all of us, young men, fought gallantly together for the martyred Garfield, and I do not propose to be driven out of it because I refuse my vote to a man who seeks office as in old days criminals sought the sanctuary as a refuge from prison, or because I work and fight and protest against conferring public honor upon a man who is not entitled to private respect. And I say that if it is essential that any party should find its success through bad leaders or with the aid of men who are unworthy of public confidence, then such a party has outlived its usefulness, and should sink forever in the waves of defeat. "Necessity is the argument of tyrants, the creed of slaves." We build for the future or destroy for the future; this year is not the only year in the calendar. Whatever of good or of evil we throw into the scale will grow with the weight of years; and in the long run the party which contains within its ranks members who have the moral courage to reject the unfit men who have foisted themselves into prominence will have done more a hundred-fold to preserve the "principles of eternal justice," which makes the party worth saving, than all the "committees" now or hereafter organized whose business it is in a campaign to shut their eyes and swallow the ticket and cackle about "party fealty."

My judgment and my opinion about the question of individual freedom within party lines has but the weight of one man's opinion, and I have no personal grievances which I seek to redress; but to some of us who belong to the younger ranks of the party, who follow and do not lead, the question of fidelity to conscience is one of importance because it is a question we are called upon to solve each for himself and not for the other. The men who now mould public opinion will some day pass away and the trust will devolve upon us. To every true mind come "thoughts that wake to perish never"; the obligation which rests upon us cannot be delegated to any committee or to any convention; and the man who is willing to have his convictions stifled because a party whip is cracked over him and who is afraid to hold up his head as a free man, who does not do his own thinking and give a reason for the faith that is in him, is unfit to enjoy the right of suffrage.

LOOKING TO THE SENATE

With the beginning of the campaign in 1884 it was seen that Ed Wolcott was disposed to withdraw from the Hill ranks, and he did not figure to any great extent in this campaign. Mr. Blaine was the Republican candidate for President this year, and he had the hearty support of both of the Wolcotts. Their defection of the previous campaign had not been forgotten, however, and while they did not permit themselves to be read out of the party because of their action on that occasion, they elected to pursue a modest course, and refrained from any great activity. Ed delivered a number of speeches, but he made no effort to influence primaries or conventions, County or State.

In addition to the national aspect of the campaign the State contest of 1884 was a very important one. Senators Teller and Hill continued at swords' points, and the conflict was regarded as critical because the Legislature which should re-elect Mr. Hill or elect his successor, must be chosen at the election in November. Mr. Teller was still in the Cabinet, but as General Arthur had failed to obtain the Presidential nomination it was known that on the coming 4th of March the Colorado statesman would relinquish his portfolio. He had announced over and again his determination to refrain from again entering the public service, and had said that he would not permit the use of his name as a candidate to succeed Mr. Hill in the Senate. But in the end he was prevailed upon to change this decision and was elected as the successor of the man who for the past six years had been his chief antagonist.

In this campaign Ben Eaton of Weld County was the Republican candidate for Governor, and he was elected easily.

Toward the close of the campaign Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Teller addressed a meeting together in Denver.

A memorable event in Colorado politics was the appearance of these two leaders of the opposing factions on the same platform. The joint meeting was brought about after no little negotiation, neither side appearing especially anxious; but when the arrangement had been made both Mr.

Teller and Mr. Wolcott appeared very happy over it, and the meeting was most successful. In his speech on this occasion Mr. Wolcott found opportunity to pay a compliment to Mr. Teller. It was expressed in his best style, and in addition to its pleasing effect upon Teller's friends elicited from Wolcott's father the commendation that it was "a master stroke."

The following from the *Denver Inter-Ocean,* a weekly publication of character, of November 1st, of that year, is a fair example of the expression regarding the meeting:

It was a happy exemplification of the harmony which exists at present, when on last Saturday evening the Republicans of the city and vicinity turned out to do honor to the cause and credit to themselves, in showing what the strength of the party is, and in throwing aside all the petty jealousies that have existed, to do honor to two men who came together to unite in putting before them the true interests of the voters of the country, and especially of Colorado. There were no factional elements in the meeting at the Rink; it was pure Republicanism that came out there from the lips of that son of Colorado who holds so high and honorable a place in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and that eloquent orator whose glowing words and rounded sentences are the delight of Colorado audiences.

There are few who can array statistics and force an understanding of facts upon a general audience with more clearness and conciseness than Secretary Teller, and Saturday night he was at his best. Moved by a consciousness of the right, he spoke well and forcibly to a gathering of people who represented, in a large degree, the intelligence of the city. Descending to no personalities, and permitting no personal feeling to be seen, he presented the issues of the day in a manner that brought them home to his hearers, and the entire speech of the Secretary was such an array of home truths that no one who heard him could gainsay or deny.

Mr. Wolcott's oratory is so well known that praise seems almost superfluous. His eloquence is always of the most attractive description, and no matter how carried away he may be by the enthusiasm of the moment, he never loses sight of his argument or misses his logical conclusions. His effort, though his speaking never seems an effort, of Saturday, was a master-

piece of eloquence, every point of which was made with telling effect, calling for and receiving the plaudits of his hearers.

But aside from the force and eloquence of the two speakers, there was a lesson to be learned from the fact that all personal feeling had been lost in the consideration of the interests which were involved in the general question of which party should gain, or deserved to gain the victory in the coming election, and the absolute casting aside of the bitterness which is said to exist between the leaders of the party here, and the joining hands on the great questions of the day, shows a spirit of accommodation to first principles, which should teach those who heard the speakers that whatever personal preferences they may have in local politics, they should be: "first, last, and all the time," REPUBLICANS.

The *Denver Opinion*, also a weekly publication, spoke more exclusively of Mr. Wolcott's speech, saying:

No young man in public life ever received a more graceful compliment than that which was paid to the Hon. Edward O. Wolcott last Saturday evening. No young man in politics ever before made the strength of performance meet the grace of compliment so completely. He left all the grooves in his address. There was no robbery of antiques from the political waste-basket of the past. His address was straight and clean and candid. It had a ringing resonance of honesty throughout. It left all the old ways of custom and took the narrow path of truth. It touched what belonged to the national campaign broadly and well. It reached the source of all that belongs to the evils of the present political situation in the State, and carried the cure in what it suggested. It was the splendid genuineness of a man who has the elements of more strength than this side of the Mississippi has seen for a long time in any man.

What Mr. Wolcott said last Saturday evening is worth remembering. It is the essence of the newer thought in our public life. It means that the clean idea in politics has its strength, and that it may not, after all, be such a serious mistake to be honest and decent. The Independents have a reminiscence of something which never existed. They try to materialize a monstrosity which never was. They deal with a poor ideal which will always be beyond the practical, and therefore will always be useless. They mix selfishness, idealism, and vacuity in such

a way that it is little to be wondered at that the popular heat bakes the dough into a loaf of disgust. They can never succeed. The motive in politics which will yet rule is the young, strong thought which recognizes what is good in the old and what is callow in the new, and takes the happy mean. Mr. Wolcott is an admirable representative of this scarcely developed condition. In a measure he is its St. John the Baptist. That which he preaches is only a bow into the anteroom of what is certain to be the main hall of our politics before many years. He has the right idea, and he will yet give to it the right judgment. Eloquent, quick, and earnest, he is the strongest leader of the thought which expressed itself first and best in the election of Mr. Garfield. He has a great career before him. All that is needful is that he should remember its probabilities.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1886

In 1886 Mr. Wolcott became an open candidate for the Senate to succeed Mr. Bowen. In a speech at the State Convention that year, he practically announced his candidacy, and assumed the reins of leadership, which he did not relinquish until after his retirement from the Senate fifteen years later. In this speech he again in general language referred to his bolt of 1882, but only to justify it.

No longer was Mr. Wolcott regarded as a follower of Mr. Hill. Indeed, with his retirement from the Senate, Professor Hill had returned with avidity to his work at the smelter, and thereafter gave comparatively slight attention to politics. Little more was heard of him in a political way until 1896, when, on account of the split in the Republican party over the silver question, he united with Mr. Teller in deserting the party. Thus the two men who so long had been rivals and enemies as Republicans became friends and co-workers in the Silver organization.

Mr. Wolcott went into the State Convention of 1886 with the intention of dominating it in so far as he might in the interest of his own candidacy for the Senate, which must come on in earnest in the campaign of 1888. He, therefore, determined to name the nominee for Governor, and succeeded to that extent. He championed the cause of William H. Meyer, of Costilla County, the then Lieutenant-Governor,

and forced that gentleman's nomination over Governor Eaton, who was a candidate for re-election; over Hosea Townsend, of Custer County, afterward a Representative in Congress, and also over James Moynahan, of Park County, who had been a popular State Senator.

But, while Wolcott was able to name his candidate in the convention, he was not so successful before the people. Meyer, like Campbell, was little known, and, as was the case with the Leadville candidate of four years previous, he was charged with having bolted the Republican ticket in a former campaign. There was no Presidential candidate to strengthen him, and his defeat was easily effected. On the other hand, the Democrats again were fortunate in their candidate. Alva Adams, of Pueblo, a pioneer, young, popular, and a brilliant campaigner, headed their ticket, and he, like Grant, was elected with little difficulty.

The campaign this year was fought by the Colorado Republicans on national lines. In his speeches, Mr. Wolcott appealed strongly to the popular enthusiasm for Blaine, who two years before had been defeated by Cleveland for the Presidency. He held the Cleveland administration up to derision and especially denounced its carpet-bag methods in the matter of Federal appointments in Colorado—methods which he found to be quite in conflict with the Civil Service professions of Mr. Cleveland himself. He defended Mr. Meyer as a worthy candidate, and claimed for the entire Republican ticket vast superiority over the Democratic candidates. Rev. Myron W. Reed, a popular Congregational minister of Denver, who gave much attention to social and labor problems, was the Democratic candidate for Congress, and Mr. Wolcott made him the subject of much sarcasm, warning the voters that it always had been true that "the itch of disputing will become the scab of the Churches." He succeeded in defeating Reed if not in electing Meyer.

These campaigns brought Mr. Wolcott to the threshold of activity as a Senatorial candidate, and we find him now entering the arena in his own behalf "in dead earnest."

Two Senatorial Elections

TWO SENATORIAL ELECTIONS

AFTER Mr. Wolcott's ever faithful brother Henry, to Senator Teller is due the credit for the first suggestion from a prominent source that Mr. Wolcott should aspire to the United States Senate. Doubtless, he, as was natural with a man of his abilities and aspirations, had looked with longing eye toward that great forum; but he seems never to have had serious hope of reaching the goal until 1886, when he confided to Mr. Teller his desire for the nomination for member of the House of Representatives.

Up to this time there had been no political relationship between the even then veteran Senator and the young orator, for insofar as he had been in politics Mr. Wolcott had been in alliance with the Hill faction, which owed its existence to opposition to Mr. Teller. But for two years or more Mr. Wolcott had been gradually alienating himself from that affiliation. The campaign of 1882 had left many scars which were not entirely healed when in 1884 Mr. Hill entered upon his campaign for re-election. When he made his first race in 1878 he had the enthusiastic and efficient assistance of both of the Wolcotts, but as the next campaign in Mr. Hill's interest approached it became evident that Ed Wolcott's ardor had cooled, and as time wore on it was found that he was not inclined to assist in any way in promoting the ambition of his former leader. In a campaign address he spoke eulogistically of Mr. Teller, and when in January, 1885, the Legislature met in Denver to elect a Senator, he remained away from the city. Henry Wolcott did not permit the defection of his brother to influence his relations with Senator Hill.

It was not until 1886, two years after Mr. Wolcott had withdrawn from the Hill ranks and had refused his assistance to that gentleman in his antagonism to Senator Teller, that Mr. Wolcott approached Mr. Teller regarding his own aspirations. Before the beginning of the campaign of that year he sought him out and informed him of his ambition to become a member of the House. By this time Senator Teller had had abundant opportunity to study the character of the rising young man. He long since had discerned in him those rare qualities of leadership and that transcendent ability which made it possible in later years for Mr. Wolcott to command the attention, not of the masses only, but of the leaders of economic thought both in America and Europe. The elder statesman was not then averse to a coalition with this young man of so much force and of so many possibilities. His practised eye had not failed to note that when Ed Wolcott was with Mr. Hill, Mr. Hill won and that when Ed Wolcott's influence and guiding hand were withdrawn, Mr. Hill lost.

With Senator Teller once more safely occupying his seat in the Senate, and with Mr. Hill in private life, there was no longer any sharp conflict between them; but it is not at all improbable that the Senator felt more friendly to Mr. Wolcott because of the latter's refusal in 1884 to assist his rival for the Senatorship. Be this as it may, Mr. Wolcott received a cordial greeting when he called upon the Senator. He did not, however, find any encouragement to his ambition to represent the State in the lower House of Congress.

At that time Honorable George G. Symes was the representative of the State in that body, and, while he and Mr. Teller were not particularly allied in politics, they were personal friends. Symes had served only one term, but his service had been creditable, and with many other Republican leaders, Mr. Teller thought him entitled to a second election. He so advised Mr. Wolcott, and then suggested to him that he should be a candidate to succeed Senator Bowen whose term in the Senate would expire in 1889. As Mr. Teller relates the interview, he said:

"Ed, you should not try for the House. Symes is en-

trenched there; you could not defeat him at this time, and, besides, the Senate is the place for you. It offers to you a far broader field of usefulness and it will be more suitable to your temperament and mental qualities."

"Oh, yes," responded Mr. Wolcott, "of course, the Senate would suit me all right, but I do not believe it possible to get there."

"I told him that it could be done if he would go to work from that time and make a systematic campaign," continues Mr. Teller's narrative. "To make a long story short, he accepted my advice, ceased all efforts to obtain a nomination for the House and immediately began to make his plans for the Senate, with the result that when the election came on there was but very slight opposition to him. He was in reality the one candidate who was seriously considered."

Having decided to enter the contest for the Senate, Mr. Wolcott set about preparing for it in his usual thorough manner. His first and most important step was to get control of the State party machinery, and this important step was followed by obtaining the mastery of the Republican organization in the city of Denver and in Arapahoe County. While he did not succeed in the election of Meyer as Governor in 1886, he placed himself in touch with the members of the State Central Committee and, through them and his political friends generally, with the party workers throughout the State. The same course was followed in Denver and Arapahoe County, the principal city and most populous county in the State. By controlling the Republican nominations and aiding in the success of the nominees at the elections, both county and city, just prior to 1886, he not only made sure of the party machine, but he insured the good-will of the officials themselves.

In consequence of these tactics and because of his generally conceded fitness for the place, the way to the Senate was open to Wolcott when the time came to elect Bowen's successor. But before that election could take place there must intervene another State election, so that the fight for the Senate, which culminated in January, 1889, really was made in the fall preceding—before the State

and county conventions, on the hustings and at the polling places.

There were two State conventions in 1888, the first in May to select delegates to the then approaching National Republican Convention, and the second in September to nominate State officers. At the first Henry Wolcott was chosen chairman of the delegation, and the fact of his candidacy led to a verbal encounter between Ed Wolcott and Judge Belford, which, while it soon was forgotten by both, aroused considerable feeling at the time.

The May convention was held in Pueblo, and it was then that Mr. Wolcott referred to that city as "a pleasant little village." The expression was intended as a joke, and was so understood by most of his audience, but his enemies distorted it into a bitter reflection on the rising metropolis and it cut no small figure in the campaign. The meeting was full of incidents. In Mr. Wolcott's principal speech, he made brief reference to his revolt of 1882, saying:

"I am glad that kind friends and time have reared the statute of limitation against the men who have unwittingly forgotten their party allegiance, for there are none without faults. We have all done it, and now I suggest that we are all glad to work together for the interest of the party."

It was later in the day that the conflict with Judge Belford arose. Mr. Wolcott introduced a resolution providing for the appointment by the chair of a committee to suggest the names of delegates to the National Convention. Mr. Belford moved to amend by providing for the selection of the committee by the various county delegations. In a speech supporting his amendment, he made a remark which Mr. Wolcott construed as a charge that he had packed the convention. The intimation brought out a stinging response from Wolcott. A contemporary newspaper account says that when he rose to reply "there was fire in his eye." The same account quotes him as charging Mr. Belford with a lack of fealty to his party, and then saying:

It was with a sense that a dear brother of mine might be honored as a delegate to the Chicago Convention; it was with

a brother's love and loyalty that I came here. And there is not one of the eighty men who came here as a delegate from Arapahoe County who could deny me that right. If the name of Wolcott is a stench in the nostrils of Mr. Belford, we will withdraw him. (Cries of "No, no.") He may charge me with being the tool of corporations; but he must not charge me with packing a convention, for I would not attempt it.

Replying, Belford denied that he had charged Wolcott with packing the convention, but he admitted that he had attempted a little sarcasm at that gentleman's expense.

The Wolcott motion prevailed.

Wolcott was the master spirit at the fall convention. He had been in the race for the Senate for two years, and of the almost six hundred delegates, fully three fourths were his devoted disciples—many of them the same young men, grown a bit older, who had followed him in 1882. They constituted a determined band in his support, and were not only willing to follow where he would lead, but determined to have him point the way even when he did not want to do so. Especially concerned about the Legislature, he did not desire to take any part in the matter of naming candidates for the State offices. But he was not permitted to occupy that position of impartiality. He was forced into the fight, and, out of a number of candidates for governor, ultimately placed his seal of approval upon Job A. Cooper, a Denver banker, who, largely at Mr. Wolcott's instance, was nominated and elected. The nominees for the other offices were also friends of Mr. Wolcott.

Mr. Wolcott's speech before this convention was noteworthy on two accounts: first, because with other members of the then Colorado delegation in Congress he complimented Senator Bowen, his chief rival for senatorial honors; and, second, because he announced his undying allegiance to the Republican party—a declaration which he was to be called upon to make good. In this declaration of loyalty he said:

I plead for the party and not for myself. For as for me I have such an utter contempt for the source and the purposes

and the methods that assail me that I care not a straw. No man can drive me out of the Republican party. I was born in it. I love its principles and I shall die in it.

I want to say to this convention that if any aspirations that I may have or that any friends of mine have for me, stand for one instant in the way of the harmony and the growth and the progress of the Republican party in our beloved State, there is not a man living so ready to sacrifice all upon the altar of his party as am I. The Republicans are united, not only in Colorado, but all over the country; and on election-day the men in the workshops and in the mills and the manufactories of New York and Connecticut and New Jersey will declare that American labor and American wages should be protected, and the men and the sons of the men who fought to preserve this Union will see to it that by reason of their endeavors we are not again subjected to four years more of the humiliation of Democratic rule.

Mr. Wolcott was the chief factor in the contest. He made a stirring and successful campaign. Not only was the State ticket elected, but the Legislature was overwhelmingly Republican, 63 of the 75 members being of that political persuasion. A majority of the Republican caucus were pledged in advance to Mr. Wolcott. In a vote of about 88,000, the Harrison Presidential Electors had a majority of more than 13,000.

FIRST ELECTION

The Republican senatorial caucus was held on the night of January 3, 1889, before the Legislature could begin to do business, the early meeting being justified by the argument that until the senatorial question was settled the Legislature would transact no other business. Of a number of opposition candidates previously mentioned for the Senate, only Messrs. Bowen and Tabor permitted themselves to be considered in that connection to the end of the contest, and long before the meeting of the caucus they fully realized that their chances were nil. Mr. Wolcott was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 45 votes to Mr. Bowen's 15 and Mr. Tabor's one. The caucus which met at eight o'clock adjourned before nine.

Senator Mason B. Carpenter presided over the meeting and placed Mr. Wolcott in nomination. He made a highly eulogistic speech, saying among other things:

Our State pride demands of us that we shall place beside Senator Teller if not his superior, at least his equal, if such can be found within our borders, and that, too, irrespective of whether his lot be cast with those of our citizens south or north of the Divide. Our candidate should not be circumscribed by geographical position or mountain chains. When elected, the Senator will represent the whole people of the entire State, not the sectional or political division of it. Of all persons whose names have been mentioned for this high office, there is none so well equipped or so permanently qualified to be the colleague of Mr. Teller as the man I now nominate—Hon. Edward O. Wolcott. . . .

His election will be a tribute of respect, too, and a recognition of the young men of the Republican party, whose enthusiasm and zeal added so much to the success of our campaign. On all the great questions of the day he is sound, and I pledge you that he is in sympathy with all the needs of this great and growing people. His public speeches stamp him as a man of great intellect, and we predict for him a grand and glorious future upon the floor of the Senate.

The rejoicing over the nomination continued until late in the night, but not too late for Mr. Wolcott to pen the following note before retiring:

DENVER, COLO., January 3, 1889.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

This is the first line I have written since my nomination by the caucus, and I want my first letter to be to you, my dear mother. I feel very happy and very humble. I shall do my best. I know my limitations and my weaknesses, but I trust I shall never bring discredit to the name I bear. If I do well it will be because God gave me the best father and mother anybody ever had. If father were only alive!

I love you very much and dearly.

Your son,

ED.

The election did not take place until the 15th of the

month. The balloting then was in the Senate and House separately, and in each Mr. Wolcott received the full Republican vote, in the Senate nineteen and in the House forty-three. The Democratic vote, six in the Senate and six in the House, was cast for Hon. Charles S. Thomas. In the House there was no speech-making, and when, in accordance with the legal requirements, the balloting was begun at twelve o'clock that body directly proceeded to vote for a Senator. In the Senate both Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Thomas were formally nominated. Senator Carpenter, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, who had named Mr. Wolcott in the caucus, again performed this service in his behalf. He then said:

Before the roll is called I desire to place in nomination a candidate for the office of Senator. Upon this General Assembly devolves the responsible but also the pleasant duty of electing a United States Senator to sit in the councils of the Nation for six years, commencing on the 4th of March, 1889. Pursuant to the act of Congress, we have met to perform that duty. Upon this side of the Chamber we have selected our nominee, and we present his name for the votes of this body in accordance with the unalterable decree of King Caucus. Not only does that decree comport with the wishes of the great majority of the Republicans of the State, but to those of us who reside in this locality and who have watched the career of our nominee it has a peculiar significance and charm. I take pleasure in presenting the name of Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, of Arapahoe County, as the nominee for the high office of United States Senator.

Mr. Wolcott was born and reared in Yankee-land. He received his education in that New England community whose youth drink deep at the fountain of learning. Coming early to Colorado he struggled through poverty and adversity until now the eagle eye of friendship views him at the topmost round of the ladder of fame. His personal qualities and splendid abilities have endeared him to a circle of friends whose name is Legion, and I can safely say that the brilliancy of his genius challenges alike the admiration of friend and foe. When the memorable campaign of 1888 opened, Mr. Wolcott was at once recognized as its leader upon the Republican side. Rapid in speech, in expression clear-cut, keen, terse, vivacious, and logi-

cal,—with utterance distinct and with voice resolute and clear,—he carried all his audiences by storm.

It is unnecessary for me to say what everybody knows—that he is bright, brilliant, dashing, upright, fearless, and independent. Among all the candidates whose names have been presented for this distinguished office, there was none so justly entitled to it as our candidate, Edward O. Wolcott. Indeed, since his nomination in caucus the verdict of the entire State, with but here and there an exception, has been the approval of our selection, and we meet to-day simply to enter the judgment of the people which so fittingly endorses our action. I nominate Edward O. Wolcott, of Arapahoe County.

The formal ratification in joint assembly of the action of the two Houses as such took place on the following day. The Senate and the House met together on the 16th in the Hall of the lower body, and by their joint voices formally declared Mr. Wolcott the choice of the State to succeed Hon. Thomas M. Bowen as United States Senator for the six years beginning on the following 4th of March. The assembly hall was crowded with Mr. Wolcott's friends, who, representing the highest society and in every way the best element in the State, lent unusual brilliancy to the occasion. Shortly before twelve o'clock the House suspended its regular business, and a few minutes later four employees of that body walked down a side aisle bearing two handsome floral designs and two huge baskets of flowers, selected and arranged with exquisite taste, which were supplied by Mr. Wolcott's friends and placed on the Speaker's desk. The most elegant of the floral designs was a large star upon which was the Latin motto "Facile Princeps," and the other was a horse-shoe.

At 12:05 o'clock the Senate made its appearance and the members of that body took seats upon the floor of the House. President *pro tempore* Carpenter called the joint convention to order, stating that it was convened in pursuance of a resolution adopted in both Houses providing for the completion of the election.

The journals of the proceedings of the two Houses of the previous day in connection with the choice of a Senator

were then read, and President Carpenter made formal declaration of the election of Mr. Wolcott.

Thereupon a committee was appointed to wait upon the nominee and officially inform him of the result of the election. This committee consisted of Senator Cochran, of Arapahoe County, and Representatives Harris, of Arapahoe, and Bartholomew, of Summit County. Very soon after its appointment the committee returned, escorting Mr. Wolcott, who was received with prolonged and clamorous applause. After quiet had been restored, Mr. Wolcott made a brief address in recognition of the honor conferred upon him, in which he said:

Mr. President and Members of the General Assembly: No task imposed on me could be at once so grateful and yet so difficult as that of thanking you for bestowing upon me the highest honor in the gift of this Commonwealth, and if my words fail and I speak with halting tongue, believe me, it is because my heart is full and because your confidence touches me too deeply for words. For, you see, I came to Colorado a year after I came of age. All the years of my manhood have been passed here, and Colorado is almost as much my home as if I had been born within her limits. During all these years, among all the day-dreams which fill a young man's brain, none came so often and so often recurred again and again as one that some day perhaps I might be called upon to share in representing our beloved State in the councils of the Nation. You have to-day by your action made that which I had feared was but a castle in Spain as true and real as is my gratitude. And this, too, makes it difficult for me to adequately express my thanks.

It seems impossible that contests for office should be carried on without a certain amount of rancor and cruel, bitter, personal attack. Your deliberations upon the senatorial election were preceded by more of personal criticism and assault than is usual, and yet now, when it is all over, we may all take pleasure in remembering,

> "What all experience serves to show—
> No mud can soil us but the mud we throw."

And the shafts which have been directed against me have in-

flicted the less suffering because of the deep and abiding personal faith and confidence of dear friends which have furnished me with an armor that the arrows of malice can never penetrate.

But if we strive and struggle for victory we are quick to accept the results and to seek to avoid even the appearance of dissension within our ranks. Some of you had another personal choice. Yet all bowed to the will of the majority, and I on my part beg to assure you that I fully and cordially recognize the fact that the votes which elect me to the Senate are the united and unanimous votes of the dominant party as represented in this General Assembly, and that I as fully and as cordially recognize the obligation which follows such a vote.

No man was ever sent to represent a State under happier auspices. You have made me the colleague of the gentleman who stands for all that is highest and best in the history, the growth, and the hopes of Colorado from its pioneer days until now; whose high attributes of statesmanship are recognized not only in the State he represents, but all over the land; whose personal qualities endear him to every good man who knows him, and with whom it is an honor to be called upon to serve.

And at no time was there ever more need of careful legislation. We are but facing the dawn of our prosperity in Colorado. Our mining interests are in their infancy. The public lands are being rapidly turned into thrifty farms. Large and various industries are finding lodgment here, and new channels of commerce are directed toward us, and as no State in the Union has the vast resources of Colorado, so is there no State which needs such wise and careful protection by national legislation. And above all, as the tide of population pours in, it is essential for us to look to its character as well as its volume. We have for years been peopling our land from foreign countries. The time is at hand when no other test of citizenship should be added than that of fealty and devotion to American institutions.

With these words of general and grateful acceptance, I should perhaps make an end, but, Mr. President, you will pardon me, I know, one word of personal mention. There are in this General Assembly gentlemen who left their business and their professions solely because they were my friends, and others who from the day of election until now have been to me as steadfast as brothers, and nobody knows as I do what a brother's constancy means. I cannot leave these persons without assuring them that between the lines of the parchment which shall be

the permanent evidence of your action to-day, I shall read their names in letters that will never fade, and shall recall with tender memory, as long as I shall live, their friendship, their kindness, and their devotion.

Most of the newspaper chroniclers of the time mentioned in terms of praise Mr. Wolcott's reference to his brother, and one of them, referring to the presence of Henry, said that he was "scarcely less conspicuous than the Senator-elect."

He sat midway from the entrance to the floor of the House, and directly in front of the Speaker's platform [proceeds this report]. During the announcement of his brother's election and the new Senator's speech, his face was illumined with the great joy he experienced at the realization of his ambitions and hopes for his kinsman. There was a very pretty touch of nature in the scene of one brother, in the pride of his acceptance of the highest honor in the gift of the Commonwealth, pointedly and gracefully acknowledging fraternal constancy, and the other exhibiting the unalloyed pleasure he so deeply felt.

Commenting upon the occasion, the *Rocky Mountain News* said:

It was observable, when Mr. Wolcott commenced talking, that there was a slight trembling of his voice, and several times, as he alluded feelingly to the devotion of his friends and particularly to that of his brother, the Honorable Henry Wolcott, there was a suspicion of moisture in his eyes corresponding to the pathos of his utterances.

At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Wolcott stepped down from the Speaker's stand and for the next ten or fifteen minutes was kept busy shaking hands with members of the Legislature and other friends who crowded about him. Later an informal reception was given to him at the Windsor Hotel, and the occasion was one of general rejoicing.

Many telegrams and letters of congratulation followed, but probably none carried more satisfaction or touched a more sympathetic chord than the following from President Porter of Yale:

YALE UNIVERSITY,
NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
January 18, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:

I congratulate you most sincerely upon your election as a member of the United States Senate. I do so the more heartily because I think you appreciate most fully what satisfaction it would give your father, who had so keen an appreciation of the excitement and the attraction of debate and deliberation and who in all the contests in which he figured bore himself so nobly. I think he would have rejoiced as few fathers can in the success of his son.

Most truly yours,
NOAH PORTER.

Hon. E. O. WOLCOTT.

Among his letters were many from the young Republicans of Colorado who had been so staunchly loyal to him throughout his political career. These touched him deeply, and he never failed to show his appreciation in his reply letters. Fortunately Mr. Henry Hanington, Jr., of Denver, has preserved one of these replies. It follows:

DENVER, COLO., Jan. 28, 1889.

HENRY HANINGTON, Jr.,
Denver, Colo.

DEAR HARRY:

Among all the letters of congratulation which have come to me, not one has been more grateful or has touched me more than the one signed by the members of the Denver High School Baseball Club, and if I acknowledge its receipt to you, it is because I know you more intimately than I do the other members, and they will understand.

Nothing has been so encouraging to me for the past few months, as the feeling that the young men were my friends.

You have none of you yet a vote, and it is a good sign for the future of our country, that even before our young men can take part in shaping its destinies, they are interested in its welfare, and preparing themselves to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently when it shall be conferred upon them.

The perpetuity of Republican institutions must ever rest upon intelligence. You of the High School will soon be called upon

to bear your share in the conduct of the affairs of your country, and I know you will bear yourselves like men.

Please thank the other members of the Club for me, and believe me to be their friend and yours,

EDWD. O. WOLCOTT.

Mr. Wolcott's success was favorably received by the press of Colorado, by many of the Democratic papers as well as most of the Republican journals. The *Rocky Mountain News*, the leading Democratic paper of the State, devoted a column editorial to Mr. Wolcott on the day after his nomination by the Republican caucus, saying in part:

So long as a Democrat could not be chosen, the choice of Mr. Wolcott is eminently satisfactory to the *News*, and will be to the people of the State. His election in fact is the final consummation of the overwhelming victory which was won by the Republican party at the polls in November last, which victory Mr. Wolcott organized and carried to so successful and brilliant a conclusion.

From a non-partisan standpoint, the people of Colorado are to be congratulated upon Mr. Wolcott's choice. He is young, able, and eloquent. He is possessed of genius, culture, and a broad, vigorous, comprehensive mind. He has dash and brilliancy and a rare capacity for leadership. As a lawyer he stands among the first; as an orator he is without a peer in the West, as regards either the elegance of his composition, the grace and vigor of his delivery, or the brilliant rounding of his periods; as a man he has a handsome presence and hearty, winning manner, and is as true as steel to his friends and followers.

In all respects, he is worthy to represent Colorado, with all her varied and promising greatness, in the counsels of the highest legislative body of the Nation, and to which he will bring a fortunate combination of intellect and manhood, which, when broadened by experience and ripened by age, is destined to render him one of the foremost figures of the Nation and of the time. The Republican party honors itself by Mr. Wolcott's election.

BETWEEN ELECTIONS

NATURALLY, the greater part of Mr. Wolcott's time between 1889, when he was first elected, and 1895, the date of his second election, was given to his duties as a Senator, and we shall see that in this respect he was a very busy man. While forging his way rapidly to the front in Washington, he also found much to do in keeping in repair the political fences at home. He could not afford to lose control of the party machinery, and he gave much attention to local and State affairs. In addition, his Colorado law practice, his expanding business interests, and his social duties came in for a share of attention, and none were neglected.

Politically and otherwise, Colorado was a seething cauldron during Mr. Wolcott's first term in the Senate. Many important events bearing upon his career transpired. Some of them occurred in, and others out of, the State. This period saw the rise of Populism and the election of Davis H. Waite as Governor of the State. It witnessed a death struggle for silver in the world at large with especial consequences to Colorado. The panic of 1893 fell to this epoch in the world's history, and Colorado suffered from it as few other States suffered. It was a period of political corruption in Denver and of much factional strife throughout the State, and a master hand was required properly to steer the Republican ship through the turbulent waters. The fact is worth noting here that it was in this time that Colorado lifted woman to a level with her brother in the exercise of the elective franchise.

These six years embraced the closing period of the fight for the free coinage of silver, and Colorado was the natural and actual centre of this agitation. Leading all the States in the production of the white metal, the people of the State had larger interests at stake as the result of the sus-

pension of silver coinage than those of any other political subdivision of the country. As will appear in the proper place, no member of either House of Congress was more alert or more advanced in his advocacy of free coinage than the Colorado Senator. But, alert and courageous though he was to the extent of bringing much condemnation upon his head from the opponents of the silver propaganda, his view was not sufficiently pronounced to meet the demands of the more radical silver element at home. Silver took almost complete possession of some of them, and the man who was not willing to follow the vagaries of every individual street-corner shouter was instantly and violently assailed as a traitor to the cause and an ingrate to the State. Strong and vigorous as he was in expression, outspoken as he was in the advocacy of any cause he espoused, a study of his career will reveal that E. O. Wolcott still was a conservative. Mob rule had no charms for him; anarchy was an abomination. He believed in law. He was ever orderly. No man supported established conditions more steadfastly and consistently than he. While under provocation he could be independent, party ties were binding upon him to an unusual degree, and, as will be seen in due course, rather than forsake his party, rather than follow what he believed the unreasonable and ineffectual plannings of those who left the party for silver, he remained a Republican, and thus in the end retired himself from the Senate.

This final result was not, however, precipitated until after he had sat in that body for twelve years, nor until after many things had happened, and in justice it should be stated that if the silver question was responsible for the ultimate defeat of Mr. Wolcott, it also was of material assistance in procuring his second election. That election came in 1895, in the midst of the agitation succeeding the repeal of the clause of the Sherman act authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, and at a time when the silver advocates still had hope of restorative legislation. Mr. Wolcott's ability as a national advocate was so universally recognized that, so long as there was any possibility of prevailing upon the Republican party to take a more favorable stand than had been assumed, his

retention in the Senate was assured. The events of 1896, following soon after the second election, put an end to all such possibilities. But these occurrences were still in the uncertain future when the election of 1895 took place.

In order that the campaign preceding this election may be understood, a review of conditions in the State from 1890 becomes necessary.

In the nation the period witnessed the repeal of the only law which gave the white metal a genuine standing as a money metal. In the outside world the mints generally were closed to the coinage of silver. Whether due to this or other causes the panic of 1893 was precipitated, and there was a period of currency stringency such as the world has seldom seen. The times were sadly out of joint throughout the country—all over the world, indeed. Colorado was doubly hit. Not only did the ordinary business institutions of the State feel the effect of the panic as did those of other States, but the blow at silver resulted in the almost complete destruction of silver mining, the paramount industry of Colorado. As the combined result of the closing of the mints of India and the general financial depression, twelve Denver banks failed in three days' time in July. Thousands upon thousands of laborers and other employees of industrial institutions were thrown out of work. Between the rising and the setting of the sun, hundreds of men who had counted their wealth in six figures were reduced to pauperism. Business houses were closed in rapid succession. The streets were thronged with the unemployed and the roadside was lined with them. Crime was so common in the vicinity of Denver that it became necessary to establish a camp in the outskirts of the city, where thousands of men out of work were supported from the scanty store of the people of the town.

These conditions in the community naturally were reflected in politics. As is usual on such occasions the cheap doctrinaires were ready to trace the industrial situation to misgovernment, and the occasion was seized by the extremists as the one opportunity of a lifetime to hoist themselves into places of responsibility.

The Populist party was the direct product of conditions

immediately preceding this situation, and with that party came the most fantastical ideas of government that this country has known. With it also came the motliest group of politicians that had been lifted into power in any place since the days of the French Revolution. Not so compactly organized as the anarchists who overthrew the French monarchy, nor, of course, so regardless of human life and human rights, they were almost as determined upon forcing the acceptance of their theories of government. Many of them were elected to State and county offices in various of the Western States, and quite a sprinkling found seats in the national Congress. The percentage at Washington never was large, so that the greatest harm done by them there was the increase of printing bills and the overtaxation of the patience of their innocent colleagues, who were compelled to listen to their speeches in the Halls of Congress.

Colorado was among the States which sent Populist members to Congress; but truth demands the statement that, in all respects, Colorado's Populist Congressmen were worthy men—much more conservative than most of their compeers of other States, and in every way honest and devoted to the State's welfare. Indeed, Colorado was Populistic only on account of silver. The Colorado people always were hard-money advocates; greenbackism never gained any foothold in the State. But with the shutting down of the silver mines people saw departing their employment, their fortunes, their bread-and-butter. They were desperate, and they were willing to turn to Populism because, if for no other reason, it struck at the old parties, neither of which promised any relief nor seemed concerned as to whether any should be given.

With Benjamin Harrison as the Republican standard-bearer and Grover Cleveland leading the Democratic hosts, in 1892, silver was doomed whichever of the old parties won. Populism promised free silver as it promised a hundred other things. Colorado was willing to take any hook that carried silver bait, and it swallowed Populism with James B. Weaver and Davis H. Waite.

Mr. Wolcott had discernment enough to see that Populism could have no national success, and he was too true to his own manhood to sacrifice it for mere temporary personal

success by yielding to a local demand. He was ever bitterly antagonistic to the new party. Indeed, the stronger Populism grew and the more numerous its adherents, the more determined was his opposition, the stauncher his Republicanism.

Taking the country as a whole Waite was the worst product of Populism. He was the Populist candidate for Governor in Colorado in 1892, and being elected, filled the office for two years. It has been stated that his occupancy of the gubernatorial chair cost the State a quarter of a million dollars in money, to say nothing of the loss of prestige resulting from his unreasonable acts and the ridicule called forth by his Falstaffian performances.

Preceding the Waite campaign and the Waite régime came the disgraceful proceedings of 1890, in which the different factions of the Republican party were the principals. This contest centred in Arapahoe County, where for months the "Gang" and the "Gangsmashers" were engaged in a deadly warfare with no bone of contention except the county and city offices. Connected with these wrangles was an effort on the part of certain corporations of the city to promote their own interests. This political contention was carried into the State Legislature, resulting in two organizations in the lower House, a situation which threatened the defeat of Senator Teller in his candidacy for re-election.

Mr. Wolcott kept aloof from these contests in so far as he as a party leader could do, but he devoted himself with might and main to keeping Republicanism in the ascendancy regardless of factional differences. In this he was successful in the contest of 1890, and the entire State ticket with Governor Routt at its head was elected.

October 27th, Mr. Wolcott made his first speech during the campaign of 1890. The address was delivered at Colorado Springs, and the audience was composed largely of ladies. Many of them belonged to the ranks of the most fashionable society, but they soon were to cast their first votes, and it was evident that they meant to be prepared to act intelligently. The address was devoted in the main to national issues, including silver. Coming to local affairs he made reply to newspaper attacks upon himself. Journal-

ism in Colorado never has been very considerate of the feelings of public men, and Mr. Wolcott felt keenly the falsity and venom of attacks made on him at this time from certain quarters. He referred to such unfair criticism as a menace to the welfare of the community, but refrained from specific discussion of the things said about himself. These remarks having been liberally applauded, Mr. Wolcott continued:

Whatever public charges are made should be investigated if they seem serious, but in ninety-nine of a hundred cases you will find that their source discredits them. We all believe in honest public service. None of us have any use for unfaithful stewards. The fact is that a newspaper can throw dirt every day of the year, and in this State where population is increasing, strangers who see a paper that is apparently respectable are misled by its utterances. They do not know the history of the paper or of its owner.

At the Coliseum in Denver Mr. Wolcott made a set speech on the night of November 3, 1890, in which, after discussing national affairs, he said:

Because this municipality is venal and corrupt and because the local corporations in their effort to further their own interests are struggling for the local machinery and seeking to buy their franchises irrespective of the public welfare or the public good, the avenues through which or by which the public may express their wishes are choked with faction and disgraced by local corporate quarrels. Yet somehow in the end the way is cleared, and if this community is denied the opportunity of adequate and united expression at this election it is nevertheless true that the people who care not a sou for one corporation or the other but who desire good government and clean government will dump into the sewer these gutter politicians, who, standing by themselves, present the sorriest spectacle, but who, with corporate money and corporate votes behind them, seem to stand for something. And the people will find some way to purify the atmosphere of the municipal and official infamy which hangs over the community like a dark cloud—a menace to good order and good government.

After speaking at some length on the tariff and the finances of the country at large, he added:

With this national record it is fair to expect that this year there will be no trouble in carrying the State ticket by a full vote. The State Convention nominated excellent men, and for the future welfare of Colorado I am glad to say that there are in the State enough warm, sincere and honest Republicans to elect every man on the ticket. This year, however, as in previous years, we have been compelled to bear the burden of despicable personal attacks upon some of our candidates by a newspaper which has no weight where its owner and his animus are known.

One of the stories which was circulated at this time was that he was not lending his earnest support to Mr. Teller, who was to come before the Legislature for re-election in the following January. Indeed, one of the anti-Wolcott papers, professing to be zealous for Teller, cartooned the junior Senator as bending over his senior with a long dagger held aloft and ready to plunge it into the back of the latter. That the intimation was cruelly unjust is shown by the fact that, after giving every assistance to the election of members of the Legislature friendly to his colleague, Mr. Wolcott took steps to procure from every Republican Senator and Representative a pledge to vote for Teller. He entrusted this service to his close personal friend, Dewey C. Bailey, then a member of the Legislature, who visited all the legislators at their homes in advance of the meeting. The expense of this canvass was borne by Mr. Wolcott. All but one of the names were attached to the promise and that was withheld only because of scruple against the proceeding, the member in the end casting his vote for Mr. Teller.

That in 1891 Mr. Wolcott was hopeful of more favorable silver legislation than had been obtained and that he was willing to strive for the highest accomplishment the following telegram declining an invitation to be present at a Chamber of Commerce dinner in Denver in 1891 testifies:

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.

I. B. PORTER, President, Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade:

I am in receipt of your kind invitation to be present at the annual banquet of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade on Thursday, January 15th. My public duties

require my presence here at this time, and I must forego the pleasure of meeting with you.

It is extremely gratifying that at this time the best interests of our commonwealth are identical with the truest and best interests of our country. The increased coinage of silver secured by the legislation of last summer, in my opinion, greatly relieved the tension which was caused by the troubles of the Argentine Republic, and the measure for the free coinage of our silver product, which is now on its triumphant course, will make such contraction of values and financial stringency as we are now witnessing impossible in the future.

The Colorado delegation is working earnestly and unitedly to secure this result.

Personal attacks on myself by enemies, who own a newspaper, charging me with secret hostility to free coinage, in no wise disturb me.

But in view of the united fight Western Senators are making, any traitorous attack from journals which assume to favor free coinage is an attempt to destroy and disintegrate and not to upbuild and to strengthen.

Your body is non-partisan and seeks only the highest and best development of Colorado. We, on our part, believe that in view of the vast interests involved, party lines grow dim and sectionalism becomes unworthy.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

HARRISON'S SECOND RACE

It was in 1892 that the top began to hum. For some time silver had occupied much of the attention of both Houses of Congress. The so-called Sherman Act of 1890 providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month had proved extremely unpopular in the business centres of the Eastern States because of the fear that the country would be flooded with silver to the exclusion of gold. The Eastern leaders of both old parties were committed to the repeal of the purchasing provision. Already it had become evident that only by the most strenuous exertion could the white metal retain the equivocal position it even then occupied. In the Senate Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Teller had labored day and night to improve conditions; but the sentiment of the commercial world was so strong that very little wisdom was required to foresee the near approach

of a decisive struggle, with the chances much against the silver champions. Populism had taken a strong hold in the neighboring States of Kansas and Nebraska, and already many propagandists in support of its doctrines were holding forth from the house-tops in Colorado.

On February 14, 1892, three months in advance of the Minneapolis Convention, the *Rocky Mountain News* published interviews with both the Colorado Senators, advising in strong terms against the sending of Harrison delegates to the convention. Mr. Blaine had announced his determination not to permit the use of his name as a Presidential candidate, and the announcement was a sore disappointment to Mr. Wolcott. Asked why he was opposed to Harrison's renomination, Mr. Wolcott replied:

Because there is no man in public life to-day who is a more bitter or unrelenting enemy to the free coinage of silver than is President Harrison. Only one who has lived at Washington most of the time since his inauguration can understand the baneful influences that are constantly emanating from the White House to hamper or defeat every effort made by coinage men for the betterment of the status of silver money. I notice in the despatches this morning that Senator Teller makes known what the silver men in Washington have understood all along, but have, until now, declined to state, that a proposition was made to the President that, if he would see that under the Bland law the maximum number of silver dollars (four million) should be coined each month, it would be acceptable to them, since it was evident that a free coinage bill could not at that time be passed. He declined to make any concession of the kind asked for, and Republican silver senators were compelled to vote for the law now on the statue-books in hopes that they might improve the condition of silver, though at the same time they were quite fearful of the outcome.

What truth is there, Senator, [he was asked] in the report that President Harrison has expressed a willingness to approve a bill for the free coinage of the American silver product?

It is untrue; wholly untrue. He has never made such a statement to any one willing to assume responsibility for the story. Such a rumor was flying about for a while, but the story was the invention of some gold bug politicians living in silver States to cover up as much as they could the treason to

silver that was necessarily implied by their support of Harrison for renomination. It is positively without any foundation whatever, and no reputable man can be found who will assert the contrary. Indeed the absurdity of such a law's ever being agreed to by Congress or by the President is so apparent that only an imbecile could give credence to the report. I will venture the assertion that twenty men could not be found in Congress who would vote for such a measure. The free coinage members of all the Western and Southern States would abandon the silver States at once if they were seriously asked to pass such a law.

Have you any opinion as to who the strongest candidate against Harrison will be at the Minneapolis Convention?

No, I have not; the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of Mr. Blaine has left those opposing Harrison's renomination at sea for the present; but there is one thing that can be relied upon: The leading men of the Republican party who have been most pronounced in urging Mr. Blaine to stand as a candidate will unite upon some other man worthy the support of Republicans throughout the land.

The feeling against President Harrison at Washington among a large number of the most influential and leading Republican representatives of the country is hard to comprehend. There is an abiding conviction among them that Harrison cannot be reelected should he be nominated, and since they also believe that any acceptable Republican can carry the country, they will feel compelled in the performance of their duty to prevent the disaster of defeat if they can.

But, Senator, [said the reporter] suppose when the convention meets it seems inevitable that Harrison will be renominated, should not the Colorado delegation under such circumstances vote to bring it about?

Under no possible contingency [replied Mr. Wolcott] can Colorado Republicans justify themselves in voting for Harrison's renomination.

I make this prediction now: If the Republican party shall nominate a candidate who is opposed to free silver legislation, and the Democratic Convention shall do likewise, silver will fall to fifty or sixty cents an ounce within the next eighteen months. In my opinion it is idle to talk about both the great parties ignoring silver even for the present without disaster to silver following. Unless there is a fair recognition given to silver in the platforms of the two parties this year it will never

recover from the blow. The fight for silver is on now. This campaign may not result in restoring free coinage immediately, but it will result in one of two things: either the question will be kept before the public with every show of free coinage being ultimately accomplished, or it will pass from the domain of politics altogether; in which latter event the depths of poverty to which it will descend no man can foretell. For this reason the Republicans of Colorado should be in no manner responsible for Harrison's renomination. It would be like a householder applying the torch to his own roof tree.

Does that mean, if Mr. Harrison should be renominated you would not vote for him?

No, it does not mean that. I have been elected by the Republicans of Colorado to the Senate of the United States, and the fact, if he should be renominated, that he would be before the country vouched for by a Republican Convention would compel me to support him. Let me say this in addition: My differences with the President are not personal; they arise wholly out of his hostility to silver and my advocacy of it. Such differences are more irreconcilable than those merely personal.

When in the face of such adverse criticisms as these Mr. Harrison received the nomination the Colorado Senator was necessarily somewhat embarrassed, but he determined nevertheless to support the ticket.

Mr. Wolcott also had aroused antagonisms in his own party in the State, and there was a well-defined conspiracy among some of its members to encompass his downfall. He, however, did not fear them. When asked if he did not think the combination would endanger his political future, he replied:

Not in the slightest. I made up my mind when I was elected Senator that at every hazard I would perform my duty to the people of this State and protect their interests. While I must ever give to Senator Teller the first place in the ranks of those Republicans working for the restoration of free coinage, as a learner from him and inspired by his example and counsels, I believe I have done my share toward preventing the silver cause being stamped out in the Senate. I believe that my uncompromising hostility toward the enemies of silver and the President for his dealings with silver, lies at the bottom of whatever personal animosity there is to me in the State. I am willing to

stand or fall upon my record as one of Colorado's representatives, and if there are adverse interests enough to overwhelm me in the Republican party because of my public actions or my private dealings with men, I shall, when my term is out, assume the garb of a private citizen with the utmost cheerfulness, confident that I am not to blame for the result either as a man or a public officer.

Teller and Wolcott were delegates to the National Republican Convention, which in 1892 met in Minneapolis. Mr. Teller was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and in that capacity brought to bear all the skill and tact at his command in behalf of a positive declaration in support of bimetallism as a principle. Mr. Wolcott went to the convention as the especial champion of James G. Blaine, and to him was awarded the very marked honor of placing that great leader of his party in nomination for the Presidency, which was done regardless of Mr. Blaine's previous declaration against the use of his name. He made a brilliant speech, and his oratory and magnetism were much extolled in the convention and throughout the country. But, as was the case with Mr. Teller in his championship of free coinage, he failed. Again Benjamin Harrison was named as the Republican standard-bearer, and on a platform which contained no word of promise to the silverites. Both Teller and Wolcott were opposed to Harrison. They had antagonized him during his term of office because of his outspoken opposition to silver coinage, and had come to dislike him personally.

REIGN OF POPULISM

When the Senators returned to Colorado, following the announcement of the defeat of their silver plank and of the success of the candidate whom they had especially opposed, they were met with no very cordial greeting. When a short time afterward the Democrats placed Grover Cleveland in nomination, Democracy was as much in discredit as Republicanism had been. Cleveland was as unfriendly to silver as was Harrison, and silver was the principal product of Colorado. Then stalked forth Populism. Populism brought with it promises to meet the demand of everybody who was dis-

satisfied with Republicanism or Democracy for any cause. It promised free coinage. Colorado was determined to have free coinage if possible. Hence Populism became a popular doctrine in the Centennial State. The Populist National Convention was held that year in Omaha, and General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for the Presidency. The *Rocky Mountain News,* with Hon. Thomas M. Patterson at its head, immediately raised the Weaver standard, and Democrats and Republicans, great and small, joined the ranks by the thousand.

To add to the general distress of the leaders the Republican party in Arapahoe County was in bad odor. Apparently the affairs of the Denver municipality were being run only in the interest of private gain, and so notorious had become "the machine" that the citizens determined to take matters into their own hands. In the spring preceding the State campaign, they nominated a non-partisan ticket and elected it.

When the Republican Convention met for the selection of candidates for the State offices, Hon. Joseph C. Helm, then and for many years previous a member of the Supreme Court Bench of the State, was nominated for Governor. With him other excellent men were placed on the ticket, and for a time it was believed that all might be elected. When, however, the Democrats were brought into coalition with the Populists, Republican chances were destroyed.

At the State Convention Mr. Wolcott was among the speakers. Although unfriendly to Harrison and displeased with the action of the national organization, he declared his allegiance to his party. In his speech on that occasion he took cognizance of the action of the Minneapolis Convention, and referred to the possibility of defeat at the approaching election, a prophecy which was fulfilled. Referring to the declaration of the National Convention he predicted that the time surely would come when the Republican party would establish itself as the party of hard money, of gold and silver, as demanded by the Constitution of the United States.

Regretting the action at Minneapolis, he still advised adherence to the Republican party.

Statesmen who have not been able to carry their points on this great silver question have [he said] thought of new channels in which to make their influence felt, but before we break away it is well for us to consider the question fully and to consider whether we do not endanger the future of the Republican party. There are many issues to the campaign when we look at the whole land. In Colorado there is no question that approaches in importance that of the coinage of silver on a parity with gold on the ratio that prevailed until the infamous demonetization act was passed. The endeavor of every true son of Colorado must be to obtain that end above all else. But we are men, and must face the situation as it exists. This election must place either Harrison or Cleveland in the Presidential chair. No man of sense looks for any other result. Silver is not a party question. The South and the West are standing together on it. In the East there are States heretofore in the Republican or the Democratic column in which there could be no man committed to the free coinage of silver but would meet defeat in those States.

There is nothing under Heaven for us to do but to labor for silver's cause within our parties in the future as in the past. There are in the People's party men good and true long identified with the Republican party, and who again will be found in its ranks. It is for us to reason with these men and draw them back. It is our duty to work and to show on election day that we are, as ever, devoted to the party that has given a glorious and free country to mankind. There is no shadow of doubt in my mind as to the triumph of the silver cause. The leaven is working in the old parties. The South and West are going hand in hand. The silver advocates have been denounced for a long time, but the cause is marching forward and the day is coming when a silver bill will pass both Houses, and no President will dare to refuse to sign it.

He closed as follows: "We have met as oft before to take each other by the hand and look each other in the face, and to pledge our lives, our loves, and our fortunes to our beloved party."

WAITEISM

The campaign was one of the most confusing and exciting ever known in the State. The Populists everywhere

were demonstrative, and in many places Republican orators were hooted from the platform and refused an opportunity to be heard. Fisticuffs were frequent. Bloodshed was imminent on more than one occasion. The Populists had taken up as their candidate a white-bearded old gentleman named Waite, who for several years had resided in Aspen, and whose only recommendation to favor was his violent denunciation of the old parties and his vituperative condemnation of Republican and Democratic leaders. He never had been heard of in Colorado outside of his county. He stumped the State and was wildly applauded wherever he went; his very extravagances of speech became his strongest recommendation. People of discrimination and calm judgment expressed surprise that such a man should have been able to attain to such prominence; but, unpromising as then was the prospect, no one was prepared for the farce which he was to present as the State's Chief Executive—a farce which only a kind Providence prevented from becoming a tragedy.

The Republicans were hopeful until the end, but the result showed that they had counted without their host. Weaver carried the State by about 15,000 majority and Waite had almost 5000 plurality over Helm and Maupin, the latter being the straight Democratic candidate. The Legislature consisted of forty-eight Republicans and fifty-two Democrats and Populists combined. The Democrats held the balance of power and in many matters acted with the Republicans. The Populists elected Lafe Pence and John C. Bell to Congress. The Congressmen served the State with credit. But for the next two years Waite held the attention of the public as the most grotesque figure on the stage of public affairs.

The times were entirely to Governor Waite's liking. They could not have been better for his purposes if he had ordered them. He scarcely had begun his administration when the mints of India ceased to coin silver. For many years India had been the mainstay of the silver miners as the vast population of that Oriental dependency seemed capable of absorbing all the white metal that the world could produce. Colorado was doing its utmost to meet the demand, and was turning out twenty or thirty million dollars annually.

When, therefore, on the 26th of June, 1893, the doors of the Indian mints were closed, the effect was immediately felt throughout the Centennial State. In two weeks the price of bar silver fell from eighty-three to sixty-two cents per ounce. Many of the largest mines in the State abruptly shut down, and most of the smelters at Denver, Leadville, and Pueblo banked their furnaces. Then, in quick succession, came the failures of numerous business houses and the closing of the banks in most of the cities and towns throughout the State.

The panic of 1893 was on, and it was one of the most disastrous ever known to the world. Distress was general. Not only the laboring classes, but the well-to-do were directly affected. Even those who had money in bank were unable to withdraw it, as for several weeks the banking institutions which survived the panic refused to honor even their own paper.

All this was political capital for Mr. Waite and his following, and when on the 30th of October succeeding, Congress, which had been convened in extraordinary session by President Cleveland, passed the bill repealing the vital part of the Sherman law, the Waiteites had material which was of especial service to them.

It was during a mass convention in Denver in July, 1893, which was called by the Governor to consider general conditions, that Mr. Waite made his "blood to the bridles" speech, which soon made his name known throughout the country. It was only one of many sensational utterances made by him, but it was of a character to be seized upon by the press, and it was telegraphed everywhere. The Governor was one of several Populist speakers, many of them striving to outdo each other. The especial subject under discussion was the shutting down of the Indian mints in the previous month. That occurrence was of grave import to the people of Colorado, and to the Governor it foreboded many evils not necessarily connected with it. This is the passage: "It is better, infinitely better, that blood should flow to the horses' bridles rather than that our national liberties should be destroyed."

Governor Waite called the Legislature in extra session, specifying thirty-two different subjects for consideration, the

principal one of which was the absurd proposition that the State should prepare to coin its own money. It is needless to say that no such provision was enacted, but even if there had been such enactment its only effect would have been to add to the ridicule which already was being heaped upon the State on account of the Waite régime. The extra session continued for about two months, but adjourned without enacting any of the Waite measures into law. Not only did the Legislature fail to comply with the command of the quixotic governor to establish a currency basis for Colorado independent of the Union at large, but concurrent resolutions were adopted by the two Houses of the Legislature denouncing the plan as unwise and unconstitutional. In the same connection, however, the Legislature urged Congress to act. The resolutions were as follows:

WHEREAS Davis H. Waite, Governor of the State of Colorado, has by proclamation summoned the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado in extraordinary session for the purpose of legislating upon certain subjects specifically mentioned in said proclamation, and among other things to provide that "foreign silver dollars containing not less than 371½ grains of fine silver, and upon the present ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold, shall be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, collectable within the State of Colorado,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado (The Senate concurring),

That we hereby unequivocally condemn any attempt at legislation as above recommended as unwise, inexpedient, and of doubtful constitutionality, and tending to bring into disrepute the great State of Colorado and her people; and we hereby denounce any attempt to accomplish the same in opposition to the wishes and in defiance of the repeated, earnest, and emphatic protests of the people of the State; and

Be it futher resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado, That we do hereby declare that we demand of the Congress, to which the States have delegated the power of providing a circulating medium for the necessities of the people, that it carry out the great trust confided to it by the people and restore to silver, equally with gold, as the money of the

Constitution, the right of free and unlimited coinage at the mints of the United States.

The resolutions were presented to the Senate by Mr. Wolcott, who in introducing them said:

The General Assembly of the State of Colorado was called to meet in special session by the Governor. The reasons for calling it together had been stated at length by the Governor by proclamation, and among other reasons given was that the Legislature might provide that foreign silver dollars should be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private, collectible within the State of Colorado. The Legislature met in pursuance to that call, and among its first acts was a repudiation by both branches of the General Assembly of either the intention or the right of the State to legislate respecting its currency.

These resolutions are most forcibly expressed. I ask that the resolutions may be read as bearing testimony to the fact that the people of Colorado stand or fall with the laws of the rest of their country, and that they accept the situation, painful and unfair as it has been. I may add the pleasing fact that although the silver industry has been stricken down within the State, prosperity is returning within its borders and its citizens have found other channels of industry.

Both Wolcott and Teller used their best efforts to bring the Legislature to a speedy close and to nullify Waite's influence for foolish legislation. This was done through personal messages to members and to the presiding officers of the two Houses.

Hon. E. M. Ammons of Douglas County, himself diametrically opposed to the Waite policies, was Speaker of the House, and he scarcely needed the prodding he received from the Senators to use his influence in favor of curtailing the length of the session. The interest on the part of the Senators was manifested in a joint telegram running as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 19, 1894.

E. M. AMMONS, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Denver, Colo.

We have neither the inclination nor the right to interfere in the slightest degree with any legislative action of the General

Assembly of Colorado. We are most anxious, however, that our State should continue to maintain her high reputation for wisdom and fair dealing, and that she should not be subject to criticism from other sections of the country.

Prosperity will return to us if we do nothing to drive it away, and we believe a favorable solution of the silver question will eventually be found. No party question is involved, and we trust the interests of the State will not be hampered by legislative mistakes. Any prolonged or continued session of the Assembly would in our opinion be most unwise and would only result in injury to Colorado.

H. M. Teller,
E. O. Wolcott.

If the Waite administration had resulted in nothing more seriously disastrous than the calling of the extra session of the Legislature, the people would have had comparatively little to complain of. Probably the most injurious effect was felt in the distrust which was created. Like most new communities, Colorado was deeply in debt. Possessing exceptional resources, the State was developing with rapid strides, and the Colorado people were making large demands upon their Eastern brethren for capital. When the hard times came the Waite party began to threaten repudiation, with the result that Eastern creditors became frightened and, as one man, rushed in to withdraw their loans. The Coloradoans were unable to meet the demand. The result was the foreclosure of many mortgages, the placing of numerous attachments, and the transfer of a large proportion of the property of the State from one person to another for a very small fraction of the real value.

The administration was also harassing in other respects. Of querulous and quarrelsome disposition, ignorant of the law and yet egotistical and self-willed, the Chief-Executive was constantly getting himself into trouble. His appointments to office were disappointing to himself, as they were to the public generally, and on one occasion he called out the State militia and came near precipitating a real battle at the City Hall in Denver to aid him in ousting a police board of his own selection. At another time he ordered the militia to Cripple Creek for the avowed purpose of support-

ing one side to a controversy in connection with a mining strike at that place. Only good fortune prevented disastrous consequences from these rash acts, and it may well be imagined that the State was heartily glad to rid itself of their author when the opportunity was presented in the campaign of 1894.

To Mr. Wolcott the Waite administration was a nightmare. Ever sensitive to the opinions of the better element of society, he felt that the Governor's acts were a severe reflection on the good name and the hitherto high credit of the State. Engaged as he was in making the national fight in behalf of silver, he found that he was greatly handicapped by the course of affairs at home. He was not given to useless explanations, and in this case he would have found explanation difficult if disposed to enter upon one. All, therefore, that he could do was to bear the situation as best he might and say as little as possible about it outside of Colorado. This course he pursued, but he lost no opportunity and spared no effort to bring about a change in the State.

THE SECOND SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN

THE campaign of 1894 resulted in the annihilation of Waite and in the election of a Legislature which returned Mr. Wolcott to the Senate. But the revolution cost a great effort. It need not be supposed that, unpopular as Mr. Waite had become with certain classes and absurd as had been many of his official acts, he was without friends or supporters. A most vigorous campaign was made in his behalf, and it was only by the most strenuous effort that "the grand old anarchist," as one of his supporters dubbed him, was voted down and his opponent, A. W. McIntire, elected.

Mr. Wolcott's health was such that he was compelled to go to Europe in the spring of 1894. It therefore was impossible for him to give much personal attention to this campaign in its early stages. The reasons for this trip were fully explained in a letter to his personal friend, O. E. Le Fevre, written at Washington on May 9th, as follows:

I had laid all my plans to go to Colorado next month and remain through the meeting of the Republican League to be held at Denver. I find myself unexpectedly compelled to abandon this and all other plans I had formed for the summer.

My condition of health is such that my physicians insist that I shall go abroad for treatment; that I shall first go to Carlsbad and then go to Paris, where it is hoped that the surgeon who treated me last winter may complete a cure which proves to have been imperfectly accomplished at my former visit. I have hesitated for some time about going, but I see no alternative. My colleague, Senator Teller, who is familiar with all the circumstances, also urges me to go.

The pending tariff legislation is in control of the Democratic

majority in the Senate, which will be able to force its views irrespective of the wishes of the minority. I shall, of course, be paired, so that the vote will not be affected by my absence. We have made every effort before the committee to secure some adequate protection for both lead and wool in the pending measure. Lead is somewhat protected, but we have found it utterly impossible to secure any recognition of the great wool interests of our country, which will suffer seriously by the provisions of the proposed tariff bill. Outside of these two questions there is nothing of immediate importance to Colorado, although we are all interested in the general question of the protection of American industries. I feel much more relieved also about going from the fact that the abilities and long experience of my colleague, who will remain at his post, assure the full protection of the interests of our people.

My business affairs as well as the interest which I naturally feel as a citizen in Colorado's welfare, lead me to regret extremely my inability to be in Colorado during the early summer, and I regret to be compelled to abandon my visit there. I shall return, if all is well, in August and shall go at once to Denver. This will give me ample time to participate in our fall campaign. I am anxious not to interfere respecting any of the nominations upon the State ticket, and it is possible that my absence until August may save some misconstruction which might be placed upon my movements if I should go to Colorado before that time.

My own personal interests I must leave in the hands of my friends. There is one question of far greater moment in my opinion than any other, that is that the State of Colorado be redeemed from the Populist administration which now controls it and which has brought so much discredit and dishonor upon our commonwealth.

To accomplish this result, harmony is required within our own ranks, and it is essential that personal and factional differences should be sacrificed, that the party as a whole may work together for the best interests of Colorado. I know of no sacrifice which I am not personally willing to make to secure that result.

There were two receptions at the Brown Palace Hotel this year, the first non-partisan and to Mr. Wolcott alone when he arrived in Denver on his return from Europe, September 1st, and the second, later, to both Senator Wolcott and Senator Teller, and of a partisan character.

The *Denver Republican* of the next day gave the following account of the first meeting:

The rotunda, grand staircase, and first two balconies of the hotel were filled with people, while the railings of the third, fourth, and fifth balconies were lined with faces. The edifice was decorated in bunting and flowers, and presented a beautiful appearance. Senator Wolcott and the reception committees of the Mining Exchange and Chamber of Commerce occupied a platform at the base of the staircase. Over them hung silken American flags. At the capitals of the onyx pillars flanking the platform were floral pieces, one bearing the words "Silver Ed," and the other a silver dollar mounted in roses. The entire railing of the first balcony was hidden in trailing, potted and cut flowers. Standards of colors grouped in threes were mounted at intervals on all the balconies. The effect was entrancing. Aside from the floral effects, the appearance of the hotel was enhanced by the large number of ladies present. An orchestra was ensconced in a floral bower on the east first balcony. Near them sat the Apollo Choral Association. During the reception these organizations rendered many pieces. Senator Wolcott was much moved by the warmth of the welcome. The entry of the guest of the evening to the hotel was denoted by ringing cheers.

Hon. W. N. Byers, a distinguished pioneer of the State, was then President of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, and in that capacity presided over the meeting. The welcoming addresses were made by Hon. Caldwell Yeaman, a Democrat, and Hon. Earl B. Coe, a Republican. Both spoke in non-partisan terms. Mr. Yeaman said:

Senator Wolcott, on behalf of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade, as well as in obedience to my own inclinations, I extend to you a cordial welcome home. I bid you find in the affectionate regard of those whom you have faithfully served, in the congratulations of your friends and admirers, a much needed relaxation from the long continued official service, and, in the life-giving atmosphere of our mountains and valleys, complete and final restoration to health.

The organization which it is my pleasant duty to represent is without politics and without religious creed. Among its members are those from all the industries and professions within our State; education and benevolence have a place within its general plan. These interests thus combined, harmoniously

strive to promote efficient, honest, and economical government. The system of government under which we live imposes upon the national legislature duties, and confers upon it powers, the performance and exercise of which directly affect the welfare of the whole people. It is to our Senators and Representatives in Congress that we look for that wise and beneficient legislation which, while securing to the people the greatest possible return for their energy and toil, lays lightly upon them the hand of supreme authority and power. Fortunate are the people of any commonwealth who can universally commend the work of their public servants. These fervent congratulations to you show the depth of the appreciation of the people of this State, and the sincerity of their esteem. You need not be reminded of the continued devotion of the people of Colorado to silver. In you their zeal and devotion found a true expotent. They commend and applaud the advocacy of their Senators and Representatives.

Mr. Yeaman then closed his address by saying that the people were above all petty things of life, "and party ties and party prejudice for this occasion are smothered in the cordial welcome which Colorado extends to you."

Mr. Coe spoke as follows:

The people of Colorado are glad to have you with them again, Senator. We are glad to see you with us to-night safe and on the way to health. Your absence from us has been marked with sickness, and we feared for you; but you are with us again, and, I know, ready to carry on to the very last that difficult duty which has been imposed upon you.

But these congratulations are not all for you. Some of them are for ourselves. It is for us to congratulate ourselves upon having in you so faithful and zealous a servant. It is for Colorado to congratulate itself that in times of peril, when the welfare of the State was assailed, and that in a dangerous manner, we had on the floor of the United States Senate two men who were indeed champions of our rights.

I am sure you will pardon me, Senator, and ladies and gentlemen if I indulge myself in a few party remarks and say a word or two to our friends the Democrats. There is hanging above us a flag, with its bright stars and stripes. Every star in that field marks the progress of republicanism, and not a slur must be cast upon them or the brightness of one of them diminished. It is for you to-day to stand by them. Party differences

must be buried. We must stand together and, what is more, we will stand together.

Mr. Wolcott's speech will be found elsewhere. His address was not political in character, but it was replete with patriotic sentiment and full of interest in the welfare of the people of the State.

The next reception occurred on the night of September 17th, and was given by the East Capitol Hill Woman's Republican Club, and was a notable event. Mr. Wolcott was introduced by State Senator Charles Hartzell. A chronicler of the day tells us:

The tinge of æstheticism which has been introduced by the women as one of the accessories to a higher standard in politics was made very manifest last night in the decorations and in the music, both of which were of a high artistic order. Clematis was the principal decoration and it harmonized with the original adornment of the building. The arrangement of the plant was most artistic; it hung profusely from the first two balconies and at frequent points it was relieved with bunches of bright flowers. The American flag was picturesquely displayed in every part of the rotunda. The throng of people was of the greatest interest. The balconies to the top were filled with men and women. It was a solid square of humanity with the square rotunda at the base crowded. Many could not get inside the doors at all.

In his speech at the second meeting, Mr. Wolcott dealt the Waite administration many heavy blows. One or two specimens will suffice.

For one [he said in the beginning], I am tired of the slanders and abuse which is heaped upon us and telegraphed all over the world, defiling our own nest, abusing, vilifying, and slandering the decent men and women of Colorado, and destroying and ruining every decent industry which our efforts and our time and our people have built up and which made our State a glorious one in the sisterhood of States, until he [Waite] came with his baleful influence to destroy it.

And further along:

These two years of Governor Waite's administration are the greatest disaster this State has ever known. We used to have the grasshoppers and we used to think we were afflicted with

various losses by the hand of the Almighty; but the time is coming when the two-year Populists will be a far worse plague than the seven-year locusts ever were. The time is surely going to come when many of the young women in the hearing of my voice as they hold their children on their knees, will tell them how, years and years ago, there was a grotesque, impossible sort of an old man, a sort of opera-bouffe governor, who tried to destroy all the interests in Colorado and who tore down everything that was decent and invoked all the disorder and misrule he could, and how the good men and good women of Colorado got together and talked it over and by an overwhelming vote sent that opera-bouffe governor back to Aspen, where he belonged. And the only difficulty your children will have in believing the story will be in believing that you ever were big enough idiots and muffs to elect him.

Much invigorated in body and greatly encouraged over the prospect of obtaining an international agreement in the interest of silver coinage, Senator Wolcott entered heartily into the campaign. Waiteism on the one hand and the improved outlook for the white metal on the other, were the uppermost themes of his discourse. He had met many of the bimetallists of England and on the Continent, and he had come to think that all had not been lost with the repeal of the Sherman law. Colorado still was under the pall of the panic of 1893, and he preached a gospel of hope and good cheer—of a bright and prosperous future, which he declared that even Waiteism could not permanently blight. Still, he urged the necessity of throwing off the incubus at the earliest possible moment, and he labored day and night for the election of McIntire and the entire Republican ticket. In his speech before the State Convention at the beginning of the campaign, he said:

The office you have conferred upon me is the most splendid within your gift; the term for which I hold it has nearly expired. What the future may have in store for me it is not given us to know; but whatever personal possibilities there might be for me as to a continuance of its term I say to you solemnly I would sacrifice them all gladly in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, if thereby we could render more certain the rescue of this State from the hands that now throttle it, and I would

retire cheerfully to private life, grateful for your past kindness and confidence, and happy that as a citizen of Colorado there was any sacrifice I could make that would save this State from further degradation and dishonor.

It is not intended to follow our candidate through the meanderings of the campaign, nor to repeat his speeches, which were much the same in general argument at all points. Probably the most notable of his addresses in the contest was the one delivered at its close. This was made in Denver on the night of the third of November, and was listened to by a vast audience. In it, as throughout the State, he devoted much attention to the administration of Governor Waite, which he charged with responsibility for the most of the evils of the time. He asserted that but for the radical position of the Governor there would not have been nearly so many foreclosures of mortgages nor so many attachments as the result of suits. Speaking of the free coinage of silver, Mr. Wolcott declared himself as staunch an advocate of that cause as any man, but he repeated his declaration that it could not come through any individual party—no more through the Populist party than any other party. "Whenever I believe that free coinage can be accomplished through some other party than the Republican party I will leave that party," said Mr. Wolcott; "but I will never be drawn into the crazy ranks of the Kansas and Colorado Populists."

The "A. P. A."—letters which stood for the American Protective Association—was very much in evidence at that time, and was a real issue in Colorado politics. The organization was shortlived, but very active while its existence continued, and its principal tenet was antagonism to Catholicism. It may well be imagined that the trimming politicians found it an awkward subject to deal with. It was difficult to steer between the Scylla of Catholicism and the Charybdis of A. P. A'ism. The A. P. A's were particularly alert in Colorado in 1894, and it was charged that they had influenced the nomination of most of the Republican candidates. If such had been the case the ticket probably would have met the antagonism of members of the Catholic Church. Hence, while not daring to repudiate the society because such

a course would have offended its members, the candidates were at the same time anxious to assure the Catholic voters that they were not antagonistic to them. No one understood these issues better than Mr. Wolcott, and when, during this last address of the campaign, a question relative to the organization was thrust at him he was prepared to respond to it, and he did respond on broad grounds, and in a way that could not have lost him the vote of any fair-minded man.

He was in the midst of his speech when some one in the audience, taking advantage of a pause, yelled across the hall at him, "What about A. P. A'ism?" "Oh, go off!" responded Mr. Wolcott, informally. The questioner, however, would not be silent, and by repeating his inquiry engaged the serious consideration of the speaker. Facing around, Mr. Wolcott cried back to the man, "Well, what about the A. P. A.? What do you want to know about it?"

"I want to know what you think about it and what your relations to it are."

Realizing that the question was intended to put him on record as against the Catholic Church, Mr. Wolcott directed his response to that point. "I believe," he said, "that every citizen should be allowed to worship God as he sees fit." Then, after a pause, he added, "I do not believe that any man should be allowed to disturb a decent meeting."

That Mr. Wolcott was not overconfident of re-election was evidenced by a letter written to his mother, October 25, 1894, about ten days before the election of the Legislature which did ultimately return him:

> I am working very hard [he said]. Last week I made eight speeches, and am out again this week, and shall be kept going until after election. I think I made a mistake in going in for re-election, but it is too late now for regrets. The result is still doubtful. Populism has a deep hold on people in Colorado. Wolhurst is delightful, but I don't see much of it. I leave by the early train and return after dark.

That his pessimistic view was not justified was soon demonstrated by the result at the polls and not long afterward in the Legislature.

Very soon after the election in November Mr. Wolcott turned his face toward Washington for the purpose of attending the second session of the Fifty-third Congress. There were many questions pending in which Colorado was profoundly interested, and he did not permit his own interests to keep him at home. Consequently, he was not in Colorado when the Legislature met and could not give personal attention to his campaign to succeed himself as Senator. His presence was scarcely necessary, for in reality no other Republican was seriously thought of for the office, and the Legislature was safely Republican. The only other member of the party mentioned was Myron H. Stratton, a mining millionaire of Colorado Springs, who had made his money in Cripple Creek.

In December, about two weeks before the assembling of the Colorado Legislature, Mr. Wolcott, then in Washington attending to his Senatorial duties, received a letter signed by every Republican member of the Legislature, men and women assuring him that he would be chosen to succeed himself without opposition and advising him that he need not concern himself about his re-election even to the extent of returning to his State. To this flattering communication Senator Wolcott addressed an appreciative reply. The correspondence was as follows:

DENVER, COLORADO,
Dec'r 12, 1894.

To the Honorable EDWARD O. WOLCOTT:

SIR: The undersigned Republican members and members-elect of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Colorado, appreciating your services in the Senate of the United States, and being desirous of your re-election, beg to submit the following:

For six years you have faithfully and well served this State in the highest legislative body in the world; the people of Colorado, irrespective of party, should be in favor of your return to the Senate; you are the unanimous choice of the party for this high office; the Republican party has nationally achieved one of its greatest and most decisive victories; its leaders will soon meet in Washington, when the policies and plans of the party for the future will be carefully considered, discussed, and in a large measure agreed upon; we want you at this meeting,

so that your great influence will be there exerted in behalf of Colorado; we have confidence that the Republican party will satisfactorily solve the silver question; we wish to relieve you of any possible anxiety concerning the result of the Senatorial election in this State, so that your entire time and best efforts can be given to a wise solution of the great questions that so much concern our people. The largest and most representative convention of the party that ever assembled in the State unanimously approved of your conduct in the Senate in the past, and indorsed you for re-election. We assure you that it is a pleasure to each of us to obey the voice of the party as thus expressed, and that it will be our pleasant duty to earnestly aid in your re-election, and to use every honorable means to accomplish this result, both in caucus and in open session, and until the result we hope for is attained.

Charles Hartzell, E. W. Merritt, W. B. Felker, Oscar Reuter, Dr. Charles E. Locke, P. J. Sours, Frances S. Klock, Louis Anfenger, Joseph H. Stuart, W. S. Bales, James H. Clarke, H. R. Brown, George W. Twombley, A. C. Wilkins, J. S. Carnahan, W. I. Whittier, A. M. De Bord, A. L. Humphrey, I. J. Woodworth, Charles G. Collais, M. A. Vigil, John W. Lovell, A. A. Salazar, Nathaniel Kearney, J. R. Gordon, James F. Allee, W. A. Colt, Bruce F. Johnson, Amedee L. Fribourg, A. R. Kennedy, Clara Cressingham, W. H. Macomber, Alexander Stewart, A. I. Warren, W. B. Rundell, C. W. Campbell, J. T. McNeeley, J. M. Morris, W. L. Patchen, J. C. Evans, T. S. Harper, Robert D. Miller, W. N. Randall, G. W. Swink, J. W. Rockefeller, Jacob C. Funderburgh, Celestino Garcia, Charles Newman, Frank G. Blake, Joseph H. Painter, J. G. Morton, J. D. Brown, Clara Clyde Holly, James F. Drake, R. H. Purrington, W. R. Sopris.

SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 18, 1894.

Hon. CHARLES HARTZELL and Others:

GENTLEMEN: The joint letter signed by you, who constitute fifty-six out of the one hundred members of the next General Assembly, is just received.

While it is true, as you say in your letter, that the Republican State Convention unanimously passed resolutions indorsing my re-election to the Senate, I nevertheless appreciate more deeply than I can express to you the friendship which has prompted you to give me this personal assurance of your confidence and regard. If any incentive were needed to constant

and unwearied devotion to the interests of our State, you have furnished it to me by the assurances which your letter contains. I accept gratefully the suggestion you make that I should remain here at my post of duty for the present. Before the session of your assembly shall have adjourned, however, I shall, unless prevented, have an opportunity at Denver of meeting you and thanking you each in person.

Existing conditions here do not seem favorable for the immediate remonetization of silver, and I fear there is little to be hoped for during the continuance of the term of the present Chief Executive. There is a growing conviction, however, throughout the world that prosperity will not return until silver is again restored to its place as a money metal. It is my firm conviction that this result will be accomplished by legislation and I believe it will be accomplished soon. In assisting to secure this result I shall devote the years which I may spend in public service. There is no question in the whole world so important, and to have assisted, even in some small way, in its accomplishment is all the career I seek.

Again thanking you for your letter, I am yours faithfully,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

The Republican Legislative caucus was held on the night of the first of January, 1895. The two Houses first met separately, but the House caucus scarcely had been called to order when a member proposed that the Republican Senators should be invited to sit with them and thus, as he said, definitely settle the Senatorial question. Half an hour later the Senators came in and Senator Felker, of Arapahoe, was called to the chair. A number of speeches were made, all of which were complimentary to Mr. Wolcott. These were followed by a motion to indorse that gentleman for the Senate and it was carried by a rising and unanimous vote. No other name was mentioned in the caucus. Senator Felker was authorized to notify Mr. Wolcott, and he immediately forwarded the following telegram:

DENVER, COLO.,
January 1, 1895.

To SENATOR E. O. WOLCOTT,
Washington, D. C.:

The Republican members of the Tenth General Assembly in joint caucus assembled send you New Year's greetings. They

have by a rising vote, just nominated you United States Senator to succeed yourself, and each and every member wishes his name appended to this telegram.

(Signed) W. B. FELKER, *Chairman*.

When two weeks later the two Houses were called upon to vote for Senator, Mr. Wolcott was given the solid Republican vote, but as he did not receive a majority in each House separately, it became necessary for the joint assembly to vote on the subject of his successorship at the next day's meeting. He then received the full party vote of the two Houses and was declared duly elected as his own successor. In this as in Mr. Wolcott's first election, the speech-making was confined to one House, but in this instance the speeches were made in the House and not in the Senate, reversing the previous order.

The speech nominating Mr. Wolcott in the House of Representatives was delivered by Representative Sopris, of Las Animas County, who eulogized the subject of his remarks in strong terms. He said in part:

Mr. Wolcott has grown up with this new empire, which was known to him in his school-days as the great American desert. He now boasts in eloquent language of the siren advantages of Colorado. His name and fame, his life and his deeds, are among the choicest gifts to this richly endowed young commonwealth, and a precious legacy for the example and inspiration of coming generations. But the thing which most engages us to-day is not the richness of his genius nor the eloquence which has no parallel in the Senate of the United States; not even the mighty influence of his work, but the sublime reality for which he lives, with a vision single and true and the witness he gives to it by the greatness and the strength and the purity of his devotion to "Sixteen to One."

Mr. Sopris took occasion in the course of his remarks to call attention to the fact that for the first time in Colorado the women were taking part in the election of a United States Senator. "Colorado recognizes their equal rights in every political opportunity which the State gives to man," he said, "and on this day the tender youth and delicate womanhood are gathered here to meet their new requirements."

Closing, he said:

Six years ago the young men of Colorado gathered *en masse* and declared that they would send Edward O. Wolcott to the United States Senate. They did it. Have they regretted the act? No; a thousand times, no! To-day, Mr. Speaker, let me tell you that the same sentiment prevails not only among the pioneers and the young bloods but also at the hearth-stones and in the homes of the mothers and the wives and the sisters of Colorado.

In the House forty-one votes were cast for Mr. Wolcott and twenty-three for Hon. Lafe Pence, the Fusion representative from the First District. In the Senate Mr. Wolcott received sixteen votes; Hon. Thomas M. Patterson sixteen, and Hon. Charles S. Thomas two.

When on the next day the two Houses met jointly, Mr. Wolcott received fifty-nine votes, Mr. Pence thirty-six, and Mr. Thomas three. Before the vote was taken, there were some speeches eulogistic of all the candidates. The principal address on this occasion in behalf of Mr. Wolcott was made by Senator Charles Hartzell, of Denver, who, after referring to Mr. Wolcott's election in 1889, said:

How has he kept the trust? Let us see. We have seen the reins of government in the hands of an Administration absolutely opposed to the interests of Colorado. We have seen our beautiful mountain towns laid low by the power of an Executive controlling a servile majority. But the silver Senators, though few in numbers, were a host in patriotism, in devotion to right and justice, and by their masterly parliamentary generalship warded off the evil day of the Sherman Repeal for a long time. Like the Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ, like Horatius at the bridge, stood our little band of Spartan silver Senators. Edward O. Wolcott has served us long and faithfully. We would dishonor ourselves by dishonoring him. We all remember how he fought for the Plumed Knight, the friend of silver, at Minneapolis. We all know how long and well and nobly he has battled for silver and for Colorado. Mr. President, it gives me the greatest pleasure of my life to place in nomination the name of Edward O. Wolcott.

Seconding speeches were made by a large number of Senators and Representatives, including two ladies. The first

of the lady speakers was Mrs. Klock, and the other, Mrs. Holly. Mrs. Holly called attention to the fact that Mr. Wolcott had been a friend to female suffrage. Declaring him to be of international reputation and "a self-respecting and upright gentleman," she exclaimed, "Let us take no backward step! Up, up with the oriflamme of our Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche,* and bestow once more the well-deserved honor of the nomination to the Senate on Edward O. Wolcott!"

Commenting upon the election on the day after it took place, the *Rocky Mountain News*, still under the management of Thomas M. Patterson, who was destined six years afterward to be Mr. Wolcott's successor in the Senate, said:

"Senator Wolcott is a bright and brainy man. He has never professed to be faultless. He is bold and daring in politics, finance, and all the games of life—a regular Dick Turpin in his own particular lines. Since a Republican had to be returned, no one should complain because the party selected its best representative member."

Senator Wolcott was the author of the bill providing for the establishment of a coinage mint at Denver, and the bill passed the Senate the day of his second election to the Senate. The success of the measure was generally accepted as a sufficient excuse for his absence, pleased as his friends would have been to have him with them. The bill carried an appropriation of $500,000 for the building. The measure afterward passed the House and became a law, and the mint is now one of the institutions of which the entire State is proud.

Apropos of Mr. Wolcott's two Senatorial contests former Governor Charles S. Thomas of Colorado has supplied the following, valuable alike as a contribution to the political history of the State and as a testimonial to Mr. Wolcott's character and ability:

I was Chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1888, that being the occasion of his first Senatorial campaign. This brought me in constant touch with his work, his friends, and his enemies. He made an aggressive and overwhelming campaign, dominated and silenced the enemies within his own party

by the sheer force of intellectual power, and established himself as the absolute master of his organization long before the day of election. I perceived early in the campaign that he could be beaten only by the success of the Democratic party, and instructed the Democratic speakers everywhere to take that position. The election was all one way and the Legislature was Republican by an unusual majority. Shortly after the campaign closed the late Governor Tabor came to see me, and asserted his ability to defeat Senator Wolcott provided he could secure the votes of the small Democratic minority. He asked me to do what I could to secure them in his behalf. I assured him that he had been totally misinformed as to the attitude of Senators and Representatives elect, and nothing but his death could prevent Senator Wolcott's election; that the Democratic members would under no circumstances take part in the nomination of a Republican Senator, and reminded him that we had declared the issue before the people to be either Wolcott or a Democrat, and the people having decided for Wolcott we would not interfere, even though by such interference Wolcott should be defeated, unless a sufficient number of Republicans could be induced to unite with the Democrats in the selection of a candidate of their own party to the position. Governor Tabor was much displeased at my frankness, but I think the result of the ensuing caucus must have convinced him that I was right.

Senator Wolcott was returned for a second term in 1895. During the early part of the preceding year the factional differences in his own party threatened to retire him from public life. The renomination of Governor Waite, however, compelled the factions in that party to forget their differences for the time being if they would defeat Governor Waite's candidacy for re-election.

From the time that he entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1889, until he surrendered the office twelve years later, Mr. Wolcott was one of the most alert members of that body. He participated freely in the shaping of legislation both in committee and on the floor of the Senate. He also spoke on most important questions under consideration, adding materially to his reputation as an orator and man of affairs. In order, however, that the continuity of the narrative of his active life may not be interrupted, the record of his Senatorial career is presented elsewhere. For the

same reason a similar course is followed with reference to his official dealing with the silver question, to which he gave much attention both in the Senate and as a member and as chairman of the International Monetary Commission of 1897. The commission was established in the hope of bringing about an agreement among the leading nations for a broader recognition of silver as a money metal, and in the furtherance of this purpose Mr. Wolcott spent considerable time in Europe.

'Ninety-Six and After

'NINETY-SIX AND AFTER

PREVIOUS to the close of his second term in the Senate, Mr. Wolcott was uniformly triumphant in his campaigns. He had been defeated in battles for others, but never in a contest in his own behalf. From that time he was as uniformly unsuccessful. In 1901 he was a candidate to succeed himself, and in 1903 to succeed Senator Teller, but without success on either occasion. He never regained his lost official footing; but his failure was due to generally adverse conditions, and not to any diminution of force in himself, and had his life been spared he undoubtedly would have resumed his seat in the Senate. When he left Denver in 1904 his leadership was re-established and the way was open for his election in 1907. To adopt a phrase not in use in his time, he would have "come back." Indeed, he had "come back."

To the Eastern reader it will seem strange, but it nevertheless is true, that Mr. Wolcott's political reverses were due to silver—to the opinion in Colorado that he was not sufficiently radical in his advocacy of the coinage of that metal. Notwithstanding the Populist Governor Waite had failed of re-election, there still lingered in the minds of the people much of the dissatisfaction which had made possible his selection in the first instance. The people of Colorado were silverites if not Populists, and the silver sentiment was so strong that it accepted none but the most direct and the most pronounced avowal. Favorable results were of course sought, but profession was demanded regardless of the possibility of accomplishment. The cry was for "the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, regardless of any other nation," and the public man must subscribe to this doctrine even though attainment of the result seemed quite out of the question.

Mr. Wolcott was a practical man. If a proposition did not appeal to him he did not accept it. After the repeal of the Sherman Purchasing Law, he came gradually to the conclusion that no party likely to be in power would contend for free silver coinage in this country alone; and, advocating free coinage because he accepted the doctrine as a principle and not merely for the promotion of his political prospects, he decided to exercise his influence in favor of a policy which looked to the co-operation of the leading commercial powers as the only means that would re-establish the double monetary standard.

Despite the position of the St. Louis convention in favor of the gold standard and against silver except under international agreement, Mr. Wolcott adhered to the Republican party. He did not believe that free silver coinage was possible of achievement through either the Democratic or the Populist party. His State refused to concur with him in that position, and while he espoused the cause of Major McKinley, the State became so generally favorable to Mr. Bryan that in the election in November the Nebraska candidate received eighty-five per cent. of its vote.

The years that followed were trying years for Mr. Wolcott. Intensely Republican in politics and proud of his State, he felt extremely anxious to have it again recorded in the Republican column. It cannot in truth be said that he was inordinately fond of office-holding; but there were features connected with the Senatorship which appealed to him, and there can be no doubt that he would have been gratified to continue the work for which he had proved to be so admirably adapted. He accordingly made every effort to insure his re-election, when in 1901 his second term expired, and again when in 1903 Senator Teller's term came to an end. It is probable that but for his death he would have stood for election again in 1907, but when he left Colorado for the last time, in 1904, he had not so decided beyond recall. While, therefore, it may be said that from the time of his second election in 1895 until the time of his death in 1905 he was engaged in a fruitless struggle to hold or regain his place, the struggle was not in his own interest. His personal fortunes were

the subject of least concern to himself. His effort was for party rather than for self, and for principles which he held dearer than personal success. Believing his position to be correct, and firmly convinced that the welfare of the State would be promoted by the maintenance of that position, he exerted himself to that end, sparing neither time nor fortune. He maintained a position of undisputed leadership until 1902, when an opposing faction proved strong enough to divide the party and thus prevent his then probable triumph. The leadership was, however, only temporarily and only partially lost, and was rapidly regained as soon as he came to fully understand the situation and "get himself together."

THE FIGHT OF 1896

Scarcely had Mr. Wolcott taken his seat for the second term when symptoms of the approaching storm became discernible. Up to the time of his last election he had given his earnest adherence to every measure that had been proposed in the interest of silver, but the white metal had not become the subject of such sharp party division as it then was. Indeed, as late as 1892 the Republican party in national assembly had administered in its platform a sharp rebuke to the Democratic party for its "betrayal of silver," and the Colorado Senator was justified in his contention that his party was as much a silver party as was any other party. He had stood side by side with the most pronounced silver advocates in the advocacy of silver, and, while he had begun to investigate the possibilities for an international movement, he had maintained consistently that, if only it would undertake to do so, this country alone could maintain the parity of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Later he came to have doubts on the point; and he reached the conclusion that, whatever the country's capabilities in this respect, the commercial and financial interests of the country would not permit the experiment to be tried. He was then beginning to ask himself whether, in view of these adverse conditions, it was worth while to continue the struggle for independent action, so that even before the St. Louis con-

vention had actually taken its position he had decided upon his course, and, having reached a conclusion, after his usual frank manner, he lost no time in informing his constituents where he stood.

The campaign of 1896 was the first in which he was called upon to engage after his election in 1895, and that was the most memorable of all his campaigns. He had permitted his friends to use his name as a candidate for the position of delegate to the National Convention, which was to be held in St. Louis in June of that year. Senator Teller also was a candidate, but they were not working so harmoniously together in a political way as they did when, in 1892, both were sent to Minneapolis to oppose Harrison's renomination. Previous to the convention of 1896 the senior Senator took the position that there must be a straightforward declaration for silver by the national platform with the implied threat of a bolt if this demand was not conceded. Mr. Wolcott did not go to such length. For months before the State convention, telegrams and letters urging him to stand with Teller poured in upon him in great profusion.

That Mr. Wolcott's mental struggle was severe we may well imagine. He had said on more than one occasion that if the time ever came when he should have to decide between his party and silver he would cast his fortunes with the cause of the white metal. He realized the strength of the silver sentiment in his own State, and he knew that in all human probability his determination to remain with his party, in view of the prospect that it would take a position antagonistic to free coinage, would mean his own political downfall. He sympathized deeply with his people. But he also loved his party. Aside from silver its principles were his principles. Seeing no way of accomplishing anything for the favored metal through any other party, whatsoever its declarations might be, he was deeply puzzled. In this period of perplexity he said very little to any one. His manner was reserved, and it was evident that he was undergoing a strain. Yet it is doubtful whether he ever hesitated. It is quite improbable that at any time he really felt inclined to desert his party. He, however, did deeply regret the necessity of breaking with old friends.

As for his previous utterances, they gave him little concern. They never had been unconditional and it already was apparent that there would be no situation that would make them binding. Even then he was ready to say, as he did say afterward, that, if the advocacy of independent silver coinage meant consorting with the impractical Populists, who had no chance of national success, and whose other demands were, in his view, beyond reason, he would not consider himself bound by previous declarations. "When I discovered that, to be for silver, I must be for so many things that I could not stand for under any circumstances, I simply would n't stay in the game," he said many times afterward in explaining his position in '96. Finding Bryan standing on and accepting the Populist platform, he chose to regard him as a Populist. He did not believe that the Democrats would, or that the Populists could, insure free silver. That was the conclusion to which he had come when he wrote the following letter more than two weeks in advance of the State convention for the selection of delegates:

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1896.

IRVING W. HOWBERT, Chairman
Republican State Committee of Colorado:

MY DEAR SIR: During the past few weeks I have received many letters from Colorado friends on the subject of the coming National Republican Convention, many of them asking me if I desired to go as a delegate. To avoid any possible misconception as to my position, I write this letter to you as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

I prefer not to go to St. Louis as a delegate, and have carefully avoided the slightest indication to anybody of any sort of wish to be present at the convention in that capacity. I have, however, an opinion on the subject of our representation at the convention which it seems proper that I should express to you.

When the Republican State Convention meets in Colorado, May 14th, it may decline to be represented at St. Louis or it may select delegates. If the latter, the duty of the delegation, in my opinion, will be to attend the convention, make the best fight possible for bimetallism in the Committee on Resolutions and on the floor of the convention, if there shall be opportunity for discussion before the whole convention, and, after having insisted by every proper method upon the duty of the convention

to declare in favor of the restoration of silver as a measure of value equally with gold, to accept the will of the majority of the convention, and endeavor to secure the nomination of the candidate most friendly to Western interests.

There is no sacrifice I would not make to secure the remonetization of silver, not because Colorado is a producer of silver, but because, in my opinion, prosperity will never return to us until bimetallism at the former ratio is re-established, and because the appreciating value of gold and the shrinking of values which necessarily follow this appreciation, must bring only disaster and poverty and suffering to all the people of this country who are not lenders of money.

To secure the unlimited coinage of silver I would count party ties as nothing. At this moment, however, the situation which confronts us is this: Both of the two great parties are apparently opposed to free coinage by the United States. The Populist party favors free coinage, but only as a means to secure more currency and as a stepping-stone to unlimited paper money, and it unites with its free-coinage advocacy socialistic and paternalistic doctrines which are dangerous in tendency and which would be, if adopted, destructive of free institutions. I know of no fourth party as yet entitled to our confidence and support, although the wisdom of leaders whose character and abilities we trust may find some common ground upon which bimetallists, untainted with Populism, may stand.

Under these circumstances and conditions, therefore, I desire to be counted as a Republican, proud of the traditions of my party, glorying in its achievements, and still hopeful that the great party, which has heretofore stood for the masses against the classes, may on this great economic question yet range itself on the side of humanity and of civilization.

If either one of the two great parties shall declare in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints, existing political conditions in Colorado will undergo a sweeping change, and in this letter I speak only of the situation as it is to-day.

There is in my opinion one event which might involve our country in worse disaster than gold monometallism, and only one, and that would be the triumph of Populism. Colorado suffered under the degradation and blight of Populist rule for two years. I believe it the duty of every good citizen to stand up and fight in the open against a repetition of that ruinous experiment.

One thing further: Our representation is small at best. To

have the slightest weight it should, if any delegation is sent, be practically unanimous in sentiment and expression. The occasion is not one where personal ambitions or desire for patronage should influence selection. I have no doubt that the Republicans of Colorado will select delegates to the National Convention who are of a united and friendly spirit, animated by a common and harmonious purpose, and desirous only of securing the greatest consideration for the interests of our Commonwealth.

It has seemed to me fitting and proper that the members of that party, whose commission I hold, should know before the meeting of the State convention my views as to our duty in respect to the National convention at St. Louis.

This is no time for differences among our own people. I have faith and confidence that the way will be made clear for good citizens in Colorado to cast their ballots this fall without sacrificing their honor or their convictions.

Yours truly,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

The letter was received with expressions of delight by the press of the Eastern cities, but in Colorado the sentiment was of a very different character. At home its author was generally denounced as a traitor to the silver cause. He was cartooned and caricatured by every daily paper in Denver. The *Washington Post*, conservative and non-partisan, found only words of praise for the letter and its author. After quoting liberally from the document, that paper said:

Brave words, wise and patriotic words! Spoken, too, under circumstances that make them dangerous to the speaker's personal aspirations—at a time when his political fortunes may be the price of his courage and his candor. But Senator Wolcott has spoken them, nevertheless, and honest and courageous men of every party will applaud him for them. Here, at least, is one who holds his country's good above all other things, and who does not hesitate to stake his prospects of political promotion on the valiant discharge of honorable duty. All hail!

Two weeks later Senator Teller wired Chairman Howbert, saying that he could not consent to be a delegate to St. Louis "unless silver is declared the paramount issue."

Thus the two Senators confronted each other, Teller demanding a silver platform, and Wolcott, while contending for silver, expressing himself as willing to accept the decision of the majority of the St. Louis Convention, whatsoever its attitude toward silver. Clearly, after eight years of most harmonious relations in the Senate, they had reached the parting of the ways.

They were directly and distinctly opposed one to the other. If one was elected the other would not be. It was the first time they ever had been candidates for any place on different platforms, and the sensation must have been novel to both. Yet both were so thoroughly in earnest that it is doubtful whether either stopped long to think over their mutual opposition. And it is pleasant to recall that, bitter as was the strife and diametrically opposed as they were to each other politically for the next few years, they did not permit themselves to be personally estranged. There never was a time when they did not greet each other cordially nor when each did not speak of the other in terms of respect and affection. There never was occasion for any other attitude, for both were acting on conviction. Both had been sincere silver men, but in a different way. With Teller bimetallism was almost a religion. It was paramount to all other questions, and he had long been cooling toward his party on account of it. He was willing to follow wherever silver seemed to lead and to accompany any who might promise help. The party tie was stronger with Wolcott. He could not forsake Republicanism for any party's promise; he wanted assurance that the promise would and could be redeemed.

The convention for the selection of delegates to St. Louis was held at Pueblo, May 14th, and it was a Teller convention from start to finish. All three of the State's representatives in Congress, Senators Teller and Wolcott and Representative Townsend, were endorsed in general terms in the platform, but there was a special word of approval for the attitude of Mr. Teller. He alone of the delegation was named as a delegate to the convention, and all the other delegates were instructed to "accept him as their leader and abide by his decision." Bimetallism was declared "for the

time being the paramount issue," even Protection being given a second place.

Mr. Wolcott had foreseen this result, and he withdrew his name as a candidate before the naming of delegates was reached in the order of proceeding. His decision was announced in a telegram to J. F. Saunders, Colorado member of the National Republican Committee, from New York under date of May 11th, which read:

> I am very grateful to all my good friends in Colorado for their unsolicited desire to send me to the National Convention and for their kindness to me in the past. I understand there is opposition to electing me as a delegate. I am too good a Republican to wish to create any division in my party in Colorado and am too much concerned for the success of bimetallism and the great principles of the Republican party to do so under any circumstances. I therefore decline to permit my name to be considered by the convention in electing delegates.

The selection of a delegation in complete accord with the views of Senator Teller; the declaration of the St. Louis Convention for the gold standard, with a leaning toward international bimetallism; the withdrawal from that convention of the Colorado delegation together with about twenty other Western delegates because of that declaration, and the subsequent endorsement of the candidacy of Mr. Bryan for the Presidency—these are matters of history, and have no place here except for the purpose of showing what Mr. Wolcott had to contend with.

Mr. Wolcott declined to endorse the bolt, and lost little time in announcing his decision to support the St. Louis ticket with Major William McKinley of Ohio at its head.

The campaign which followed was quite one-sided in Colorado, but not as completely so as at first it promised to be. A Silver Republican party was organized to hold the Republicans, and that party fused with the Democrats and the Populists in an electoral ticket. For a few days it looked as if Mr. Wolcott would have to stand practically alone in his advocacy of McKinley's election. It was not popular to avow one's self a straight Republican, and the staunchest of partisans hesitated to do so. Gradually they came out from

under cover, however, and forthwith the junior Senator began to receive letters from all parts of the State expressing admiration for his courageous stand, and assuring him of support in case he would undertake to lead the fight.

Wolcott was recognized everywhere as the mainstay of the McKinley cause in Colorado, and he was made the object of the most general and most persistent attack from all portions of the State. Not only was he censured bitterly by the press, but by public speakers and private citizens. He received hundreds of letters demanding his resignation from the Senate. He was burned in effigy and many threats of personal injury were conveyed to him. Because of his adherence to his party despite its attitude toward silver, he was declared a "gold-bug," while he was dubbed "Cousin Ed" on account of his friendship for England as evinced in his Venezuelan speech. He was denounced in public meetings as a traitor. One assemblage in Creede adopted a resolution declaring that, "compared with E. O. Wolcott Benedict Arnold was a patriot and Judas Iscariot a saint."

At first much disturbed, Mr. Wolcott tarried in the East until after the national convention had been held. When he arrived in Denver, he betook himself to his country residence at Wolhurst, and there remained for several days, seeing only his most intimate political friends. His conversation with them indicated a dejected state of mind. He seemed to have conceived the idea that the entire State had fallen away from him and that there was not left a sufficient number to render it worth while even to attempt to maintain the Republican organization.

His steadfast political supporters and especial personal followers were in a better state of mind. From the first they maintained that a sufficient number to form a respectable organization could be rallied, and they already had begun to take steps to ascertain the standing of the Republican State Central Committee with a view to using that if possible as a nucleus for an organization. Practical politicians that they were, they realized the great importance of having the party machinery behind them, and they argued that if the committee as such could be held in line the result would be greatly in their favor. With this end in view, they visited

the committeemen in various parts of the State, and toward the time of its meeting were enabled to announce to Mr. Wolcott that the committee would not go over to Mr. Bryan and that it would declare in favor of its maintenance on Republican lines. This statement was at first received by him as incredible, and he refused to accept it until actual demonstration of the fact was made.

"You will have to show me," he told them.

"Very well; we will show you," they responded. And they did.

When the committee came together prior to the holding of the conventions for the nomination of State officers, the paramount question was whether the organization should be turned over to Bryan. Many members advocated that course, but the work of the regulars was made evident soon after the body was called to order. The Bryan propagandists were stoutly antagonized, and at last the regulars won, 46 to 34.

The size of the majority was as unexpected to Mr. Wolcott as it was to the opposition. He realized, of course, that it did not represent the sentiment of the State at large, but he appreciated that the result would give him an official standing that he could not have had if the vote had gone the other way. With the committee behind him he could reorganize the party, and he felt sure that in time it would regain its prestige. As his followers tell the story he took on new life; his manner changed; he determined that there should be a State convention, a Republican State ticket, and Presidential electors, and that a campaign should be made. "Now," he said, "we have something to fight for. Engage headquarters and we will go to work to make the best showing we can." Leaving Wolhurst, he moved into Denver, and from that time forward entered heart and soul into the campaign. He worked day and night and never was his wonderful organizing talent displayed more effectively. Of course the odds were tremendously against him. He was hooted and jeered and threatened in many places, but he persevered unto the end.

In the interest of accuracy it should be stated that afterward the regularity of the meeting of the committee was

challenged by the silver wing of the party on account of numerous proxies, and the vote reversed. But the first ballot had given Mr. Wolcott the status he sought, and it proved the beginning point from which he went to work to rebuild the party—a work in which he labored patiently and diligently and, in the end, successfully. It proved a tedious process, but he never tired, and no sacrifice was too great for him.

ADDRESS TO VOTERS

He began his campaign by issuing an address to the voters of the State, which, bearing date of August 1st, filled two long columns in the Denver papers, and fairly bristled with the terse words and tense sentences which, when thoroughly aroused by a situation, he could command as few other men could. In this address he took the position that while silver was the vital question there was no chance for that metal in the minority Democratic party or in the hopelessly befuddled Populistic party. Declaring that Mr. Bryan had been nominated on a Democratic platform, "the financial portion of which was everything that could be desired and the rest of it everything that is undesirable and hostile to the interests of our country," he said: "I decline to stand upon this platform and vote for this candidate even with the alluring free-coinage plank; I cannot do it." He cogently rehearsed his support of the policy of Protection, avowed his respect for the Supreme Court, which had been criticised by the Democratic platform, and asserted his general interest in the maintenance of law and order, which he said would be subverted under the Bryan doctrine. Declaring then his intention to stand with his party regardless of the silver question, he said: "My loyalty to the party which has honored me is entirely consistent with my loyalty to the highest and best interests of the State I represent in the Senate of the United States, and I know no reason why I should abandon my party or desert its colors." The document is so much a part of the history of the time that it is given entire:

To the Voters of the State of Colorado:

The recent extraordinary political manifestations, and sweep-

ing changes of party affiliations seem to render it fitting and desirable that I should publicly state my position in relation to the approaching Presidential election. The people of Colorado are entitled to know at such a juncture as this the views of their representatives at Washington.

Among the greatest privileges we enjoy under republican institutions are freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, and if I should hesitate on this, or on any other proper occasion, to declare my belief and my convictions on any public question, I should despise myself even more than I despise those incendiary newspapers and hysterical individuals who assume that threats and vituperation can choke the utterances of any self-respecting citizen in Colorado who has an opinion to express or a principle to declare.

The silver question is most vital. Until silver is restored to its place as a money metal at the former parity, there can be no prosperity either in this country or in the gold-using countries of Europe. Year by year the value of gold increases, and the value of agricultural products, measured in gold, declines. International bimetallism at the former ratio would, of course, be the most desirable method of restoring silver as a money metal, because the disturbance of values which might follow the inauguration of free coinage by the United States alone would be avoided, and the question as to the exportation or hoarding of gold would be eliminated. In my opinion, however, the United States alone could, under wise and conservative guidance—such guidance as should deserve and receive the confidence of all classes of our people—open its mints to the unlimited coinage of silver and successfully maintain that metal at a parity with gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, independently of the other nations of the world. During the seven years of my public service in the Senate I have always held this view; my vote on all questions affecting the currency has been identical with that of the other Senators usually known as silver Senators; and while my utterances on the silver question may not have been as frequent or as long as those of others whose views I share, nevertheless my record on this subject is clear and consistent, and the views I hold I expect always to maintain.

The financial plank of the national Republican platform is far from satisfactory, and those members of the party who believe as I believe will struggle earnestly and hopefully for the full and complete recognition and adoption by the Republican party of the humane principle of bimetallism; animated by the

belief that the party which on every other great question involving human freedom and the welfare of mankind has stood for all that was uplifting and ennobling, will yet realize that a continuance of the gold standard means only further impoverishment and suffering. The platform contains, however, a most important statement, pledging the party to the furtherance of bimetallism by international agreement. To the good faith of this pledge, the history of the party on other questions requires the fullest credence; the overshadowing importance of the silver question makes it certain to my mind that every effort will be earnestly made by the Republican party to secure to this country the blessings of bimetallism, and it is my sincere conviction that silver will again be restored to its place as a money metal, at the old ratio and that, when this restoration comes, it will be accomplished through the action and efforts of the Republican party.

Except on the money question, no man in Colorado who believes in the protection of American labor and American products and American industries, and who loves his country, can read the platform without hearty approval; and no man doubts that Major McKinley will bring to his high office every quality needed by a President of this great people.

Mr. Bryan has been nominated for the Presidency on three separate platforms, by the Democratic party, the Populist party, and the Silver party. The last-named party—the Silver party—does not deserve serious consideration. Most of its members were present at its recent convention in St. Louis, and the newspapers report the convention hall as being less than half full.

The Democratic party nominated Mr. Bryan upon a platform, the financial portion of which was everything that could be desired, and the rest of it everything that is, in my opinion, undesirable and hostile to the interests of our country.

It declares in terms against any tariff except for revenue, and denounces the tariff bills enacted during the last Republican administration.

It rebukes the Supreme Court of the United States.

It declares against any changes of our tariff laws until the money question is settled, except such as are necessary to make good the deficit caused by the decision of the Supreme Court in the income-tax cases; and this declaration is made in the face of the fact that the revenues of this country are grossly insufficient to meet its necessary expenses, and that the deficit

is many millions more than any estimated revenue from the proposed income tax.

It denounces the profligate waste and lavish appropriation of recent Republican Congresses. Both the Colorado Senators have been members of these "recent Republican Congresses," and have voted for most of the appropriations.

Above all, the platform denounces the interference of Federal authorities in local affairs. This plank was openly stated to be an attack upon the Government for sending Federal troops to preserve life and property during the recent railway strike in Chicago

This, fellow-citizens, is the platform which was adopted unanimously by that portion of the Democratic party which nominated Mr. Bryan, one of the platforms upon which he stands, a platform which those who vote for him must practically indorse. I decline to stand upon this platform and vote for this candidate, even with the alluring free-coinage plank. I cannot do it. I am a believer in protection and shall not abandon that belief. The Supreme Court of the United States is a pure and able tribunal, the highest judicial tribunal in the world; I will not help smirch it. The Government must be enabled to pay its running expenses, and whenever my vote is needed for that purpose and I fail to vote it supplies to keep it alive, I shall consider that I violate my oath as Senator. The "recent Republican Congresses" have been neither wasteful nor extravagant, and I must decline to certify to a statement I know to be untrue. When, some months ago, the great railway strike at Chicago grew beyond control, and innocent lives were being sacrificed and millions of dollars' worth of property was being destroyed by lawless men; when the sheriff was powerless and the governor failed to perform his duty, the President of the United States, with Federal troops, under sanction of law, saved further bloodshed and destruction and thereby deserved the thanks of every man who values our liberties and believes that the rights guaranteed us by the Constitution ought to be sacredly guarded against every form of lawlessness.

The recent travesty at St. Louis, the Populist convention, has but illustrated the elements which naturally gravitate toward the candidacy of Mr. Bryan. Every cranky quirk, every incongruous and ludicrous and misshapen idea which the wheels in the brains of men could evolve, buzzed and whirled through days of talk, but the net result was Bryan. Government ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone lines, initiative and referen-

dum, silver money and more money had their advocates, and at the end, on assurance that all who voted for Bryan would be equally recognized, Mr. Bryan was almost the unanimous choice of the convention.

For four years in Colorado we have been fighting Populism and Populists; that party is as unfit now as it has ever been to control the welfare of this people. The party stands to-day just where it has always stood. I am not yet willing to march under its banner.

Because, therefore, I believe that free coinage will come through the efforts of the Republican party, and because the Democratic and Populist platforms, except on the money question, are odious and hostile to the welfare of our country, I shall not cast my vote for Mr. Bryan.

Seven years ago I was elected to the Senate by the Republican votes of the General Assembly, and against the opposition of every Democrat in the two houses. My re-election met the united opposition of every Democrat and every Populist member of the General Assembly. I hold my commission from the Republican party. Many of its members, including some of its leaders, in the exercise of their judgment, have announced their intention of leaving the party. I shall stay. My loyalty to the party which has honored me is entirely consistent with my loyalty to the highest and best interests of the State I represent in the Senate of the United States, and I know no reason why I should abandon my party or desert its colors.

It is to me a source of the deepest regret that my position is at variance with that of many of the former members of the Republican party—among them many who have honored me with their personal friendship. I trust that time and further reflection and the course of events will bring us together again in unity of agreement.

But whatever may result, my path of duty is plain. My one aspiration is for the welfare of the State in which I have lived for more than a quarter of a century—all the years of my manhood. Every interest I have is here, and Colorado will be my home until I am buried in its soil. The differences which exist are not as to the result we seek, but as to the best method of reaching that result.

There is to my mind no reason why it was not as much our duty to vote for Weaver four years ago as for Bryan to-day. The Omaha platform declared for free coinage and was no more

objectionable than the Chicago platform; and Bryan is vouched for by leading Populists as being "as good a Populist as lives." The Populists have not changed in the past four years. It is we who are expected to join their aggregation. Others may find it wise or expedient, but I won't do it. If ever the course of events should make it possible for me to speak from the same platform as Tillman or Waite or Ignatius Donnelly, in advocacy of the same Presidential candidate, I should know there must be something wrong with me. What we need in Colorado is less hysterics and more common-sense. We have glorious resources, yet in the infancy of their development; we are suffering from the imposition of a mistaken financial policy, which it is our natural and proper desire to see overthrown as speedily as possible. We are one of forty-six States in the Union, each free and sovereign. Within our borders live about one one-hundred-and-fiftieth of the people of the United States. We live in a Republic where the majority rules. The vast majority of the people of the United States are honest and of high average intelligence, and devoted to the perpetuity of free institutions. Our great desire is to induce a majority of the people of the United States to believe as we believe. The way to the accomplishment of this result is not by vituperation and abuse.

The press of the country, East as well as West, is largely responsible for the bitter sectional feeling now sought to be invoked. It is for us who do not own or control newspapers, and are not in the business of throwing mud, to remember that of the millions of people who will cast their ballots this fall, nearly all are as patriotic as we are, and, with us, equally desirous that this Republic shall live and not die. The people of the East are our brothers; we sprang from the same loins; we have a common country, a common faith, and the same dear flag. This gospel of hate, which is now being preached, should find no followers among sane men, no welcome among good citizens.

We who believe in the free coinage of gold and silver at our mints, at the ratio heretofore existing, will secure the adoption of our views when we are able to induce the majority of our fellow-citizens to share our belief; when people who do not now agree with us shall be led to agree with us, not alone because of our arguments on finance, but because our views on other great questions entitle us to public confidence and respect. Free coinage will never come, in my opinion, out of the jumble

and folly of the Chicago platform, nor will it be heralded by the cap and bells of Populism.

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT.

DENVER, August 1, 1896.

THE CAMPAIGN

The convention for the nomination of candidates for the State offices was not held until the last day of September, and it took place at Colorado Springs, the only city in the State where straight Republicanism could hope to receive any toleration. The convention was well attended, but its members were so united in support of the junior Senator that the work was speedily despatched. It was an orderly, but determined, body of men, who knew what they wanted to do and who lost no time in carrying their plans into practice. Speaking of the character of the members of the convention, the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, the only Republican paper of any importance in the State which had remained loyal, said:

"It was the nicest and biggest body of men that has ever assembled here for convention purposes. There were none of the usual scenes of drinking and carousing that usually accompany political gatherings, and this was a fact particularly commented on by the visitors."

Judge George W. Allen, a State district judge in Denver, was named for Governor, and a full ticket was placed in the field.

General Hamill was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and the platform reported by him and adopted by the convention declared the people of Colorado "irrespective of party" to be favorable to the free coinage of silver; expressed regret at the position on the subject taken by the national party at St. Louis, and then voiced the confidence that "the remonetization of silver, so essential to the prosperity of this and of all other civilized countries, will be accomplished through the efforts and under the direction of the Republican party of this country, and through no other channel." Except upon the silver question, the convention heartily and cordially endorsed the platform of the party adopted at St. Louis. Senator Wolcott was sustained in the following plank:

"We heartily commend and endorse the noble and fearless position taken by the Honorable E. O. Wolcott in his splendid efforts in the interest of Americanism, Republicanism, the people of the State of Colorado, and for the preservation of the Republican party in Colorado from disintegration."

Mr. Wolcott was both temporary chairman and permanent chairman of the convention. In his speech assuming the first position he reviewed the issues of the campaign thoroughly, and took occasion to refer to a former statement that he would join any other great party that would declare for free silver. He confessed to that promise, and said in explanation:

> There are two things I must offer in explanation: In the first place, I did not dream that they were going to join hands with Populists and give us the anarchistic platform. Nor did I ever dream that the change would make me stand on the same platform with Governor Waite and General Coxey, and when I really came to face the possibility of leaving the dear old party, I would n't play;—that 's all. I walked up to the trough, but I could n't drink.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott's speech before the convention, the *Gazette* said:

> It was the most effective speech ever delivered in the State of Colorado.
>
> It was red hot all the way through to the end, and the end was the finest flight of oratory founded on genuine patriotic feeling that the present writer ever heard. Before he reached the peroration, the audience had been almost uproarious in its applause of the many telling shots fired into the enemy's camp. After the first sentence, a death-like stillness came over the house—men and women fairly held their breath as they hung upon the orator's lips, and many an eye was moist. Then signs of a desire to express the pent-up feeling began to be evident; and before the last sentence had been reached the audience could hold in no longer, and burst forth in the most tremendous applause ever heard in that great auditorium. Men stood up on chairs and flourished their arms and threw up their hats. Women waved their handkerchiefs, and everybody hurrahed until he was

tired. It was a magnificent tribute to a most splendid and inspiring effort of genius. It was a scene which those who witnessed will never forget. It was an occasion of which Mr. Wolcott may be proud as long as he lives.

The campaign attracted wide attention, and Mr. Wolcott's course was the subject of much commendation from party leaders throughout the country. Occasionally also there was a cheering word from the Republican press, a specimen of which is the following from the *New York Tribune*, of October 6, 1896:

> While we are having here in the East such an easy fight that the campaign seems almost to run itself, with an almost certain prospect of a walkover in November, we must not forget that there are Republicans in some of the silver States who are quite differently situated. They are making a hard, heroic, uphill fight for Republicanism, with the odds heavily against them. In the whole political field there is to-day no finer figure than that of Senator Wolcott of Colorado. Deserted by his colleague and by so many of his old Republican friends and associates that he seems to be facing almost alone an overwhelming opposition, he is standing up for McKinley and for Republicanism with the desperate courage of a forlorn hope. The magnificent energy which he has thrown into a desperate encounter against heavy odds, heightened by the gift of unusual eloquence and the wide personal popularity due to the attractiveness of his manner and the evident sincerity of his convictions, recall the famous Maryland statesman, Henry Winter Davis, who in similar hostile conditions braved an overwhelming opposition in his own State in the struggle for the preservation of the Union and rendered the greatest possible service to the cause.
>
> Senator Wolcott is entitled to the highest praise for the manly courage with which he has maintained his convictions, resisting the turbulent tide of Populism which has apparently carried Colorado off its feet, and has saved the Republican party of the State from utter demoralization. . . . We repeat that the attitude of Senator Wolcott, in making in the silver State of Colorado a manly stand-up fight for Republican principles and the integrity of the party, entitles him to something more than passing praise. His services, even though they may not prove immediately effective among his own constituents, cannot fail to be of ultimate benefit to the party and the cause, and

there can be no reasonable doubt that they will receive grateful recognition.

The ticket was overwhelmingly defeated, but the party organization was preserved and was kept in shape for future campaigns, when Mr. Wolcott predicted the Republican party would come into its own in Colorado, as ultimately it did.

Mr. Wolcott did not make many speeches in the campaign, but those he did make were among the most notable of his career and will take rank in history with the best political speeches ever made in any State by any orator under trying circumstances. With the State hostile to him almost to the point of personal attack, he was notified from many quarters that he would not be allowed to speak if he should visit the sections mentioned. Under the circumstances, he did not consider it worth while to make an extended tour of the State, but confined himself to addresses at Colorado Springs and Denver. The first of these was made at the Springs on the 16th of September, and the last in Denver on the 24th of October. Coming midway between these two was a short speech at the State Convention when it met at Colorado Springs, on the 30th of September.

Except for his written address to the voters, Mr. Wolcott had not been heard from since the national conventions previous to the first Colorado Springs speech, and intense interest in his movements was felt throughout the State. His speech had been widely advertised, and when it appeared in the newspapers was read with eagerness by the general public. Colorado Springs was then, as it still is, a city of much culture. Its population was composed very largely of Northern people, many of whom resided there on account of health, and were unmoved by local conditions. It always has been a centre of Republicanism, and there was less change there in 1896 than in any other portion of the State. Consequently, Mr. Wolcott chose wisely in selecting that city as the place for his first appearance and as the location of his State Convention.

Few men have received a greater ovation than was

awarded him upon his arrival during the afternoon preceding the night in which the address of September 16th was to be given. The city turned out almost to a man to greet him when his train pulled into the station, and he was escorted to his hotel by such a procession as the place never had seen. Two special trains from Denver and other specials from other near-by cities augmented the crowd, which was so large that only a small percentage could find space within the auditorium in which the meeting was held, notwithstanding it seated forty-five hundred people. In the parade ladies marched side by side with their husbands, and both men and women were greeted by immense throngs on the sidewalks and on the house-tops as the procession passed along. Mr. Wolcott was driven to the Antlers Hotel, but he was not allowed to disappear from sight before lifting his voice in a word to the throng that crowded the Plaza in front of that building. He spoke very briefly, but his words are worth quoting as indicating his method of meeting the attacks which were constantly being made upon him. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this welcome. I wish that the papers of this State that have been saying for the past three months that I am not in touch with the people of the State were here to witness this demonstration. I have been here about three months and I find that I have been "touched" about as often as formerly. We have nothing to apologize for and nothing to explain. We do not propose to betray our party and we are not going to put up a ticket that will fuse with anybody. The most pitiable exhibition that has ever been seen in the State was the four or more sets of office-seekers who got together in Denver last week, ready to fuse with anybody, and seeking to fool one another and grab everything in sight. There was no principle in it, nothing but greed. The man from Judea got away with the baggage. Think of the Silver Republicans putting up as their leader, as the chief representative of their party, Simon Guggenheim! All that we have is here in Colorado. We will have to live here for some time yet before we come to believe that any ticket that has T. M. Patterson at the head of it is for the best interest of Colorado. If Colorado for the second time casts its vote for the Populist electors we shall all feel it.

The regular speech at the Springs on this occasion was one of the most memorable ever made by the Senator. He touched upon most of the questions of the day, many of which were quite personal to himself, in such a manner as to win many admirers if he did not add to the number of his supporters. The speech appears entire elsewhere, and only two extracts will be given here. He was defiant and independent throughout, as witness the following from the first sentences:

We have no apologies or explanations to make to anybody, for we have not cut loose from our moorings, or lost our bearings; we stand where we have always stood, with our faces toward the dawn, presenting a united front against Socialism, paternalism, and Populism, including Waiteism, Pattersonism, Coxeyism, and Bryanism. We have not betrayed our party, nor do we intend to abandon its great principles. Eight bolting delegates could not take our consciences and our convictions with them out of a national convention of our party. We are not to be delivered over to the Democratic-Populist conglomeration by manifesto or otherwise; and we meet to-night to send word to our brothers of kindred faith with us all over the Union, that at the first organized party rally in Colorado, thousands, many thousands, of faithful Republicans assembled in El Paso County to declare their enthusiastic and earnest faith in Republican principles and their loyal devotion to McKinley and Hobart.

And this from the body of the address:

I am a Republican. Democratic dogmas have no charm for me, and it is my firm conviction that the doctrines of the Populist party are dangerous and are subversive of the interests and threaten the perpetuity of this republic. Believing as I do, therefore, I welcome the hostility of both Democrats and Populists, if there is now any difference between them. It is infinitely pleasanter to me than their approval. It has been my good fortune to have been twice elected to the Senate of the United States from Colorado. On each occasion every Democrat and every Populist member of the Legislature was actively and bitterly opposed to my election. I was not elected by Democratic and Populist votes, and please God I never shall be. As long as I live I expect to combat and fight their teachings and their tenets, and when either of these two parties, now appar-

ently united, shall indorse me, or approve my political course, I shall know it for an everlasting sign that I have betrayed and abandoned the party whose commission I hold.

His speech in the Coliseum in Denver was delivered to an audience which in the main was in perfect accord with him, and when he appeared upon the platform he was received with tremendous applause, which continued for many minutes. Boldly attacking the opposition, he declared in the beginning that his party was not a party of fusion, and, referring to the numerous addresses which were being promulgated by the Silver Republicans and Populists, he declared himself to be a Republican and again announced that he had no apologies to make on that account. Making the most that he might of the Republican declaration for international bimetallism, he asserted that neither of the other parties could guarantee the free coinage of silver even if willing to do so. The Democratic platform was denounced as a menace to Republican institutions. These and many other reasons were given for not breaking with the Republican party and going over to either of the other parties which promised more for the white metal. Declaring himself to be a citizen of the Union as well as of the State, he said, "I charge myself with loyalty wider than the borders of the commonwealth in which I live."

The Denver speech was delivered under very trying circumstances. That city was largely hostile to Mr. Wolcott, and there had been an effort to confine the attendance to his friends. Many others, however, found their way into the building, and strenuous efforts were made to break up the meeting and turn it into a Bryan ovation. It looked for a time as if this plan would succeed, but, when Mr. Wolcott made his appearance, his magnetism was such that all possibilities in that direction soon vanished. Beginning his address in the midst of great confusion, he soon brought order out of chaos, and no man ever had a more attentive audience than he had for the greater portion of his speech. This fact was remarked on every hand, and the comment was common that "those who had come to scoff had remained to pray." Probably no better illustra-

tion of his mastery over men was ever afforded than in this speech, and every incident of the occasion was remembered by his followers for many years afterward as one of the best instances of his great power, not as an orator only but as a fearless and persevering man.

At that time Mr. Wolcott was without a friend among the newspapers of Denver, and as a consequence the only accounts of the Denver meeting were written from a hostile point of view. There was, however, enough of news interest in the speech to compel a full report of its text and this was given, although it was accompanied by harsh denunciation of its author. In the report of the meeting before us, Mr. Wolcott is spoken of as an "excrescence" and frequently referred to as "Cousin Ed." In one place we are told that the assemblage was composed almost entirely of friends of Wolcott, admittance being only by card, and in another that the meeting came near being stampeded to Bryan. Again, we are assured that there was a poor attendance while later the reporter, forgetting himself in describing an anti-Wolcott demonstration, said that "the hall was too crowded for the Wolcott sergeant-at-arms to reach any one."

Although probably unintentionally, this reporter has left a very graphic and doubtless an accurate account of one of Mr. Wolcott's greatest triumphs as a public speaker. He was intending only to explain the hostility of the crowd, but in accomplishing that purpose he also placed on record an account of the man's wonderful magnetism and complete mastery of such a situation as would have baffled most men.

When Wolcott entered the hall Thomas E. McClelland, a Republican candidate for Congress, was addressing the audience, but he suspended to permit a fitting reception. There was a very hearty salutation. Let the reporter tell the remainder of the story:

> His supporters tried to keep up the shouting just a little too long. When the first "sag" occurred some one in the gallery shouted "three cheers for Bryan," and several hundreds responded.
>
> "Three cheers for Teller," were called for, and they were given more freely this time.

The Wolcott people began to get anxious as the cheering was taken up in the different parts of the hall.

State Senator McNeeley, late of Custer, rose and put his foot in it by demanding that the supporters of Senator Teller be thrown out.

In a moment there was an upturning. The people rose and yelled defiantly.

The hall was too crowded for the Wolcott sergeant-at-arms to reach any one. There was general uproar, getting more serious all the time on account of the McNeeley request, and the fear that the meeting would have to end.

Mr. McClelland was waiting to resume his speech, but he was waiting in vain. At the request of Senator Wolcott he attempted to proceed, but the noise drowned him. The Wolcott boosters, in their nervousness, were really making the most of the confusion.

The chairman, Mr. Cook, Greeley W. Whitford, and several minor lights attempted to get order, but made matters really worse.

Senator Wolcott, who was chafing in his seat like a reined war-horse, could stand it no longer, and he bounded to the front and brushed the others aside. Buttoning his Prince Albert coat he launched forth, and had there been really an organized gathering opposed to him it might have been dangerous. But his "bluff" went. There was quiet.

"If there are any persons here disposed to make a disturbance on behalf of Mr. Bryan, I want to tell them that they have got the right town and number, but the wrong street; their meeting is up on Sixteenth Street," he shouted. "If any of you here in this audience are such it is because you have got somebody's money for being here, and you should go back to the saloons where those people found you and tell them that when you got down here you found an audience of ladies and gentlemen, and there was no room for you. Tell them this is a place of meeting of decent people, who respect individual opinion, and allow other people to have their own meeting, and we do not propose to tolerate the interruption of a lot of bummers and heelers."

No one took offence and he went after the newspaper press right away. Then he spoke of the feelings of the State with respect to silver and his position. He insisted that the McKinleyites were being shamefully treated, and some were afraid to let their sentiments become known. The reign of terror of

the French Revolution had hardly anything to equal it, the junior Senator announced.

As Senator Wolcott proceeded he got some of the audience to warm up and cheer him. But as he got to a glowing period some one demanded, "What's the matter with Teller?" which caused a damper for a time. But the Senator had his audience shouting when he returned to the newspapers.

In this meeting Mr. Wolcott accomplished another wonderful feat. He rose above the strife of the moment to pay tribute to the personal worth of his colleague, Senator Teller. Although the two men had been members of the same party, they now were rival State leaders, Teller of the big Silver party, Wolcott of the much smaller Republican party. Notwithstanding these conditions, Mr. Wolcott not only recognized the honesty of his antagonist, but he voiced the recognition in the most public manner possible.

He was referring to the attacks of a Denver paper upon himself, and for the purpose of showing that he was not the only object of the newspaper's hostility, he had had collected a number of criticisms formerly made by that paper of the senior Senator, and, holding them aloft, called attention to them:

I hold in my hand [he said] typewritten copies, and they are not five per cent. of what I could have got from the files of that paper, of the most filthy and dirty and outrageous and lying attacks that were ever made, upon my colleague, during the different years he has been in public life. I won't soil my tongue by reading them. Those of you who have lived here during the past ten years have read them. They include the direct charge that since my colleague has been in public life, fighting the battle for silver in Washington, he has been an enemy of silver and would defeat it if he could. They charge him with personal dishonor and personal misconduct, and personal dishonesty, when there never was a man of purer life connected with public affairs.

No wonder so magnanimous a sentiment was cheered, as it was, to the echo.

But, that justice may be done and that another instance of magnanimity in politics may be recorded, it should be

stated that the paper which was the subject of the Senator's condemnation printed the speech entire and gave the best account of the meeting that was published.

After Mr. Wolcott's death in 1905, W. S. Boynton, of Colorado Springs, was quoted by the *Denver Republican* as saying:

> Senator Wolcott's speech at Colorado Springs in the campaign of 1896 was the finest thing I ever heard. It was grand. He espoused the cause of McKinley with all his fervor and with that eloquence for which he was noted pleaded against sectionalism. It was the grandest speech ever made in Colorado. Senator Wolcott practically preserved the Republican party in those troublous times and it was mostly due to his efforts that the organization was maintained in 1896, 1898, and 1900.

Continuing its reference to the campaign, the *Republican*, which in the meantime had become a supporter of Mr. Wolcott, said:

> Practically the same thing is said of the Coliseum Hall speech, in Denver. Excitement ran high in the city. The Senator declared that he had a right to speak, as well as any other man. He declared that he would speak, in spite of threats against his life. And he did. He called upon John Russell, then chief of police, for police protection, and a squad of patrolmen preserved order at the hall. In addition to this, friends of the Senator stationed themselves near the platform in case trouble arose. The Senator was at his best. He protested against sectionalism, he pleaded the cause of McKinley and the old Republican party with all the eloquence at his command and before he concluded he had the audience applauding to the echo. Here was furnished an instance of how his forensic ability appealed to the people. Crowds flocked to hear him that evening and the meeting was the most largely attended of any in Denver during that campaign, not excepting the gathering which was addressed by William Jennings Bryan.

In its review of Mr. Wolcott's life, the *Denver Times* bore similar testimony concerning the campaign of '96. It said:

> Speaking in towns and cities where he had been informed his life was not worth a moment's purchase, the magic eloquence

of this gifted man stilled vast audiences of those who, although they hated him and the principles which he supported, could not remain away from the sound of his voice. Those who came to sneer and deride him remained spellbound, and, when the last word had fallen from the speaker's lips, awoke as if from a hypnotic sleep and found themselves applauding. Senator Wolcott was never so great as he was during this period. Opposition of the most virulent kind brought out every latent ability.

No one expected anything less than an overwhelming triumph for Bryan in the State, and in this respect there was no disappointment. Not only did the State give Bryan its vote by the unprecedentedly large majority of 134,882 out of a total of 187,882 votes, but its citizens contributed large sums of money to the Bryan campaign fund for use elsewhere.

Owing to the failure to fuse there was not such unanimity on the opposition State ticket. For Governor, Alva Adams, Democrat, received 87,456 votes; M. S. Bailey, Populist, 71,683, and George Allen, Republican, 24,111. The Legislature was largely Democratic, and Senator Teller was re-elected by it.

THE CAMPAIGN OF '98

THE campaign of 1898 was similar in many respects to that of 1896, and the result, as before, was against the Republicans. The majority, however, was far less. This year Henry R. Wolcott was the Republican candidate for Governor. He was not elected, but his vote was more than twice that cast for Judge Allen two years before, while the vote for his opponent, Hon. C. S. Thomas, of Denver, was 94,274. The Thomas figures were about 7000 in excess of the vote cast for Adams in 1896, but almost 65,000 less than the vote for Adams and Bailey combined. Thus the Republican gain was very marked, and the Wolcotts received a most flattering endorsement.

The State Convention was held at Denver, September 15th, and E. O. Wolcott presided. The speech nominating Henry Wolcott for Governor was made by General W. A. Hamill, the old-time friend of the brothers. He said:

> This is a representative body and not a body of swappers and traders. It is the province of this body to place candidates before the people of Colorado for their approval, and it is not the province of any committee to perform your functions. Under the false pretence that they are the only friends of silver, a certain coterie of gentlemen recently assembled at Colorado Springs, some calling themselves Democrats, others Populists, and some Silver Republicans, and by a committee that required some two days and three nights to reach a conclusion, and which was composed entirely of trading politicians of this State from the various parties, have presented for the suffrages of the people of Colorado a mongrel ticket composed of Democrats, Populists, and so-called Silver Republicans, and have pre-

sented it with the excuse that it is the only way to test what they call the silver issue in Colorado.

Now, as to the silver issue in Colorado, just stop and think for a moment. There is not a sane man or woman within the boundaries of this State that is not a bimetallist. All are necessarily so. Self-interest alone would teach them to be so if nothing else did. So the question of bimetallism in Colorado never has been, never can be, and never will be a dead issue until settled.

I am not going to criticise the men, for I believe there are good men and women on the patch-work ticket. But take the head of the ticket. That gentleman four years ago was making special efforts to beat the Populist party in this State. How can he with decency and honor and manhood ask any consistent Populist to support him? I have known the head of that ticket for over twenty years as a bitter partisan politician. I am speaking of him politically and not as to his private character. The burden of all his creeds has been that all the ills that flesh is heir to are brought about by the Republican party. How can he ask any Republican to support him, whether Silver Republican or otherwise?

The man whose name I shall submit to you is a bimetallist in the broadest and noblest sense of the word. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance many years ago. He was then engaged as a practical—mark the word—miner in the old county of Gilpin, and has brought his earnings year by year and his splendid business ability to the development of the gold and silver mines of this State. His name is well and favorably known in golden Boulder, in the silvery San Juan, in Gilpin, and Clear Creek and Cripple Creek and Ouray, and all other mining districts. His form is familiar on the streets of every mining camp in this State, and his name is a household word in every miner's camp. No man in distress, no woman in adversity, no rising young fellow wanting a helping hand has ever applied to him in vain. He has brought to this State millions of dollars to develop the mining resources. He has built monument after monument on your streets, such as the Boston building and the Equitable building with money he was mainly instrumental in raising.

Such a man you can take to your hearts and support at the polls, as I know he has supported the State. I submit the name of Mr. Henry R. Wolcott as candidate for the position of Governor.

For a time during this campaign Hon. Simon Guggenheim of the wealthy New York family of this name, who afterward was elected by the Colorado Legislature to the United States Senate as a Republican, was a candidate for Governor. He was nominated by a branch of the Silver Republican organization, but he withdrew from the contest and many of his followers became supporters of Mr. Wolcott.

There was a slight effort on the part of some delegates to the regular convention to have the nomination of Mr. Guggenheim endorsed, but it was not pressed and Mr. Wolcott was nominated by acclamation.

The opposition was by no means as harmonious as were the Republicans, and while in the end complete fusion was effected, it only came after much wrangling and contention.

Again Senator Wolcott was the subject of all attacks, "the storm centre," as he described himself. He was made the object of much vituperation by the newspapers of the State. There was, however, a noticeable softening of general public feeling.

The Wolcott brothers stumped the State together, and were received cordially wherever they went. Again this year Senator Wolcott made his two principal speeches in Denver and Colorado Springs. In those addresses he gave an account of his mission to Europe in the interest of bimetallism, and he again placed on record the prediction that ultimately through the efforts of the Republican party silver would be restored to its old place as a money metal. In a sense Mr. Wolcott was embarrassed by the candidacy of his brother. There was evident a constant desire to praise him, but he was more restrained from motives of delicacy than he would have been if there had been no bond of kinship between them. He did, however, assure the people that if elected Henry would serve them faithfully and well.

Henry Wolcott made only short speeches, explaining that he had entered into a contract with his brother that the latter should do "all the speaking for the pair." Henry's continuing popularity in the State was attested in this campaign; his every appearance was a signal for prolonged

cheers. At Colorado Springs he took notice of a report which was in general circulation to the effect that he was a "sacrificial candidate" and that he had accepted the nomination for Governor with no hope of being elected, but for the purpose of assisting to prepare the way for his brother's re-election to the Senate two years from that time.

The papers are trying to make it appear [he said] that I do not expect to be elected; that I have been nominated to be defeated, in order that I may, in some mysterious manner, which I must confess I am too dense to understand, elect some other person to some position in some other year in the dim future. I understand that one of the candidates for governor has withdrawn. The candidate of the Democracy may withdraw, but I shall be in this race until the 8th of November and I confidently expect on that day that every one on the Republican ticket will be elected.

He made his longest speech at a monster meeting held in Denver on the evening of November 3d, a few days before the election, when he said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I ought to feel entirely at home in any meeting of the citizens of Denver, for I have spent twenty years of the thirty years I have lived in the State as a resident of Denver, and I have the pleasure of personal acquaintance with a majority of the people composing this vast audience. But somehow, I would rather talk to a few of you at a time than to address you now from this platform. Those who know me best would be the most astonished if I were to attempt to make a speech and I shall not disappoint you.

But even if I were inclined to, I should restrain myself to-night, for abler speakers will present the issues of the campaign. Besides, I have learned some wisdom from my opponent who must these days have been wishing he never had made speeches and that he had never written letters, and never submitted to interviews for publication.

Fellow-citizens, I am here because I am a Republican, and I have received the endorsement of every wing and branch of the party which in any decency is entitled to the use of the name Republican, as its candidate for governor.

I am very weary of the old lie which has been told, and

which is repeated now from day to day, that the Republican party is opposed to silver. We are told that those who do not vote the fusion ticket are the enemies and the foes of the white metal.

Is it fair to say that because a Prohibitionist who believes in the principles of his party votes that ticket, he is therefore an enemy of silver? Our different religious organizations have different views as to which is the true road which leads to Heaven, but they are all trying to get there. They are all striving to reach the same gate when all is done. The ways are many, but the end is one. And so it is with every one in Colorado. No one can be more interested in silver than I am, or in enhancing the value of silver, for the greatest prosperity I ever had in this State has come through my interest in silver mining.

What Colorado needs is increased prosperity. We need greater activity in our mines and in our works. Our manufactures are to be built up. Business is to be improved in every direction, and this can be accomplished, in my judgment, only through the Republican party. It is through that party alone that we can ever expect to see silver restored to the position which it must sooner or later again occupy as a money metal the world over.

It seems to me that the time has come for us to take the position that hereafter we will support this government in every good measure which is calculated to advance the welfare and the best interests of the entire country; that the time has come for us to take the position that while we are residents of Colorado we are, over and above and beyond all, loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States.

It has been my intention to make no pledges or promises during this campaign, and so far I have made none. I have declined to answer letters which have been addressed to me, and which were calculated to forestall legislation and to commit me to some certain action on matters which will come before the Legislature, and I have treated all alike, no matter how much or how little sympathy I may have had with them.

But it seems to me it is fair and right for me to say to you, citizens of Denver, in no uncertain terms, that I am forever and unequivocally in favor of home rule for our city. I believe that good and true men can be found, I would almost say alike regardless of their party, who can give their time to the upbuilding and the improvement of our city, to the

HENRY R. WOLCOTT.

advancement of its material welfare, and that they should be allowed to do so without the interference of any outside person.

Fellow-citizens, if I am elected as executive of this great commonwealth on Tuesday next, as I now confidently believe I shall be, I must remember that I have predicted here to-night that the success of the Republican ticket means the return of prosperity to this State. I must remember that I have promised you, as I do now, that I shall give my undivided time to conducting the affairs of the State, so far as they are under my control, upon strictly business principles. I must remember that my own good name is at stake and my reputation as well; that I expect to live, so long as God gives me life, among the citizens of Denver, and it shall be my ambition so to conduct the affairs of the office that when I shall retire you and I and friend and foe alike shall feel I did my level best.

THE BIG FIGHT OF 1900

WHILE the result of the campaign of 1898 had been disappointing, the work done in the interest of the Republican party was of such a thorough character that immediately after the election many recalcitrants announced that henceforth they would be found voting with the old party. So pronounced was the trend of sentiment that long before the opening of the contest in the fall of 1900 hope of success ran strong among Republican leaders, and there was a general disposition to "get together and stay together" in the interest of party success. Not only were the party men of Colorado in high spirits, but Republicans throughout the country who had watched the valiant struggles of the loyal partisans since 1896 had become interested and were looking forward to the fall election in Colorado as an event which was sure to bring victory and insure reward for faithful services. But another disappointment was in store for them.

Mr. Wolcott was not among those who were deceived. He knew conditions better than most of his followers, and while he appreciated that the movement in favor of Republicanism had received a decided impetus, he was apprehensive from the beginning. Even then, he figured more on 1902 than on 1900, and as early as January, 1900, we find him discussing the chances two years forward quite as much as those of that time. Still, he entered heartily into all preparations for the immediate work, assumed a hopeful air, and maintained active control of the party in the State. He manifested especial interest in getting backsliders into the fold again, and, as we shall see, was instrumental in having the doors thrown wide open for their readmission. He advised that no question should be asked

and that they should be taken in on mere "profession of faith."

As indicating his state of mind the following from an interview in the *Denver Republican* of March 5, 1900, is quoted:

"It is of infinitely more importance that Colorado again take her place among the Republican States of the Union than it is that I or any other specified individual should represent her in the Senate, and my personal aspirations should be counted as nothing if they stood in the way of that result."

Speaking of the outlook in the State, Mr. Wolcott said:

"I think it clearly possible that the State will be carried for the Republican ticket this fall if those voters in the State who formerly belonged to the party and have no sympathy with Democracy and are at heart tired of Bryanism will come back into the ranks and work as in former days for the success of our ticket and for Republican principles."

Frequently during the preparation for this campaign he urged the readmission on liberal terms of those who had deserted in '96, and to this end he sought to influence his fellow-Republicans through private conferences and by letter as well as by means of published interviews. Success at the polls, with a friendly Legislature as one of the results, meant not only his own triumph and complete vindication, but, better still to his view, the restoration of Colorado to its old position before the world as an intelligent and progressive commonwealth. Moreover, he always had conceded integrity of purpose, if not justification, to the Republicans who had deserted the party because of the silver question. Appreciating the importance of that question to the State, he had regretted without resenting their falling away. He knew most of them to be Republican at heart on all but the money issue, and he wanted them back in the fold. He knew success to be impossible without them, and he pleaded zealously for the utmost inducement for their return. With such inducement he considered it possible that a sufficient number would come back to make a vastly improved showing.

Nor was he especially sanguine in his own interest over the prospects of 1902, for he foresaw the strife in his party, which in the end actually prevented his return to the Senate after a lapse of two years. In view of what actually happened the following letter of January 14, 1900, to his confidential secretary, Mr. C. A. Chisholm, is entitled to be ranked as prophecy:

> I do not think I shall be able to make the Senate in two years from now. If I thought I could, I should at once arrange for my constant presence in Colorado until that time. There is serious doubt about our ability to carry the State in two years, and, naturally enough, there is a growing opposition to me in my own party which will be serious in two years if we have a chance of success. The latter I could probably overcome, but it is another obstacle, and it means a harder fight and more expenditure, and I doubt if it is worth while.

The year 1900 was an important one in Colorado politics. It was the last year of Senator Wolcott's second term and of President McKinley's first. Mr. Wolcott or his successor must be elected by the Legislature to be chosen in November, and that election, broadened so as to include the entire country, was to decide whether McKinley should continue to preside over the destinies of the nation or give way to some one else. But many interesting events were to occur before these results could be accomplished. To say nothing of the nation at large, there must be two State conventions in Colorado, a stirring State campaign, and a meeting of the State Legislature. In addition, it was in store that at the first of the State conventions Senator Wolcott was to be chosen the head of the delegation to the national convention, at which Mr. McKinley was to be renominated and over which Mr. Wolcott was to preside as temporary chairman.

The national gathering was held in Philadelphia, and the Colorado delegation was composed entirely of Mr. Wolcott's friends, many of them men who had opposed him in the campaigns of 1896 and 1898.

As going to show the spirit that prevailed in 1900 among many who had left the party in 1896 and were now finding

their way back, the following is cited from an account, probably "more truth than the truth," of a meeting of members of the State Central Committee, held early in the year to decide upon a date for the formal meeting of the committee. It is quoted from the *Denver Republican*, which paper also was beginning to manifest a disposition to return to the party of its former allegiance:

Marshal Bailey presided, and the cigars were passed—good cigars that gave pleasant feeling to the olfactories and filled all the air with perfume.

It 's like livin' again after bein' dead," said the ornate Jared L. Brush, erstwhile Lieutenant-Governor, and just then Charles Brickenstein came in and Mr. Brush made a rush for him.

"I want to congratulate you, Charley," said he, "on your return to the Grand Old Party."

"I had to do it," added the prodigal, "to keep him from doin' it to me."

"I would like to know," said the stranger within their gates, "if anybody has any sort of a kick against Eddy—pardon me—I refer to Senator E. O. Wolcott. Now 's your chance, you know. Here 's a minute in which you wear no man's collar. Before Edward gets a ring in your nose, speak up."

"Nitty, nitty, nit," spoke up the faithful. "Ed 's all right. He represents McKinley, and McKinley stands for prosperity, and prosperity means about everything we want."

"Good!" said A. B. Seaman, coming in, the door having been prudently left off its hinges. "That 's the way to talk it. Ed 's all right. Where would Colorado be now if it had n't been for Ed Wolcott?"

"There 's nobody dissatisfied with Ed except those who want his place," said State Senator Bromley.

Of course the story is exaggerated, but it serves the purpose of showing how pleased leading members of the party were to find the way open for the resumption of former affiliations. Many of the rank and file manifested the same exuberance without getting any of the cigars.

From the beginning of the preparation for the fight, as early as January, Mr. Wolcott took the position that not his success but the party's should be the end to be sought. This was his attitude in his private letters as in his public

utterances, and he lost no opportunity to impress his views upon his friends. Confessing frankly his own ambition but declaring that it ever should be subordinate to the party welfare, he strenuously urged the most liberal treatment of the returning members of the party. He wrote freely to his private secretary, C. A. Chisholm, on this, as on all other points. The most elaborate of his letters to that gentleman was dated at Washington, January 15th, and it is of such importance as going to show Mr. Wolcott's genuine and unselfish interest in his party as to justify its publication entire. It follows:

I am clearly of the opinion that the wise and politic thing for us to do is to grant immediately every request that has been made respecting primaries, etc., and any other concessions that occur to us. Under no circumstances ought there to be a hostile speech made by anybody, or any single act committed by us that may create schism in our party ranks.

What we want is success, and we must have it by votes. It is undoubtedly true that certain corporation influences are at work with a desire to control our organization. It is absurd, however, to think that all the people who are joining with the opposition are cognizant of this motive. Ninety-five per cent. of them are men who will vote with us on any fair proposition, and we do not want anything that is not fair.

I have no sympathy with the feeling that it is a surrender under fire. Suppose it is;—nothing is hurt but our pride, and that will not count for anything in view of possible success. I do not mean myself that this factionalism shall be carried any further with any support of mine, and I would rather lose all we have built on in the past, and all the excellent work that there has ever been done to keep the party alive, than invite defeat now by a factional fight.

The real motive of these people is this:

They have been Silver Republicans, and they are ready to come back. They don't propose to come back on terms; they propose to come back, if at all, and have just as much to say as people who stayed with the party when they have opposed it. Why not let them come back in this way? What do we care provided we are successful?

The truth is that within five days after we have opened the doors wide and let everybody come back, and given everybody a chance to steal the organization who wants it, matters will

settle down, and in the future, as in the past, the cleverest men will control our organization, and I hope control it for good.

I realize what this means. I know that friends, who have submitted to abuse and suspicion and all sorts of indignity, don't like to give up the fruit of our labors. Don't let that stand in our way. If it defeats any possibility of my success two years from now, I shall be content, provided we have brought the State back to Republicanism.

It is certainly true that if a fight is conducted in the party there will be no chance of success this year, or chance of success two years from now.

If I had my own way I should to-morrow, in the most public fashion, give notice of every possible concession that could be made, and I should have no strings to it. Our friends will naturally keep the State organization, but, if they don't, all you can say is we are out of luck and are fairly beaten, and I do not want us to keep the organization if we are not entitled to it.

It has not been easy for me to reach this conclusion. My instinct is to say that those of us who have endured contumely and contempt and hatred, and at a personal risk kept the party alive, ought not now to turn it over to those people who but a year or so ago were seeking to destroy it. I have passed that stage, however, and I would like myself to see every possible concession made, whether it has been asked for or not.

Two years from now is a long way off. By that time I believe the party will be again triumphant, provided there is an open door for everybody who wants to come in. It may defeat me; it might even re-elect Teller. He will have to be re-elected as a Republican, however, and it does not make any difference if he is the man, provided the State is redeemed.

Personally, of course, I am ambitious, as every man is who takes an active interest in politics, and I should be gratified beyond measure if I could be re-elected to the Senate this fall, or two years from now. I cannot be re-elected, however, with hundreds of good Republicans fighting us. And if we get the party together our action now may defeat me, but it is a great deal better that I should be defeated than that the State should be torn by faction and the party kept disunited.

In similar vein was the statement made through the *Denver Republican* of March 5th, in which Mr. Wolcott further said:

The Republican party in Colorado is not a close corporation; it is under nobody's dictation, nor is it under the management or control of any man or set of men. There is but one test of Republicanism and it applies equally to everybody in the State. That test is that the person desiring to vote at a Republican primary or to be a member of a Republican convention, should be in truth and in fact a Republican, believing in the principles of the party and earnestly and unqualifiedly desiring its success. Any man or woman in Colorado who is a voter and intends to work and act hereafter with the Republican party is equally entitled to participate in every step which the party may take, whether it be at the primaries or in convention, and I know of nothing which would justify any other construction.

I feel bound to say that I have never heard of anybody in Colorado who holds any other view of this question. Whether anybody at some former election may have voted for some other ticket is a matter of no importance whatever, provided there is a complete and full return to the Republican party. It is of vital importance, however, that the existence of the Republican party in our State shall be for the purpose of keeping alive and burning the lamp of the Republican faith, and that the organization should not be used, or sought to be used, as an appendage for any organization, corporate or otherwise, or any individual. I have heard some fears expressed in certain sections of the State that this motive prompted a desire in certain quarters to secure a leading voice in the affairs of the party. I do not believe, however, that this fear is well founded.

With the same end in view, that of permitting the easy return of backsliding Republicans, another letter was written to Mr. Chisholm on April 8th. At that date the State Central Committee had held its meeting, had called the State convention, and had taken the precaution of appointing in advance a Committee on Credentials. Mr. Chisholm had notified him of these proceedings, and his letter was in reply to this notification. In it Mr. Wolcott said:

I have just received an account of the proceedings of the Republican State Central Committee.

I confess I cannot at this distance understand what earthly object there could have been in the appointment of this committee to pass upon credentials. Any sort of unusual obstacle placed in the way of the traditional freedom of conventions or committees is absolutely certain to bring the organization num-

berless enemies, and is equally certain to be indignantly swept aside sooner or later.

I have no sort of sympathy with any such action, and I cannot for the life of me understand why we do not graciously and freely open the party and its organization to everybody. Personally, I am not in the slightest degree afraid of the result. If by any machination the Republican organization shall be turned against me, I am content to go into private life, but I am not in the slightest degree afraid of that result. After all, the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Republicans are certain to be followed in State politics, and if I cease to be the choice of the great majority of the party then I want to quit.

I suppose it may be too late to undo what has been done, but I write this line to express my sincere and deep regret that, when, after the organization had secured friends by certain concessions, they seem to have invited a still deeper hostility and bitterness by their unnecessary restrictions upon a course which has been followed for a generation. I would give a great deal if it had not been done. The only reason, so far as I can see, is to create an impression throughout the State that there was some sort of conspiracy to injure me, which it was necessary to defeat by unusual and arbitrary methods. As a matter of fact, this is not true, but the appointment of this committee to pass upon credentials invites anybody who is discontented to join in a movement to overthrow the organization.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

While, when chosen, the delegation to the Philadelphia convention proved in every way satisfactory to Mr. Wolcott, he refrained from all advance efforts to influence its personnel. Writing to Hon. A. B. Seaman, chairman of the State Committee, as early as January 11th, he said with reference to this subject:

I have not had, nor expressed, any preference as to the make-up of the delegation. In fact, not one person has mentioned the subject to me from a personal point of view, or as indicating a desire to be present. It is important that the delegation, when selected, shall be representative Republicans, fairly apportioned throughout the State, and should be comprised of men who intend to stay with the convention to the close of its deliberations. I have no doubt that the convention, when

it meets, will be animated solely by the desire to get representative men, devoted to the principles of the Republican party, and disassociated with any other interest.

He expressed himself similarly to the newspapers. In an interview given out about the same time that the letter was written, he said he would refrain from attempting to name the members of the delegation. "I have only one desire respecting the delegates," he said, "and that desire is one which is shared by every true Republican in the State. It is that we shall be represented at Philadelphia by intelligent representative Republicans, devoted to the welfare of the party and loyally desirous of aiding in its success." The same sentiment was expressed a day or two before the meeting of the convention, when he said:

I know of no slate, and I have no desire to interfere in the slightest degree with the will of the convention. I know the convention will send good men to the national convention at Philadelphia next month, and I hope the choice will be exercised among people who are to-day for Republican success, no matter what were their views four years ago. I would like to see a delegation of representative business men go to that convention.

By the time the State convention met there had come to be considerable discussion of the Colorado Senator's availability as a Vice-Presidential candidate. Starting in Colorado, his "boom" had been favorably received by many of the Eastern press and by some of the party chiefs. The one circumstance urged against him was his location. There was no doubt on any hand of President McKinley's renomination. Though improperly so since the recent great development of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, Ohio, which State was McKinley's home, was then classed, as it still is, as a Western State, and there was a general feeling that if the Presidency should go West the East must have the Vice-Presidency. The second place was, as usual under such conditions, practically conceded to New York if that State should ask it, and Governor Roosevelt's name was more frequently mentioned than any other.

There was, however, sufficient discussion of Mr. Wolcott

in connection with the office to justify the interviewer in quizzing the Senator about it. Accordingly when he reached Denver early in May to attend the State convention, he was asked about the Vice-Presidency. To one reporter he said:

I feel very much flattered, of course, by the mention that my name has received in certain quarters as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. To this I can say only that I have enjoyed my twelve years in the Senate immensely, and the next best thing to a place in the Senate, in my opinion, is to be a citizen of Colorado and to live at Wolhurst, and as I have one or the other hope before me, I am quite content without the further honor.

To the questions of another interviewer he responded:

"It certainly is to be considered a very great honor to receive a nomination for Vice-President of the United States, but I am not a candidate, nor do I desire the nomination. It is my impression that it is likely to go to the far East."

The State meeting was a Wolcott convention throughout. Every wish was granted as soon as it was expressed, and while he did not seek to control the selection of delegates, those chosen were known to be in perfect accord with him. Mr. Wolcott was made chairman, and his associates were: David H. Moffat, of Denver; W. S. Stratton, of Colorado Springs; D. R. C. Brown, of Aspen; H. E. Churchill, of Greeley; Earl B. Coe, of Denver; Crawford Hill, of Denver; and Ben W. Ritter, of Durango.

On his return to Washington after the State convention, Mr. Wolcott gave to President McKinley and to his colleagues in Congress a faithful description of the existing political situation in his State. If the picture that the Senator drew was not highly colored, it was cheerful, and out of it grew the report that he was authority for the statement that Colorado was certain to go Republican in 1900. The Senator did not make such a prediction at that time, and from an authorized interview with him printed later it appears that what he did say was merely that Colorado was surely going back into the Republican party. He did not say when the change would take place, but expressed con-

fidence that the signs of a general desertion of Populism and a return to Republicanism were unmistakable.

His real view of the situation is given in a sentence in a letter written to a sister immediately after his arrival in Washington from Denver. The letter is brief and is worth quoting entire:

> On my desk in my committee-room at the Senate, there lies an unfinished letter to you, commenced long ago, added to once or twice, but interrupted and never finished. I don't seem to accomplish much of anything in this world, but somehow there is always at hand some instant thing that demands attention.
>
> My trip to Colorado was very hurried. I was gone eight nights and spent six of them in sleeping-cars. There is a great change in political sentiment there, but it is not enough to bring success this fall, and after next March I shall have abundant time for the enjoyment of Wolhurst.
>
> For the time I am busy every spare moment trying to get up a speech for Philadelphia, where I am to preside as Temporary Chairman. It is n't quite easy, but I shall do the best I can with it.

Did n't seem to "accomplish anything"! The average man who had just come from the absolute control of a State convention of his party, and who was preparing an address to be made as the presiding officer of a national convention, would have considered himself as doing "something," not to mention the fact that he was conducting a private business of magnitude, running the political affairs of a big State, and attending to the exacting duties of a United States Senator.

At Philadelphia, Senator Wolcott was highly popular. He had been asked to preside over the opening sessions of the national meeting, and he was expected to sound the keynote of the coming campaign—McKinley's second, and a most important one, because it would be necessary for the party to give an account of its conduct of the war with Spain and to explain its policy toward the new territory that had been so suddenly acquired as a result of the war. How well he performed the task his speech itself explains. It was received with every indication of favor.

President McKinley, to whom of course it had been submitted before its delivery, was so pleased with the address that he requested that all other speeches of the convention be patterned after it. Secretary Hay wrote Mr. Wolcott after the convention:

"I knew it would be a great speech, but it is finer even than I looked for—which shows that your capacity is stronger than my imagination. I congratulate you with all my heart. The whole country is your debtor."

In the course of an address of his own delivered at a later stage in the same convention, Senator Chauncey M. Depew said of Mr. Wolcott and his speech:

> You from the West produced on this platform a product of New England transplanted to the West through New York, who delivered the best presiding officer's speech in oratory and all that makes up a great speech that has been heard in many a day in any convention in this country. It was a glorious thing to see the fervor of the West and the culture and polish of New England giving us an ammunition wagon from which the spellbinder everywhere can draw the powder to shoot down opposition East and West and North and South.

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

In his *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, Mr. O. O. Stealey, a veteran Washington correspondent, makes the following reference to the part Mr. Wolcott played in the Philadelphia Convention:

> His opening address as Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1900 attracted universal attention. The convention was captivated by his eloquence. His voice possessed a most magnetic quality, and his diction was well-nigh perfect. His speech was frequently interrupted with storms of applause, and after its delivery there was strong talk of nominating him for the Vice-Presidency. He was thinking over the matter when the news reached him that the leaders had agreed upon Mr. Roosevelt. He then refused to allow his name to go before the convention, and later was Chairman of the official committee to notify Mr. Roosevelt of his nomination.

Mr. Stealey is in error in saying that Mr. Wolcott had

under consideration the suggestion of his own nomination when Mr. Roosevelt was named for the Vice-Presidency. That point already had been settled. There, however, was far more serious consideration of Wolcott for second place on the National ticket in 1900 than most people knew of. That this is true the writer has become convinced since beginning this work. While the convention was in progress there was frequent mention of him in the press, but in the perfunctory manner of the reporter who must needs find "a story." But it is now known that his name was seriously canvassed by the leaders, and unquestionably his nomination would have been entirely acceptable to Major McKinley, whose personal friend he was.

Everything in connection with the Vice-Presidential nomination depended upon the attitude of Colonel Roosevelt. Just back from the Cuban War, in which he carried off the lion's share of glory, it was felt that he would add much to the popularity of the ticket. Furthermore, for reasons of their own, there were certain New York politicians who desired the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. They wanted to eliminate him from New York affairs and they believed that his selection for the second place would not only accomplish this result, but that it also would lay him on the shelf for all time. How that scheming worked out would be another story, but not for this book. Suffice it to say that he held aloof for some time, absolutely declining to permit himself to be considered a candidate, with the result that the New York delegation accepted his declination and at a State caucus decided to press Hon. Timothy Woodruff for the place. In connection with this condition of affairs a plan was conceived in Mr. Wolcott's behalf, and Senator Matthew S. Quay was its author.

Apprehensive that Colorado might still prove obdurate and that Mr. Wolcott might fail of re-election to the Senate, and being especially desirous of keeping his friend in public life, Mr. Quay was an ardent advocate of Wolcott's nomination for the Vice-Presidency. He pressed him as in every way available—a splendid campaigner and a Republican whose loyalty had been tried in the fire. He also urged the necessity of bringing the Centennial State back into

line, which, he argued, would be assured by placing Wolcott on the National ticket. But no little planning is necessary to bring about a vice-presidential nomination, even though it generally seems to come very easily.

So long as there was uncertainty about Roosevelt's attitude, Quay was in a quandary, but the Rough-rider had no sooner announced his declination than the fertile mind of the Pennsylvanian had developed what he believed a feasible course for the accomplishment of his desire. His plan was this: There should be an apparent effort to force the nomination on Roosevelt, and Wolcott, disregarding the selection of the New York delegation, should take the floor and bring Roosevelt's name to the attention of the convention. All was to depend on the character of the nominating speech and the manner of the speaker, for it was intended that it should result, not in the selection of Roosevelt, but in the nomination of Wolcott. Knowing Wolcott's oratorical capacity, Mr. Quay had calculated that the Colorado Senator would put so much fire and magnetism into his speech that he would inspire as great admiration for himself as for the hero of San Juan Hill. Advantage was to be taken of the situation thus created. Immediately some other gifted friend of Quay's was to address the Chair, and, making the most of Roosevelt's refusal, was to place Wolcott himself in nomination, and thus force him through on the tidal wave of his own creation.

The plan was communicated to a few other trusted friends of Quay and Wolcott, and the programme was quite complete until some one suggested the necessity of consulting Wolcott.

Whatever was to be done must be done expeditiously. Conventions do not wait indefinitely on private conferences. The plan was concocted the night before the nomination was to be made. A trusted messenger, who still lives and from whom the story is received, was chosen to call upon Wolcott. The Colorado Senator had taken a house on Spruce Street in Philadelphia for convention week. He was entertaining a dinner party when Quay's emissary arrived. Excusing himself from his guests, he went out to greet his visitor. There is no doubt he would have been pleased

to receive the nomination, and he listened eagerly to the proposal. The very daring of the coup appealed to him. But he did not quite like the indirect method of proceeding. He also pointed out reasons why an Eastern man would be more available for the place than himself. He therefore declined; but, in declining, he expressed his admiration for the originality of the plan.

It is great! [he exclaimed in his enthusiasm]. It is worthy of the general in politics who conceived it. And it might work. We might do it; but I do not believe it would be best if we should succeed. So, tell "Mike" [his pet name for the Pennsylvania Senator] that while I appreciate his interest I cannot consent under the circumstances. It 's splendid of him to want to do such a magnificent thing for me; but we shall have to let it pass.

With these words Mr. Wolcott returned to his guests with never a twitch of countenance to indicate the importance of the conference in which he had been engaged. His word was final. The plan was abandoned. Wolcott was not proposed, and notwithstanding his original declination, Roosevelt was nominated.

FOREIGN SERVICE POSSIBLE

It is also a fact that previous to the convention and while there still was a possibility that Mr. Wolcott might remain in the Senate, he was tendered a foreign ambassadorship. The proffer came from President McKinley through Secretary of State Hay. He was told that he could have any post then vacant or soon to become vacant. But the offer did not contain any allurement for the Colorado Senator and he declined, his declination eliciting from Mr. Hay a complimentary note of date October 10, 1898, in which that official said:

"Your letter is precisely what any one who knows you would have expected—gengrous, just, and clear-sighted. As to the question of fitness, there can be no two opinions. You would be *persona gratissima* on both sides; but, of course, you are wise in refusing to leave the immediate field of conflict."

Having closely observed Mr. Wolcott's work as Chairman of the Bimetallic Commission Mr. Hay had become convinced that he would be successful at the head of any legation and he was sincerely anxious to utilize his services. Later the subject was again taken up, but the way was not open for Mr. Wolcott's appointment. The only available places were those at Constantinople and St. Petersburg, and diplomacy at those centres had no charms for the Colorado Senator. He would have been willing to represent his government at London or Paris, but at no less important post. Consequently, after more or less correspondence and consultation the subject was dropped.

NOTIFICATION OF ROOSEVELT

As the temporary Chairman of the Philadelphia Convention it became Mr. Wolcott's duty to head the committee appointed by the convention to notify Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination as Vice-President on the ticket with Major McKinley. The proceeding took place July 12, 1900, on the breeze-swept veranda of Mr. Roosevelt's home on Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, Long Island, and was so simple as to be almost informal.

There was no attempt at ceremony. The participants quietly ranged themselves about the wide verandas which command a magnificent view of Long Island Sound, and Senator Wolcott, practically without preliminaries of any kind, delivered a short address, which was frequently applauded. His reference to Governor Roosevelt's hunting stories evoked a hearty laugh. When he stepped forward he stood in a clear space on the crowded porch, facing the doorway of a reception-room in front of which the Governor stood in erect military attitude. To the left were a number of ladies and other guests, Mrs. Roosevelt and three Roosevelt children.

The unceremonious character of the proceeding was due to the hot weather and to Mr. Wolcott, who, as Chairman of the Notification Committee, gave notice to those who had been asked to be present that the occasion was to be strictly informal. There was not a high hat or a frock-coat in the party. Senator Wolcott himself wore a cool, light suit,

becomingly set off with a pink shirt and an expansive pink tie. The Vice-Presidential candidate addressed him as "Ned," and he called Governor Roosevelt "Ted."

THE STATE FIGHT

The convention over, the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates duly notified, and all the other formalities complied with, the work of the campaign was taken up. The Republicans nominated Frank C. Goudy, of Denver, for Governor, and the Fusionists, James B. Orman of Pueblo. Mr. Wolcott gave practically all of his time to the Colorado campaign. Many prominent Republican orators visited the State and made speeches. Included in the list were the Vice-Presidential candidate, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt and Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts. The battle was fought on broad lines. The Democrats, led by Mr. Bryan, made bold attacks upon the McKinley policy in the Philippines, which was characterized as "Imperialism." The Republicans were delighted to have an opportunity to defend and explain their course in the far-away islands. They had come into the possession of the United States as the result of the war incidentally, not designedly, and must of necessity be held for the time at least, as the defenders of the Administration felt themselves abundantly able to show.

There were occasional references to silver, but even then, only four years after the memorable battle of 1896, the money question was recognized in most places as a dead issue. Enough was made of it in Colorado to use it as the excuse for personal attacks upon the character of Mr. Wolcott. These assaults were often bitter, and on one occasion there was an effort at personal violence. This was at Victor, when Senator Wolcott visited the great Cripple Creek gold camp in company with Governor Roosevelt and Senator Lodge. There a melée occurred and it came near resulting in personal injury. At that time the camp was overrun with miners fresh from the serious labor troubles in northern Idaho and before the arrival of the party, their passions had been aroused by the general circulation of a pamphlet attacking Wolcott, Roosevelt, and others. The

streets were filled with men of threatening aspect, and banners carrying the inscription "Remember the Horrors of Cœur d'Alene" were displayed at every turn. At the hall in which the meeting was held the speakers were greeted by a jeering mob, which had taken possession. Many of the men were intoxicated and they were most insulting. No one was allowed to speak, and the travelling party soon left for the train. They were followed by the crowd, which continued its hostile demonstrations. These reached their climax when Governor Roosevelt was struck in the breast with a piece of scantling. Fortunately he was not seriously hurt, but the affair came near being a riot and was disgraceful in the extreme.

In his very first utterances in the campaign, Mr. Wolcott gave his attention to the new "paramount question," that of imperialism and militarism. The opportunity for this discussion was found at the dedication of a new Republican meeting place in Denver, known as Windsor Hall, on September 9th, and on that occasion the Senator said among other things:

As to the danger from this so-called militarism, you know something of the character of the young men who compose the United States army, you who sent out regiments of strong young men who fought and upheld the nation's flag in Cuba and in the Philippines. Some of these young men lie there in the islands, others have come home, expansionists; but there is none among them who wants to establish a military rule, or who is not an ardent supporter of the nation and the liberties of its people. This danger of imperialism never existed except in the perfervid imaginations of the people who want to tear down the Supreme Court and destroy the safeguards of the Government. Such a fear never existed in the young hearts of those who have striven and are striving to push the nation into its place among the nations of the earth. If our commissioners at Paris had given up the Philippines, Mr. Bryan's paramount issue in this campaign would be that we did give them up. The entire army of the United States, scattered, as it is to-day, includes less than nine one-hundredths of one per cent. of the people of the United States, less in proportion than it was in 1870, in a time of profound peace.

In his speech before the State Convention for the nomi-

nation of State officers, which was held in Denver, September 18th, Mr. Wolcott again took occasion to say that he did not consider essential his return to the Senate, but he added that in the interest of the State he did desire the election of a Republican.

It is not the purpose to here follow the campaign in all its details, for while extremely spirited, it was in most respects like many another political contest.

Fortunately if a review were needed, one has been left by Mr. Wolcott who in an interview published in the *Denver Republican* subsequent to the election not only outlined the issues as they had been presented, but analyzed the result, and pictured a bright future for the State. In that pronouncement, he reiterated his intention of continuing his home in Colorado. The report of the interview follows:

"Have you any comment to make on the result of the election?" asked a *Republican* reporter.

"The Republican party of Colorado ought to be and will be intensely gratified with the enormous gains made in this State during the last four years," said the Senator. "It is unparalleled in the history of politics in any State of the Union. A hostile majority of 134,000 has been cut down to about 25,000, and 45 per cent. and upward of the people of this State, which includes a vast majority of the intelligent citizens of Colorado, have demonstrated their hearty accord with the principles and policy of the Republican party. The change has been radical and progressive, and if the election had been postponed a month I have no doubt the State would have given a substantial Republican majority. As it was, many of us were hopeful enough to believe that victory was in sight. We did not make allowance, however, for the fact that thousands of people in the State, having once voted for Bryan, had that pride of opinion which led them to vote for him 'just once more,' although they realized that Bryanism was dead. These people, naturally, either hesitated or were ashamed to declare their intentions before election and so the silent vote was cast against us instead of for us.

"It is pitiful, almost grotesque, to realize that this great intelligent State has joined hands with Montana, which was always, even in territorial days, Democratic, and which never went Republican except when its Democratic magnates quarrelled, and with Nevada, the population of which is less than at least any one of six towns in our State, in allying itself with the unprogres-

sive States of the South. If any one will take a map and mark the States which have cast their majority for Bryan, they will see how isolated we are among the great progressive States of the Union. Even New Mexico went Republican, and we are entirely surrounded by Republican States."

"To what do you attribute the result in this State?"

"The silver question is, of course, at the bottom of it. It induced our people, irrespective of party, to vote for Bryan four years ago, and there are still thousands of people in Colorado who have a lingering belief that Democracy and bimetallism go hand in hand. There is a rude awakening in store for them.

"Long before the next national election the Democracy will formally abandon the silver question and will take its stand on some other issue; probably the old issue of general antagonism to the progressive policies of the Republican party.

"In the general trend and growth of commerce and of our commercial relations with other countries, especially if the Orient be opened to foreign commerce, the question of bimetallism will again be raised, probably by some of the nations of Europe. If it does again become matter for international discussion it will be through some policy approved by England, France, Germany, and the leading commercial nations of the world, at some change of ratio, and under conditions which will secure an absolute parity of value at a fixed ratio between the two metals. The question has long ceased to be one which may be settled by the United States alone. Any adjustment of it will be international, and it will come without doubt, if it comes at all, solely through the policy and action of the Republican party. Except in Colorado, Montana, and Nevada, the question had ceased to be active and was generally recognized this year as being no longer a live issue in this Presidential campaign."

"What part did the Administration's policy of expansion play?"

"A curious feature of it all as affecting Colorado is that at heart our people are in entire sympathy with the Administration in its policy respecting the Philippines and in all the great questions growing out of the recent war with Spain. Western men are naturally expansionists and are ready to assume the national responsibilities which are imposed upon us.

"There was never so interesting a time as now in the history of our country, and there is no State in the Union which is so certain to benefit by the policy of the Republican party as Colorado.

"The Philippines are ours, and will for all time remain ours. In the opening and development of the commerce of these islands Colorado, owing to its geographical situation, and its vast and varied resources, is certain to have an enormous share.

"Our cattle interests are to be immensely benefited; our cotton and other mills now running, and the others sure to be established, will conduct an ever-increasing commerce with the islands; our iron and steel interests are nearer the Philippines than any others in the world, and we shall be a great gainer in that direction.

"Recent events make it certain that the Orient will before long be opened to foreign commerce. There are 250,000,000 of human beings who will come into business and other relations with the civilized world. Our agricultural interests will be vastly stimulated by this enormous market as well as all of our iron and steel and manufactured products. In addition to all this, both in the Philippines and in China, there will be a constantly increasing demand for silver, certain to result in both steadying and raising the value of the metal. The policy of this Administration respecting China has been one of rare ability. We have kept our hands off from all attempts to acquire territory, but we have successfully insisted that whenever any section of the country is opened to foreign traffic American merchants shall have free access to their markets. Within the next generation tens of thousands of miles of railroad will be constructed in China, and Colorado iron and steel works will furnish as much of the material as they are able to produce.

"Important as has been the silver question with the people of Colorado, I believe our acquisitions in the Philippines and the establishment of our right to share in the commerce of the Orient means far greater prosperity to Colorado than it would have experienced, even under the restoration of bimetallism."

The interview then entered upon the practical present-day consideration of the best thing to be done under the circumstances, in which Mr. Wolcott was especially at home. "How," the reporter asked, "will the welfare of Colorado be affected by the fact that its Congressional delegation will be entirely Fusion and in the minority?" Mr. Wolcott replied:

This country is entering upon an era of unparalleled prosperity. Colorado is certain to enjoy a share of it. Of course if a State is in harmony with the general policy of the Govern-

ment, and its representatives are in accord with the majority of Congress, it has a great advantage in securing needed and favorable legislation. Our disadvantage in this respect ought largely to be overcome by the fact, however, that every decent citizen of Colorado, whatever may be his political affiliations, will work with constant and undivided effort toward securing everything possible for our State. The Republican party is in the minority, but it is equally interested in advancing the welfare and prosperity of our State. We all have, to a greater or less degree, friendships and influence at the national capital, and every one of us will do what we can to help Colorado. Important measures have already passed the Senate, such as the bill for the Soldier's Home and for certain public buildings. Unless they pass the House this winter they will have to be reintroduced into both bodies. I shall, of course, do everything in my power to secure the passage through the House of all these measures, and the Congressional delegation, whatever may be its political character, will naturally do what it can.

It is no time for anybody to sulk. What we want in Colorado are hope and confidence and real prosperity, and every good citizen, irrespective of party, will seek to build up the welfare of the State.

We have already secured for Colorado a more ample distribution of rural free delivery than has been accorded, territorially, to any other State in the Union, and the last few years have seen a very great increase in the number of our mail routes and a general extension of our mail facilities. We have been treated with great courtesy by the representatives of the other States in the Union, and I trust that the same liberal policy may continue to prevail in our behalf.

There is another matter of vital importance to Colorado which I trust will be soon brought about. We appropriate annually millions upon millions of dollars for river and harbor improvements. Colorado is one of two or three States in the Union which has no share, or direct benefit, from these appropriations. There has been for some years a growing inclination among the Eastern Senators to recognize the demands of the arid States for intelligent surveys and liberal appropriations for the building of reservoirs and the storage of water for irrigating purposes. With a united and persistent effort I believe that a system of such internal improvements can be soon commenced and carried out from year to year, until the irrigable lands of Colorado will be quintupled in acreage.

I sincerely believe that within a generation the population of Colorado will be counted by millions, and that even then we will have hardly commenced the development of our resources. If in twenty-five years from now any new-comer should be told that in the last year of the century a majority of the people of this State voted in favor of dishonoring the policy of the Administration, and for a Presidential candidate pledged to withdraw our soldiers and our authority from the Philippines and running on a platform which denied the constitutionality or wisdom of the expansion of our territory, he would find it difficult of belief. Colorado is full of intelligent and progressive and patriotic people. We do not belong to the ignorant and illiterate States, and long before the next Presidential campaign comes around our people will set themselves right on national questions and take the position that belongs to us with the intelligent and progressive States of the North, the West, and the East.

Asked concerning his own future, Senator Wolcott said:

I shall be going East soon to serve out the remainder of my term, which ends on the 3d of March.

I shall then return to Colorado, where I have lived for thirty years, and which is the only home I have ever known. I shall resume here the practice of my profession. Everything I have or hope for, all my interests, all my associations, are centred in the State; I shall live here until I die, and in office or out of office, I shall continue to be a steadfast Republican believing in the principles of the party with which I have been identified since boyhood.

For twelve years I have served my party and the State in the Senate of the United States, and during that time I have cast no vote that I would change if I could. I am not in the least disturbed by the personal attacks which have been made upon me for I am conscious of their injustice. The talk of my accepting other responsibilities out of the State is nonsense. There is no place like Colorado, and I expect to find here a field of usefulness and happiness for the rest of my life.

There is one other word I must say. During the last campaign the Republican party was united and earnest and patriotic as never before in its history. In every county of the State the members of the Republican party counted no sacrifice too great, or no work too arduous that might bring success.

Our gains have been tremendous and the size of the Republican vote in every county of the State is most flattering. The credit of this is largely due to the women of Colorado, and especially of Arapahoe County, who, with perfect organization and sincere devotion to the principles of the party, worked unceasingly to bring about its success.

Personally, I am relieved at the outcome; as a Republican I feel buoyant and joyful over the great accessions to our party, and I look forward, as does every other good Republican in Colorado, to the day of our eventual and final triumph, which cannot be long postponed.

That after the general election he accepted with equanimity the prospect, even the certainty, of defeat, by the Legislature, is evidenced by the tenor of a speech he made before the Union League Club at Philadelphia two or three weeks after the result in Colorado had become known. Declaring in that address that he was "no mourner," he said:

I have been told for years that "Sweet are the uses of adversity." Fortunately, I have many years in which to ascertain wherein that sweetness consists. There is no more pitiable spectacle than a man in public life who fancies that the world owes him something. In this world we are entitled to just so much of success as we conquer, no more. Somebody has said that to the strong man life is a splendid fracas, and this is true. It is infinitely better to have fought and lost than not to have fought.

The following from the same address is too characteristic to be omitted in this connection:

She [Colorado] is a wonderful State, of marvellous resources and unlimited possibilities. The sun shines out of a clear sky for three hundred and fifty days in every year, and she is settled by as fine a set of people as ever lived under the canopy of Heaven. I know, for I have lived there since boyhood. I have served her for twelve years in the Senate. I have been hanged in effigy in most of her important towns. I have been burned in effigy in a few of them, and I claim the right to speak for the people, because I know them. I have known there days of friendship, and days of adversity, and days of returning friendship, and, although the sun climbs slowly

over its cañons and defiles, it gets there finally, and its dawn is already beginning to illumine the State.

When the Legislature met in January only an even dozen of its hundred members were Republican, and Hon. Thomas M. Patterson was elected to succeed Mr. Wolcott, after twelve years of service by the latter in the highest legislative body in the Union. Mr. Patterson had been Mr. Wolcott's consistent and persistent antagonist during most of the thirty years each had been in the State, both as a party leader, and as owner and editor of the principal opposition newspaper in the State. They also had been frequently opposed to each other as counsel in cases at bar. In many ways, indeed, they were rivals, and while in the heat of controversy many bitter sentiments found expression by each regarding the other. These, however, were soon forgotten, and their antagonisms did not extend beyond politics. Mr. Wolcott recognized in Mr. Patterson a man of ability, and after the latter's election did all that he could to influence his friends in the State to aid in upholding his hands as a representative of the State in the Senate.

Returning to Washington after the announcement of the result of the November election, Senator Wolcott continued to give his undivided attention to his legislative duties until the close of the term on March 4, 1901. He was Chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, and the big appropriation bill providing more than a hundred million dollars for the conduct of the postal affairs of the country continued to hang fire until almost the last hour of the session. Mr. Wolcott had every detail of the vast measure at his fingers' ends, and was in the thick of the fray to the last.

A melancholy interruption of his legislative duties came about a month before the close of the session, when he was called to Longmeadow by his mother's death.

OUT OF THE SENATE

Poor health kept Mr. Wolcott from Colorado until the next fall, a year from the time of his previous contest. In the county elections of 1901 the Republicans again made

large gains outside of Arapahoe County, and Mr. Wolcott issued a statement claiming the State to be Republican at last. He said:

The election just over shows that the majority of the people of this State are Republicans. Outside Arapahoe County the party scored a glorious victory.

In this county, owing to Democratic frauds, principally, but partially, as well, to apathy and to dissatisfaction, which I do not believe to have been well founded, we failed to carry our ticket, and Arapahoe County will, for two years longer, suffer from mismanagement, which has increased our taxes and diverted our revenues from their proper channels. There are some political questions affecting the party in Colorado that I am glad to talk about.

Until 1896 we belonged among the strongest of Republican States. Then came the Bryan delusion, which swept ninety per cent. of the voters, including eighty per cent. of the Republicans, into the Populist-Democratic vortex. Less than eleven per cent. of us stood with the party. Our former friends, naturally enough, wanted to "make it unanimous," and the story of the struggle we had to prevent our whole organization from being taken, body and breeches, into the Bryan ranks would make very interesting reading. As a natural result, those who remained with the party had to make very stringent rules respecting its primaries, nominees, and conventions. It was done solely as a measure of self-preservation. But now the necessity for such regulations has long since ceased to exist, for we have again become a united party.

Two years ago I urged that the rules be widened, and, so far as possible, all rules be abrogated so that every man and woman desiring Republican success should have not only full voice, but equal voice in all its deliberations and in controlling the policy and organization of the party. I haven't been home long enough to have talked with any one familiar with the subject, but if there is a single rule or regulation in our party organization that prevents the full and fair and free expression of the views of any Republican, or prevents or hampers the open and free choice of the majority of the Republicans of the State from being registered, I am for the unqualified repeal of such a rule.

Yes [he said further in the same statement], I am back here to stay this winter and every winter and every summer, unless

I am called away from the State on business; and I expect to renew the practice of my profession which I have followed in Colorado for thirty years this autumn.

Shall I continue to take an interest in Colorado politics? Of course I shall! And I have no doubt that we will soon take a place where we belong, among the intelligent, progressive Republican States of the Northwest.

This statement by Mr. Wolcott covered much important ground and deserves no slight attention from the biographer. Portions of it will be quoted elsewhere, but his concession to aspirants and his estimate of his own place in the party show a phase of character for which he received little credit. On those points he said:

The battle for Republican principles in this State for the past five years has been fierce and bitter. Those of us who maintained the brunt of the attack aroused, naturally enough, the greatest hostility; it was inseparable from such a contest.

I have always foreseen that when the day of the party's reunion should come, as it surely would, I should be a rock of offence to some good men who had conscientiously left the party, and who now are inclined to return to it, but who still remember something of the former rancor.

I both understand and respect this sentiment. Republican success is of infinitely greater importance to the prosperity and welfare of our State than that any one man should be called to represent her in the Senate of the United States, and no man feels this more deeply than myself.

It would be premature and idle to say that I would not accept an office that may never be tendered me, and that office the highest Colorado can bestow.

But I am in no sense an aspirant for the Senate. Colorado has rewarded me far beyond my deserts, and I shall be wholly content to spend the remainder of my life as a citizen of Colorado, devoting myself to her advancement, and seeking always the triumph, in the State and nation, of Republican principles, under which alone we have ever achieved prosperity.

But broader still was his platform! Hear his plea for other "bosses" in his own party:

So much for party "bossism," so far as I am concerned. But

I already hear criticism of other "bosses," criticism which, in my opinion, has no real foundation. There will always be "slates," as they are termed, and there will always be, in any vigorous party, a struggle within party lines to secure its honors and a share in its direction. The cries of "slate" in conventions, so far as they come from men who interest themselves actively in politics, really mean little, for if they had control they would be, properly enough, equally active in endeavoring to manage conventions.

There are, however, thousands of intelligent men in this State, bound by no rigid party lines, who have an impression that if they vote one "gang" out they only vote another in.

When Colorado wins its next Republican victory it will be when these voters believe that no man and no set of men dominate our party, and when we present a ticket made up of good men in whose nomination every Republican has had, or has had the opportunity of having, full and free and equal voice.

And for the successful "bosses" in the other party:

One thing further: Our representation at Washington belongs to a hopeless minority. We need, as never before, generous and intelligent legislation for Western interests, not alone in the reclaiming of our millions of acres of arid lands, but in countless directions.

We ought to strengthen the hands of our Senators and Representatives in every possible way, assisting them in their presentation of our interests and generously applauding them when they accomplish something for us. They all seek to help our State in the national councils, and we owe them every encouragement in this direction. Nothing more seriously hampers honest effort in Washington than constant and belittling abuse at home. I know, for I have had more experience of it than most men in public life.

The next few years mean so much to Colorado! This republic has become one of the great world nations, destined to share in the solution of the vast problems of civilization all over the globe. We have reached such a plane of prosperity as the most hopeful of us never dreamed of twenty-five years ago. And we are only at the threshold of our possibilities. Colorado, with her limitless resources, can contribute more to the general sum of prosperity than any commonwealth in the Union, and I believe we shall never attain the measure of our greatness until

we renew our devotion to the Republican party, under whose principles and policy our country has made such giant strides.

Yet, while approving the denunciation of pernicious political bossism, Mr. Wolcott did not concur in the condemnation of his appointees which was indulged in by some of the Republicans. He realized that this was only another means of criticising himself, and, convinced of the loyalty and patriotism of these men, he did not turn against them because of the public clamor. The two men most viciously attacked had been among his most devoted followers in '96, and he found in the aspersions upon them assaults upon their party loyalty, which especially aroused his resentment. While not demanding especial favors for those who had remained true to the party, he could not endure reflections on them because of their fidelity.

But if he defended the characters of individual office-holders he did not attempt to exercise any further influence in the matter of the distribution of Federal patronage. Once out of office himself he determined to let the minor office-holders look out for themselves. He claimed no authority because of past position. If his party should bestow any future honors upon him they must come because of the public recognition of the fact that he had proved himself worthy of trust and not because of the favor of individuals won by office barter. Openly avowing this policy, he said in an interview printed November 17, 1901:

"With my return to private life my duty as to appointments is ended. I naturally am interested in preventing the removal of fit and proper appointees now in office, but I shall no longer be active in influencing the selection of new men for the offices."

In a speech made February 14, 1902, he was able to assert: "Since my retirement from the Senate I have not sent a single letter about an appointment to the President nor to any member of his Cabinet." So again, at a still later period: "I am in private life and am not counted a purveyor of patronage, but a simple citizen fighting in the ranks."

Thus he stood when the campaign of 1902-3 opened.

THE LAST SENATORIAL FIGHT

CAME then Mr. Wolcott's final political struggle—the contest of 1902-3, when the Republicans were again in the majority, as was attested by the election of a State ticket, including James H. Peabody as Governor. The triumph of his party at that time brought to Mr. Wolcott his only chance of re-election after the expiration of his second term in the Senate, and the Fates then seemed to conspire to prevent his success. Senator Teller's term expired on the 4th of March, 1903, and if the Republican party in the State had been harmonious, the re-election of Mr. Teller, who had become a Democrat, might have been prevented, and, after a lapse of two years, Mr. Wolcott might have been chosen to resume his old place in the Senate.

But Mr. Wolcott was not so well prepared then to command the situation as he had been most of the time in the preceding fifteen or twenty years. During the greater part of that period his power in the party had been absolute; but upon leaving the Senate he had surrendered control of the machinery, had permitted his supporters to drift away, and in doing so had allowed his enemies to gain such ascendancy in the party as to render them capable of accomplishing his defeat by co-operating with the Democrats. His relinquishment of party authority greatly emboldened his opponents, many of whom would not have taken a positive position against him if he had occupied his old position of power.

Aside from the natural ambition which had demurred at his supremacy, there were special reasons why many were reluctant to follow his leadership. Some of those who abandoned the party in 1896 retained their personal antagonism

after their return. The quality of his leadership operated against him. Had he been a dickering politician, working simply for immediate success he would have stood on a lower plane. Those who co-operated with him would have felt that they were using him rather than following him. But he always had maintained such a lofty tone that those who had parted with him for a while found themselves tacitly acknowledging by the very act of returning to their allegiance that they had been in the wrong and he in the right. His imperious manner had been at all times an offence to many persons, some of whom had schooled themselves to bear it with what patience they could, but many of whom openly resented what seemed to them his lack of courtesy. It is probable, moreover, that persons against whose interests he had appeared in the courts had a feeling of having suffered wrong through him, and it is certain that some of the corporations which he had antagonized were among his determined and effective foes. In short, all of the grievances which had accumulated against him during his long political reign, which had smouldered quietly as long as he was successful, now sought vent.

The Chairman of the State Republican Committee, J. B. Fairley, of Colorado Springs, was opposed to Mr. Wolcott. Indeed, the machinery of the entire Republican Committee was arrayed against him notwithstanding most of its officers had been chosen by him. There also was another Colorado Springs man, Mr. Philip B. Stewart, a recent comer into the State and a novice in politics, who by reason of his connections in Washington was regarded as the distributor of Federal patronage, who exerted himself to the utmost against Wolcott. In addition to these adverse conditions in his own party, the Democrats were fairly united.

But notwithstanding all these elements of opposition he would have stood a fair chance of winning if some of the Republican members of the Legislature had not conspired against him, as they did at the crucial time.

Mr. Wolcott's opponents in his own party began operations by appealing to his chivalry in connection with the State campaign of 1902. Representing to him that if he

were absent from the State and had no part in that contest, the fight could be made on the State ticket without having the question of the Senatorship complicated with it, thus increasing the prospect of success, they appealed to him to go away for the time. He had misgivings as to the wisdom of the course, but yielded. It is evidence of the openness of spirit of one ordinarily so shrewd in political matters that he should have been thus hoodwinked. The rival Republican factions made use of his departure to strengthen their position. When, after the election of the Republican State ticket, Mr. Wolcott returned, they claimed that his absence from the State had been accepted as a pledge that he would not seek to return to the Senate.

Far from having given such a pledge, he had let it be known among his friends that a return to the Senate would be agreeable to him whenever it could be brought about without injury to the party. He enjoyed service in the Senate, but his Senatorial ambition was subordinated to the success of Republicanism. Hence, in becoming a candidate, he was not inconsistent. He had said over and again that he was not concerned so much for his own success as for the restoration of his party to power, and that his chief desire was that Colorado should be represented in the Senate by a Republican—a circumstance which would help to put the State in accord with the dominant party in the country, and, as he believed, place it in the way of greater industrial progress and more rapid material development. He never had said that he would not be a candidate. He realized as did few others the probability of other aspirants entering the contest, and he did not seek to discourage them. He was willing that all should have a fair field, and he asked as much for himself.

The first open indication of opposition to his candidacy came immediately after the result of the November elections became known as favorable to the Republican ticket, and was made manifest in connection with a meeting in Denver called for November 18th to ratify and rejoice over the result at the polls. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Club, and was called by W. B. Lowry, chairman of the local committee, whose plan was

to have a number of ten-minute speeches by the candidates and State leaders. Mr. Lowry obtained Mr. Wolcott's consent by telegraph to deliver one of these addresses, but when Mr. Fairley learned that Wolcott was on the programme, he sent telegrams all over the State, calling the meeting off. Lowry, however, despatched rival messages declaring the meeting would be held, and it was held.

Wolcott arrived in Denver the day before the meeting. As the *Denver Post* tells the story, Lowry went to see him, feeling very despondent over the withdrawal of speakers. Wolcott heard Lowry's report in silence. He paced up and down the room for a few minutes, and going then to Lowry, laid his hand on that gentleman's shoulder, saying:

"Walter, it is n't the first time Colorado Republicans have refused to speak from the same platform with me. We will hold the meeting. You go ahead with the arrangements. If there is nobody on the platform but you and me we will carry out the programme, and I will endeavor to entertain the audience for the entire evening."

Chairman Lowry and the local Republicans had prepared extensive plans in the way of parade and bands and were expecting to expend considerable money out of their own pockets, but Wolcott would not permit them to do so. "You go on and get up the finest demonstration that can be had," he said, "and then bring the bills to me."

The absence of Mr. Fairley and his followers did not, therefore, prevent an enthusiastic demonstration either on the street or in Coliseum Hall, where the meeting was held. Giving an account of it, next day, the *Denver Republican* said:

> Thirty thousand citizens joined last night in the great jollification over the return of the State of Colorado to the union of Republican States. Ten thousand marched in line, or rode in carriages, waving banners, swinging torches, and cheering. Twenty thousand more lined the streets along the two miles of the line of march, a solid mass of humanity. Everywhere was the same enthusiasm shown, the kind which cannot be embalmed, sealed up, and put in a vault to be brought out for use on a later occasion.
>
> Five thousand were packed in Coliseum Hall to hear the

speeches delivered by leaders of the party to whom Republicanism in wholesale lots means no menace. Two thousand more filled the street outside, and formed an overflow meeting which was addressed by speakers from within. Everywhere was good nature. The crowd knew no enemies, and it knew no factions. All were Republicans, glad that Republicanism had triumphed.

Edward O. Wolcott spoke again from the platform where six years ago he had to be guarded from the violence of the opposition while he addressed a small gathering of the faithful. But this time it was to a cheering crowd, every one recognizing his leadership in the party which he led through the deserts in the days when its numbers were few.

In addition to Mr. Wolcott, Congressman-elect H. M. Hogg, John W. Springer, and Edward P. Costigan delivered addresses. While in the main devoting his remarks to general issues, Mr. Wolcott did not fail to make reference to the circumstances under which the meeting was held. He spoke in jocular mood, mentioning several of the more notable absentees, whom he cajoled unmercifully. Referring to Chairman Fairley, he said:

I regret the personal attack that has grown out of this meeting, for I know he will regret it some day. I have spent my time fighting Democrats, and I don't propose to enter into a campaign of slander. I believe we should send greeting to him to-night, and if he does not invite us to his party in January, we will be there. If we are not at the table, we will be in the galleries.

Especial reference was made by Mr. Wolcott to the device by which he had been induced to refrain from participation in the campaign, as follows:

In this last campaign I was requested by the members of the central committee to withdraw from the convention and from the State because they believed that if the Senatorial contest were eliminated and the battle fought out on State issues, our chances of success would be greater. My pride was hurt as never before. If I am called upon to abstain from one contest in Colorado I think perhaps my record is as good as that of most of the party, and if I am to be debarred from any campaign in this State I would rather it would be at such

a time as this, when victory was in sight, for I cherish no memory in my life as precious and as sacred as the associations formed in those dark days, now happily forever past, when, with no ray of hope and no star in the sky, facing certain defeat and hate, it was my blessed privilege to be one of those who warmed into life the almost dead embers of Republican principles in Colorado, until now they have been pressed into victory.

An important feature of the address was a plea for party loyalty, in part as follows:

This meeting is given under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Club. It seems to me but yesterday when I, too, used to speak for young men and for young men's Republican clubs. But the span of political life is short and the workers drop out, and the new men and the young men come and fill the ranks. You are to be congratulated that you come upon the arena at a time when the old battles have been fought and the old bitterness threshed out, and you have only to preserve and maintain intact that for which your elders fought. Growing out of the lessons of the last few years, may I beg of you to insist to the members of your club and to the young men of Colorado, to stand always with their party, and if things go wrong and you want to right them, right them from within and not from without. And, further, my friends, when you see factions and personalities in you own party raising their heads, stamp them out. The individual is nothing,—the party is all. Faction and slander are the poor creatures of the hour. The great principles of the Republican party are eternal, and by your devotion to them, and so only, can you lift this great commonwealth, with its marvellous resources, into the front rank of the States of the Union. And so, and so only, can you place our great beloved country in the forefront of the nations of the earth, a mighty instrument for progress, for civilization, and for Christianity.

From the time of Mr. Wolcott's return to the State the Senatorial contest became the subject of much attention, and the situation in the Legislature was canvassed with especial care. When that body, comprised of one hundred members, assembled it was found to be composed of fifty-five Democrats and forty-five Republicans, giving the Democrats a majority of ten on joint ballot. But, because of the allegations of

fraud in the election of members, the Republicans were not without hope of overcoming this disadvantage. Of the thirty-five Senators twenty-four were Democrats and eleven Republicans, and there was no prospect of a favorable change in that body. In the House there was a Republican majority of three, there being thirty-four Republicans and thirty-one Democrats. Among others the fraud charges involved all of the House members from Arapahoe County, including eleven representing that county alone and four representing Arapahoe in connection with small adjoining counties who were known as "floats." The frauds consisted of all manner of election irregularities, and those in Arapahoe were so flagrant as to attract much attention and call forth severe condemnation from all believers in righteous government. Still, it was contended that, even though illegal ballots had been cast, there were not enough of them to overcome the large majorities returned for the Democratic candidates, and in addition there were countercharges in connection with the election of Republican members in other counties. However, except in a few cases, the last mentioned charges were never pressed to a conclusion, so that the Arapahoe elections still bear an unenviable distinction. Mr. Wolcott believed the infractions of honesty and decency to have been without excuse, and he spent a large sum in proving them to be so.

It never was intended by the anti-Wolcott leaders that the fraudulent elections should be exposed if in any way Wolcott was to become a beneficiary of the proceeding, and in the end the fear that he would be such beneficiary prevented effective action. Notwithstanding Mr. Wolcott's practically enforced absence from the State during the previous campaign, most of the Republican Senators and an even half, or seventeen, of the thirty-four Republican members of the House were advocates of his election, as were enough of the Republican contestants to insure him a majority in a Republican caucus in case of the removal of the Democrats against whom there were charges.

This situation was not a pleasing one to either the Democrats or to Wolcott's Republican antagonists. Independently and through fusion with the Populists, the Democrats had been in control of the Legislature as well as the State offices

since 1896. Their majorities had gradually dwindled away until their men had been removed from all the executive places, and now that they were in danger of losing the Legislature also they were ready to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent such result. The Legislature was all that was left; there they must make their final stand. The fact that the United States Senatorship was involved in the contest naturally acted as an incentive to a vigorous fight. Consequently they were in receptive mood when advances came from the Wolcott opponents in Republican ranks. The anti-Wolcott Republicans were by no means enamored of the Democrats, but they were willing to forego all party advantage to insure Wolcott's humiliation. Coalition offered the surest means of accomplishing this end, and the session had not proceeded far when the Wolcott opponents were found working together regardless of party name.

Deep feeling resulted from this state of affairs, eventuating in a situation such as seldom has been witnessed anywhere in connection with a Senatorial contest. Six members of both Houses were expelled; for a time two Senates were sitting; the legislative halls were barricaded, and in the control of heavily armed guards. There was talk of calling out the militia. Bloodshed was imminent at any moment for almost a week. During much of that time Senators and members slept at their desks, because they did not feel safe in leaving them.

As the time approached for the session of the Legislature, it was felt to be desirable that a caucus should be held to determine the course of the party representatives, and on January 6th, the day before the session opened, Mr. Wolcott addressed the following letter to Mr. Fairley:

DEAR SIR: The General Assembly meets to-morrow morning. There is in the House of Representatives a clear majority of Republican members.

There was never in the history of the State such an important session of the Assembly as this, or one on whose action the future of the party and the welfare of the State so greatly depended.

At a time when the Democracy presents a united front, our

party seems threatened with dissensions of a more or less serious character.

It is of comparatively little importance who is elected Senator, but he should be a Republican. Of far more vital moment is it that our party should be courageous and animated by a common and friendly purpose. There are gross frauds upon the ballot to be dealt with. The Republican governor should have his hands strengthened by a united party.

The very foundations of Republicanism are based upon the proposition that it acts always through the will of its members, as evidenced by the wish of the majority, and never in collusion with the Democracy.

The Speaker of the House must be chosen to-morrow. Before that hour the Republican members should meet in free and fair caucus and determine by vote in the ordinary and customary way their choice for Speaker. I am informed that although most of the members desire so to meet, no concerted arrangement for such a meeting has yet been effected.

For these reasons, and because I know your sturdy devotion to Republican principles and traditions, I take the liberty of respectfully requesting you, as the recognized head of the party organization, to call upon the Republican members of the House of Representatives, to meet in caucus at an early hour, at some convenient place, to determine by the vote of the majority of the members present, their choice for Speaker. Yours truly,

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

No response was made to this appeal, and no caucus was held. The House was in a deadlock over the Speakership for forty-eight ballots, the votes for the candidates standing 17 for the Wolcott candidate, 17 for the anti-Wolcott candidate, and 31 for the Democratic candidate, when suddenly the Democrats abandoned their man to vote for J. B. Sanford, of Douglas County, an anti-Wolcott Republican, with the result that he was elected.

With the House organized and ready for business, the first matter to be settled by the Legislature was the disposal of the contested elections. The new Speaker appointed a Committee on Elections to consider this subject, five of whom were anti-Wolcott Republicans and four Democrats, the latter including two of those whose seats were in dispute. The Republican members of the Committee

were embarrassed by the fact that nine of the fifteen Arapahoe claimants of seats were supporters of Mr. Wolcott, a sufficient number if seated to give him a majority of the votes of the party. Meantime the Senate, alleging Republican as well as Democratic frauds, had threatened to unseat a Republican for every Democratic member of the House displaced, and to this end had adopted the Goebel rule of the Kentucky Legislature, by which the Secretary of the Senate was authorized to put a motion for the unseating of members if the Lieutenant-Governor refused to do so. At this juncture, January 16th, Mr. Wolcott issued the following appeal:

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF COLORADO:

The grave and imminent danger which threatens the party —the certainty that within almost a few hours, unless wise judgments intervene, our representatives will engulf us in irreparable party disgrace, of far-reaching injury, and affecting seriously the future welfare of the State, is my excuse and justification for this appeal.

It is not a time for recrimination or personalities. It is a moment when the real earnest Republicans of Colorado, without rancor, but with earnest purpose, must exercise every possible influence in their power to induce their own representatives in the General Assembly to stand by Republican principles, withdraw before it is too late from disastrous and dishonorable fusion with Democrats, consent to vote and work with their fellow-members of the same political faith, and save the country the spectacle of the election of a Democrat by a Legislature which every man in Colorado knows to be fairly Republican, and which only needs honest and united action to make it so. In the Colorado House of Representatives there are at present thirty-four Republicans and thirty-one Democrats. There are *pro forma* contests for all seats, but the one main contention is the question whether the fifteen members of the House, eleven from the county proper, and four tied to Arapahoe County and known as float members, elected, all of them, through glaring, open, undenied, and undeniable fraud, shall hold their seats. The facts are familiar to everybody. These crimes against the ballot have been thoroughly investigated, the summary of the evidence long since in the hands of every legislator; and unless there shall be an opportunity of voting upon them by the mem-

bers of this Legislature, it not only means a Democratic General Assembly, but it means something far more, a condoning by Republicans of great and palpable frauds and a perversion and miscarriage of justice. There are also frauds alleged and said to be proved, affecting two members from the southeastern portion of the State.

Before the opening of the session, the thirty-four Republican members of the House entered, as is usual, into an intense, but, everybody supposed, a good-natured party rivalry and contest for the selection of a Speaker. The very foundation of the party is based upon control by the majority, evidenced by the action of its members in convention or conference or caucus. The day, therefore, before the Assembly was to meet, seventeen Republicans asked their associates to come into caucus or conference, to arrive at a choice for Speaker. To their amazement this was refused by men assuming to speak for the seventeen to whom the request was made. An appeal was made to the Chairman of the State Central Committee, as the head of the organization, to exercise his influence to bring about such a caucus, but the appeal was refused. What followed we all know. The thirty-one Democrats, and seventeen Republicans refusing to caucus, elected a Speaker and committees, and the patronage was distributed among them.

It is futile now to discuss the terms of this deal. There must have been some inducements for such an arrangement. The unfortunate evidences of the deal, so far most apparent, are the appointment by the Speaker of four Democrats on the Elections Committee, two of whom are from Arapahoe County, upon the unseating of whose members the whole question of the complexion of the Legislature turns; and upon the fact that when the non-fusion Republicans urged speedy action by the Elections Committee, and by resolutions called for a report by the 15th, the other side first changed it to the 17th, and then, the fusion Republicans and the Democrats agreeing, again postponed it until eleven o'clock on the 19th, but twenty-four hours before the voting on the Senatorship commences—to an hour when, unless there is absolute unanimity among all the Republicans, and a firm resolve to act together with vigor and courage in the few hours left for action, the election of a Democratic Senator is certain.

The issue which we must meet and face, as Republicans, is not the question of who shall be the next United States Senator. It is solely and only whether the Republican members of the

House, having right with them, shall do their duty and make the General Assembly Republican on joint ballot. The threatened importation into the State Senate by Democrats of the bloody methods which have forever blackened the good name of the State of Kentucky, must not swerve us. The patriotic Republicans in the State Senate are loyal to their party, and they are able, backed by a Republican Governor, to take care of themselves.

There is still time for the seventeen Republicans who declined to act with their party associates to retrace their steps. They were elected as Republicans; they are Republicans. They have been the dupes of designing and unscrupulous men. They may still save the good name of the State. Let them report the whole body of the contestants back into the House, and let the thirty-four Republicans, in the open, and before the sight of the Republicans of Colorado, vote as their names are called, whether the Arapahoe Republicans, county and floats, shall be seated, or whether these iniquitous frauds shall be condoned. Thus and thus only can they show the people of Colorado that they have neither part, nor lot, nor sympathy with any deal or fusion with Democracy.

Or, better still: Let the thirty-four Republicans of the House meet at once in caucus and determine by a majority vote their action upon these contests. Notwithstanding the unjust and unfair treatment of which they have been subjected, I *know* that the seventeen Republicans who have voted without affiliations with Democracy, will enter to-day into such a caucus to save our party the degradation that otherwise awaits us. We can know no more on Monday than we now know about these frauds. Every member has had for days before him a synopsis of the evidence. For the sake of our principles and our party, I beg every Republican to lend his aid to bringing about such a caucus or conference.

Unless between now and Monday the thirty-four Republican members of the House reach some agreement to act in unity, a Democrat will be elected to the Senate for six years, from Colorado, a Republican State. If it happens we make ourselves a by-word and a reproach among our fellow-Republicans throughout the land. In the heat and bitterness of faction, we may not realize the crime against our party which is about to be perpetuated; but when the smoke and dust of this conspiracy shall be cleared away, every Republican in the State, whatever his present affiliations, will bow his head in grief and humiliation.

Between now and Monday every member of the party in the State can do something, by letter or telegram or personal expostulation, to prevent giving over our party again to the Democracy. I make this appeal, believe me, animated by no personal interest, but solely by an earnest desire that the party shall not be dishonored.

I have no criticisms or denunciations or a harsh word or thought toward anybody. We have, as a party in Colorado, passed through enough vicissitudes and suffered sufficient injury by fusion with Democracy. We love our State and are devoted to its interests. We believe its welfare to be forever interwoven with the welfare of the Republican party; and we need, as never before, representation in the Senate at Washington in sympathy with Republican ideals and principles.

Unless prompt and united action is taken by every true Republican, there will be inscribed at the State House next week a darker page in the political history of our beloved State than any that has yet been written.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

DENVER, January 16, 1903.

The Committee on Elections lost little time in reporting. The Democratic members of the Committee took position against all displacements. One of the Republican members recommended the unseating of all of the Arapahoe Democrats, regular and float, and of one Democratic member from Las Animas County and a float member representing Las Aminas, Baca, and Bent counties. The other four Republican members of the committee united in recommendations for the removal of the four float members and one regular member from Arapahoe and of the regular and float members from Las Animas whose right to their seats had been questioned.

As the more extreme suggestion of the individual member included the recommendation of the other four Republicans, there was a majority for the displacement of seven Democrats by as many Republicans. But, notwithstanding the limited recommendation of the four moderate Republicans, when a vote was reached on the report, they joined with the more extreme member and cast their ballots in favor of the displacement of seventeen Democrats. Such a course had been expected to insure the success of the plans

of Mr. Wolcott's friends. But here they met with an unexpected obstacle. Three Mexican members from some of the southern counties, who had been acting with the Republicans, switched suddenly about and cast their votes with the Democrats against ousting any of the eleven Democrats representing Arapahoe County proper. They aided in the displacement of the four Arapahoe floats and of the regular and float members from Las Animas County, thus reducing the Democratic representation in the House to twenty-five members and increasing the Republican representation to forty members. With the Senate standing twenty-four Democrats to eleven Republicans, the removal of the six Democratic members of the House gave the Republicans fifty-one members, or a majority of two on joint ballot. The Democratic Senators immediately retaliated by removing two of the Republican Senators, thus reversing the condition and giving the Democrats fifty-one as against the Republicans' forty-nine members.

The action of the Senate in removing two of its members, against whom, but for the partisan conflict, there would have been no such proceeding, was severely criticised, and Lieutenant-Governor Haggot, who had been elected on the same ticket with Governor Peabody, refused to recognize Democrats to make motions connected with a contest case. This refusal had the effect of causing the Democratic Senators to take into their own hands the Senatorial organization. The Republicans continued to assemble under the leadership of the Lieutenant-Governor, and for a time there were two Senates doing business in the same chamber. There was much talk of displacing other Democratic Representatives, but these threats were met by the announced determination of the Democrats to oust a Republican Senator for every House Democrat that might be turned out. On this account, and because of the danger of physical hostilities, a truce was tacitly agreed to, and no further steps toward the elimination of members had been taken when, Tuesday, January 20th, the day fixed for the beginning of balloting for United States Senator, arrived.

On that date, the House and the two Senates cast their votes for Senator. Senator Teller received all but one of

the Democratic votes, and Mr. Wolcott the larger share of the Republican votes. Immediately after this ballot, on motion of an anti-Wolcott Representative, the House precipitately adjourned for three days. This step was avowedly taken to permit the Senate to adjust its differences; but it was in contravention of the Federal law requiring a joint session of the two Houses on the day following a vote by the individual Houses in the election of a Senator. In accordance with this requirement of the law, the twenty-five House Democrats met the next day, Wednesday, January 21st, in connection with the Senate, when a joint ballot was taken for Senator. All of the twenty-six Democratic Senators and the twenty-five Democratic members were necessary to constitute a quorum. Mr. Teller received the votes of fifty of the fifty-one members present, but as they were not equal to a majority of the entire Legislature in joint assembly, no election took place at the first sitting. The joint meetings were continued until January 24th, when, all the Democrats being present and all voting for Mr. Teller, he was declared elected as his own successor.

No Republican member of the Legislature had taken part in the joint convention, and some of the disappointed aspirants for the Senate, raising the point that the proceedings had been irregular, threatened a contest before the United States Senate. Mr. Wolcott was not one of these. On the contrary, he took the position that with a quorum present and the law observed, the election had been strictly legal. Indeed, immediately after the joint sessions began, he had told his friends that an election by the organization would be in accordance with law, and he frequently warned the Republican members that they were throwing away their opportunity. Now, with the election consummated, he issued a formal statement of his views.

The publication of this pronunciamento had the effect of quieting all talk of contest, and terminated the contention. Acquainted with the law and familiar with Senate precedents, Mr. Wolcott understood perfectly that when the Republicans consented to an adjournment over the period prescribed for the election of a Senator they opened the door for just what happened, which was the unopposed

election of a Democrat. He knew that, whatever the charges in connection with the election of members of the Colorado House of Representatives, the United States Senate would not attempt to go behind the action of the Legislature, as it was in accord with the legal requirements. Still, there might have been an excuse for creating temporary annoyance at Washington, and a man of smaller calibre might have availed himself of it. Not so Ed Wolcott. He was more anxious to bring peace and quiet to the State and to restore its good name abroad than he was to keep himself before the public or to annoy any one. Therefore, while condemning the processes leading up to the result, he advised acquiescence in it and absolved his former colleague from all responsibility even for those processes. The advice was followed. Those who had criticised the proceeding were guided by Wolcott's superior wisdom, and soon ceased their complaints.

But, while Mr. Wolcott acknowledged the regularity of Mr. Teller's election and refused sanction to any movement against him, he waged sharp and unrelenting warfare on his own opponents. Unquestionably there had been palpable frauds in the Arapahoe election, and there is no doubt that the Democratic legislative candidates profited by them. If, on the other hand, Republican legislative candidates had received benefit from similar proceedings elsewhere, as was alleged, Mr. Wolcott had not been a party to the frauds nor even cognizant of them. If the Republican members of the House had made a determined and whole-hearted fight for the seating of the Republican contestants, the result might have been different. At any rate, it would have been more satisfying to Mr. Wolcott's sense of proper political warfare, for he was ever ready to decide the rights of a question by combat. But the attitude of the anti-Wolcott members was known of all men. They were willing, even anxious, that the House should be Republican if unfavorable to Wolcott; not otherwise. Many of them preferred the election of a Democrat to the Senate. Hence they were without zeal, and their course was faltering and uncertain, if not treacherous, as was shown in their action with reference to the report of the contest committee.

It would be too much to say that Senator Wolcott was not disappointed by the result of the action of the Legislature. He felt grievously hurt, but not because of any sordid ambition of his own. While for many reasons he would have been gratified to receive another election to the Senate, his heart was not set absolutely upon a return to office. He had enjoyed all the honors that could be expected to come through service in the Senate, and notwithstanding a laudable ambition to improve upon his already enviable record, he would have been reasonably content to retire if his defeat had been brought about by the usual methods. It was the manner of the proceeding quite as much as the result that met his condemnation. Time and again he had said that, compared with the triumph of his party, his own success was of comparatively little importance. But to be beaten by a member of the opposition as a result of the machinations of Republicans—that was a little too much for human nature to endure with equanimity. He had labored long and against unusual odds to redeem his party in Colorado, and with redemption attained it was hard to have the party as well as himself deprived of all the fruits of victory—a victory which he believed to have been won indisputably. With the supremacy of Republicanism reestablished, he had anticipated that there would be other aspirants for the Senate. He had clearly foreseen the probability of rivalry in Republican ranks, and while, of course, he would have enjoyed a spontaneous general movement for his election, he understood human nature too well to expect it. He knew his own disposition and appreciated it to be of the kind that creates enmities. Had he not said a year before that in the day of triumph he would be a rock of offence? His attitude in 1901 was correctly outlined in a newspaper interview, and it had not changed in 1903. In that interview he said:

It would be premature and idle to say I would not accept an office that may never be tendered me, and that office the highest Colorado can bestow; but I am in no sense an aspirant for the Senate. Colorado has rewarded me far beyond my deserts, and I shall be wholly content to spend the remainder of

my life as a citizen of Colorado, devoting myself to her advancement, and seeking always the triumph, in the State and nation, of Republican principles, under which alone we have ever achieved prosperity.

Controlled by sentiments of such magnanimity, Mr. Wolcott naturally was disappointed to meet no reciprocal feeling from the opposing faction in his party, and especially was he chagrined by the discovery that personal ambition and resentment should cause such a schism as to bring about the election of a Democrat. He saw then how deep had been the plot, the carrying into effect of which had been begun by enticing him away from the State in 1902 and terminated by the betrayal, not of himself only, but of the party as well. The iron sank deep into his soul, and it is not impossible that it remained there as long as he lived.

Mr. Wolcott's statement was a general review of the campaign, as follows:

To the Republicans of Colorado:

The seed sown on the opening day of the legislative session has borne its certain fruit. The inevitable has happened, and the conspiracy entered into between a few Republicans and the Democracy has brought the only result possible, the election of a Democratic United States Senator from Colorado. The terms of the fusion or deal are unimportant; they will some day be fully exposed, and the degradation and dishonor that have come to the party in the Senatorial election indicate the heavy price the Republican conspirators paid for the coalition.

When the Legislature met there was but one question presented, Should the fifteen members and float members from Arapahoe County be unseated? The evidence of fraud was overwhelming and conclusive. Every honest man in the State knew that the facts not only justified but required the unseating of these Democrats. Even when four of the five fusion Republican members of the Elections Committee of the House reported against unseating eleven of them, they dared not face the people of the State in a direct vote, and so the help of "the three Mexicans," nominally Republicans, but who by the terms of their agreement of adhesion waived all scruples that other men might

entertain, came to the rescue and, making with the Democrats a majority of the House, insured the retention of the fraudulently elected members, and permitted the other fusionists to vote in favor of the unseating. The refusal to unseat these Arapahoe County members was a crime against the Republican party, and against justice, and was the second exposure of the terms of this wicked deal.

The law, Federal and State, required the two Houses to vote separately for Senator on the 20th of this month, and thereafter each day at noon, in joint session. No member of the Legislature can fulfil his duty to the State and the nation without compliance with this law. On the 21st of the month, before twelve o'clock, a fusion Republican member moved an adjournment of the House until two o'clock on the 23d. It was a palpable trick. Protests from the real Republicans were unheeded, and being finally informed that it was the Governor's wish, and might save possible violence, they consented, and, the Democrats voting aye, the motion was unanimously carried. On both the 22d and the 23d the Democratic members of the House notwithstanding they had voted to adjourn, met in joint session and balloted for Senator. Yet on the 23d and 24th, when the trickery of the motion had been made apparent, the same member of the fusion party again moved an adjournment until the 25th at ten o'clock, and then until the 26th, and in spite of the votes and objections of the Republicans, twenty-two in number, the motion again, with Democratic votes, was carried. On Saturday, the 24th, as everybody knows, fifty-one Democrats voted in joint session for Mr. Teller, no Republican having voted at any joint session. This was the third demonstration of the corrupt deal.

On Wednesday evening at eight o'clock, the General Assembly consisted of fifty-one Republicans and forty-nine Democrats. At that hour the Senate by a motion, put by its chief clerk, unseated, without argument or hearing or evidence, two Republican members lawfully holding their seats. The Lieutenant-Governor, the presiding officer of the Senate, acting with courage and patriotism, refused to put this revolutionary motion, and, assured by his associates in the State government of their approval and support, sought to protect the legally elected Senators from this action, and, by steps justifiable and, if properly supported, legal, presided over the organization of a Republican Senate composed of nineteen members—the support of which the Lieutenant-Governor was assured, fell away from him. There was

still left the House, which, if it promptly recognized the Republican Senate, might with it constitute a valid and legal General Assembly. This recognition was sought for in vain. On the 23d and 24th the Republican members notified their associates, who were allied with the Democracy, of their readiness and desire to recognize the Republican Senate. This was refused them by their fusion associates, who insisted, instead, on voting with Democrats for adjournment. This constitutes the fourth link in the absolute proof of the terms of the deal or combination.

There were three joint sessions of the General Assembly. At the last one fifty-one Democrats voted for Mr. Teller. No other joint sessions have been held, and no Republican has voted in any joint session. The election of Mr. Teller is tinctured with fraud; first in the trickery of the adjournment by the Democrats of the House; second, in the arbitrary and fraudulent expulsion of two legally elected Senators. There is, however, for the reasons given above, now no other legally constituted Senate, as there might have been but for this conspiracy, and it is now too late to undo the wrong, and by unseating the fraudulently elected members from Arapahoe County insure the valid election of a Republican Senator.

The welfare of the State requires that there shall be no possible question or doubt as to the legal status of the two legislative bodies. Important laws are to be passed, moneys must be lawfully paid, our public institutions must be protected, and out State credit preserved. Wicked and unforgivable as is the wrong done the Republican party, yet from the point of view of the highest citizenship, there is but one thing to be done, and that is for the people to accept the deplorable situation, and for the Governor of the State to issue a certificate of election to Mr. Teller. It is enough that we are disgraced at home. The State needs the help of our Senators at Washington in countless ways for the upbuilding of Colorado, and we should not, if it can be helped, throw doubts upon their title to represent us. It is important also that this Assembly should be able to devote its time to proper legislative work, and not be further occupied by quarrels over the Senatorship. It is most desirable also, for the public morals, that the professional boodle brokers, those foul birds that hover over the Legislature looking for corruption, representing men whose ambitions or desire for revenge lead them to expenditure of money to debauch votes, should transfer their field of action to some more promising spot.

The above is a fair and true statement of the situation. Senator Teller is in no sense a party to the frauds, while he is the beneficiary of them. He has served Colorado for nearly a generation at Washington, and whatever may be our regret that he no longer marches in the ranks of the party that has so highly honored him, every citizen of the State wishes him health and strength, and believes that he is single-minded in his devotion to the material interests of the State.

The Republicans of Colorado have passed through many vicissitudes, and have faced overwhelming defeat; but always before at the hands of an open enemy. We have never walked as deep in the valley of humiliation as to-day; but after the darkness comes the dawn. All honor to the Republican members of the House who stood firm for party and principle and whose skirts are clear of Democratic taint! All honor to the Republican members of the Senate, and their party associates who left their homes and came here ready to act at the call of duty! The great mass of Republicans in the State are beginning to understand the situation and the party treachery of which many of even the fusion Republican members were the dupes. The lesson of to-day will not be lost, and the party, purified and strengthened, will guard forever hereafter against the presence of traitors in its citadel.

For myself I have not the slightest sense of personal disappointment, nor do I cherish rancor toward anybody. My first vote was cast in Colorado more than thirty years ago. I was a Republican then, and have been since. I was a Republican in '96. I am a Republican in 1903, and shall always remain a Colorado Republican. I have an abiding and indestructible faith in the principles and teachings of the party, and in the wisdom and fairness and judgment of its members in Colorado. In this hour of party shame and humiliation, I see in the heavens only the day-star of hope.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

DENVER, COLORADO,
January 25, 1903.

During the exciting days of this campaign, Mr. Wolcott was interviewed by a special writer of the *Denver Post*. The occasion of the publication was the printing of a card by Philip B. Stewart, in which Mr. Wolcott was severely attacked. Mr. Stewart was on terms of personal friendship with President Roosevelt, and the fact that he was making

a vigorous fight upon Mr. Wolcott led many to conclude that the President himself was opposed to Wolcott's re-election. Stewart appeared willing to allow this impression to prevail, but Mr. Wolcott met the intimation with a denial. "It is not," he said, "the province of a President to interfere in State politics, and President Roosevelt is too wise a man and too just and honorable an official to overstep the proscribed bounds—and this in spite of any assertion of Mr. Stewart to the contrary."

Then the Senator spoke of the charge that he had left the State during the last campaign, saying:

> I was never a coward but once in my life, and that was when, at the solicitation of the party managers, I left the State last fall. I wish to God I had not gone. It was a great mistake. But when Mr. Stewart is assailing me in regard to this, he should remember that two years ago, when I am accused of defeating the ticket, I had the very active assistance of both President Roosevelt and Senator Lodge here in the State. More, he forgets—or probably does not know—that the proportionate growth of Republican votes in the past two years is not as great as during the two preceding years.

The interviewer dwelt upon the difficulty of reproducing Mr. Wolcott's language and manner, among other things, saying:

> After a lengthy interview I came away sure of just two things: One was, that I had met a man who was the very incarnation of force, and the other, that nothing short of a combination electric dynamo and phonograph could ever catch and retain his exact language.
>
> To me he seems positive to the point of brutality and most arbitrary, but tremendously in earnest, alert, keen, scintillatingly brilliant, and wonderfully magnetic. To a vocabulary of unrivalled richness, he brings a clear, incisive mind, a wide knowledge of men and affairs, and a sonorous voice of great capacity and infinite variation. It is a pleasure to listen to him, but purgatory to try to report him.

SUPREMACY REGAINED

MR. WOLCOTT'S loss of control of political affairs in Colorado was not of long duration. He was again "in the saddle," having regained the mastery which he had lost as a result of his absence from the State, and by the time the next State convention was held he was as strong as ever he had been, showing that only a little attention of the right kind at the proper time would keep him in control as long as he might care to so remain.

There was a campaign in the fall of 1903 for the election of a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and the convention for the nomination of a candidate was held in Denver September 29th of that year—only about eight months after the failure of the Republican members of the Legislature to get together for the election of a Senator. Mr. Wolcott was present as a delegate and was chosen to preside over the convention. Of the seventeen Republican members of the House of Representatives who had supported him, fourteen were present as delegates, while only one of the opposing members appeared in that capacity. All the nine Senators who stood with Wolcott were delegates. His friends were in charge everywhere. Mr. Wolcott was given a flattering reception when he entered the hall, and the demonstration was still more pronounced when he was proposed for Chairman.

To Mrs. Anthony, a well-known Denver writer of the day who used the pen-name of "Polly Pry," we owe a graphic picture of Mr. Wolcott's reception on this occasion.

Mrs. Anthony revelled in the breezy language of the plains, and her method of dealing with men and affairs was original rather than conventional. Here is her story of this event;

The Republican State Convention, which nominated Judge John Campbell to succeed himself on the supreme bench, was the occasion for Mr. Wolcott's reappearance upon the political stage last Tuesday morning, and likewise the occasion for a Wolcott demonstration which gave the celebrated Fairley-Stewart-Brooks faction a dose of knock-out drops that laid them low—at least for a spell.

"Wolcott as a political factor is dead—as dead as a pickled mackerel," a sapient politician had remarked as we wended our way toward Twenty-second and Arapahoe that morning.

"Requiescat in pace!" I murmured devoutly, looking at him admiringly and wondering how on earth he managed to stagger under all he knew.

Then we plunged into the vestibule of that Black Hole of Calcutta, misnamed East Turner Hall, and a few minutes later, triumphant but somewhat breathless, were mopping the perspiration from our classic brows and trying to talk against the ragtime rackets of the band.

Everybody was present and accounted for, including President Roosevelt's "old college chum," Mr. Philip B. Stewart, and Archie Stevenson, he of the Hyperion curls, the bland smile, and the witty tongue, when Chairman Fairley rapped for order. Then a man came in, passed hurriedly through the crowd about the door, walked half-way up the centre aisle, and took a seat with the Arapahoe County delegation.

"Hip-hip-hurrah!" shouted the Denver delegation. "Yip-yip-yip!" came the old familiar Twombly yell, and "Yip-yip-e-ip!" chortled the mavericks from Huerfano County, while Saguache chimed in with a "Wa-wa-wa-woop-ee!" that could be heard a mile.

"Wolcott! Wolcott! Wolcott!" chorused the crowd, and the man who was deader than a "pickled mackerel" was escorted to the stage, where, accompanied by a continuous rumble of applause, he gave an excellent imitation of a live person with something to say, and by no means averse to making the fact public.

For a man who has been reported as among the "politically dead" so many times, and tommyhawked, knifed, double-crossed, and solar-plexed, he certainly is a warm member.

In ringing tones and with beautiful hyperbole he pictured the ends and aims of the Republican party, extolled Republican principles, and denounced Republican backsliders, Fusionists, and traitors. With the tremolo stop turned on full, he pleaded for harmony and a Republican victory, ending with a scathing denunciation of the political boycott and a stinging arraignment of the political hucksters who claim to own and undertake to peddle party patronage through personal friendship with men high in power.

Mrs. Anthony also supplies the following estimate of the Colorado orator:

It is said, among other things, of Edward O. Wolcott, that he is an ingrate, that he admits of no independence except his own; that he has no friends; that he himself has said that he recognizes only "slaves and enemies," and that he is selfish beyond the understanding of the ordinary man. And yet, even so, with all of his faults he towers among Colorado Republicans like the Washington monument in a forest of telegraph poles.

Because why? He is a big man, a great man—not alone in Colorado, but in Washington, in New York, London—where you will. There is no Padua with him; it is all Rome. His reputation is international, based upon sound money and conservative principles. He is the Political Nestor of the West, and whether he attains his ambition and returns to the United States Senate three years from now or not, his niche in the Temple of Fame is already secure. Colorado could not forget him—if she would.

His speech on taking the chair was brilliant and effective. Its keynote was harmony. But he did not spare those most responsible for the discord that had characterized the party in recent times. He was ironical and sarcastic regarding the "amateurs who were led to burn their fingers by picking chestnuts from the fire for other people who ministered to their egotism"; and he was scathing in his indictment of the real instigators of the trouble.

For himself, he was willing to surrender all responsibility and join the rank and file should it be so decreed; and then he spoke of the dark days in Colorado and of the patriotism of the few soldiers who had stood fast; but leader and followers would go out were it for the benefit of the party.

His tribute to the vanguard was in lofty measure, and before it had concluded the audience was cheering and shouting, causing a long interruption.

The old leader's triumph was complete. Once more he was the party chieftain of undisputed right, and the party was overjoyed to have him in his old place. He had completely re-established himself.

Again, at a banquet given by the Republican Club of Denver, on Lincoln's Birthday in 1904, he received another strong assurance of undiminished popularity. A newspaper chronicler of the time furnishes this account of that occasion:

> When former Senator Wolcott arose to respond to the toast "Colorado," he was greeted with a great display of enthusiasm. As soon as Toastmaster Dixon spoke the name of Wolcott, the audience arose to its feet and applauded. They gave three hearty cheers after he was introduced, and he was not permitted to go on until friendly and enthusiastic words of praise and encouragement had been shouted to him from all over the hall. It was a reception to touch a leader's heart. As he proceeded, he warmed to his work and his terse, vigorous sentences followed each other quickly. He was greeted at every pause by cheers. There was no part of his speech that was not given entire approval. The audience seemed anxious to assure him that he was its especial favorite and the ovation he received at the close of the address was a personal triumph.

Also at the State convention in May, 1904, for the selection of delegates to the Republican National Convention which was to be held at Chicago, he was in complete ascendency. This was destined to be the last State convention he should attend, and he again was chosen to act as Temporary Chairman, as he again was placed at the head of the delegation to attend the National Convention. He was in the best of form for this meeting and made a vigorous speech outlining the issues involved in the campaign and especially urging reform in the conduct of the official affairs of Denver. His associates as delegates were: Hon. James H. Peabody, Governor; A. M. Stevenson, Denver; Thomas F. Walsh, Ouray; N. Walter Dixon, Pueblo; Sylvester S.

Downer, Boulder; John W. Springer, Denver; W. B. Miner, Fort Collins; Charles F. Caswell, Grand Junction, and Clyde C. Dawson, Cañon City.

That he had serious misgiving about attending the convention even after he was chosen to lead the delegation is shown in a letter to Mr. W. S. Boynton, of Colorado Springs, as follows:

15 E. 48th St., N. Y.,
Monday, June 6, 1904.

My Dear W. S.

Two or three days ago I received Bailey's despatch, sent, I know, after consultation with you, saying that I should, he thought, by all means attend the convention at Chicago. I shall probably do as you think I should, although if we three were to talk it over, I doubt if you would so advise me. I have been here a fortnight, and for three fourths of the time, I have been in bed with a continuance of the same vicious attack of gout I had in Colorado, and I am not at all well and need the cure at Carlsbad. I won't go again into the embarrassments which will meet me in Chicago. . . . There is necessity for my keeping quiet, because if I said anything it would be in the nature of a criticism. I should have thought of all of these things before I accepted the election as delegate. But there is another feature that I have not written about and that is the certainty that my delay in starting (for I *must* go to Carlsbad after the convention) means my later return here and to Colorado.

Perhaps nothing makes any difference. My friends tell Mr. Chisholm that unless I come back after the convention they fear the "Antis" will get control of the committee, and that our friends are thoroughly disheartened, etc. I can understand this and I think their fears are well founded. . . .

My one desire has been to control the political situation because I thought we could serve Colorado better than the faction that seeks to dominate the party. I have never, I think, been controlled by any personal desire for the Senatorship. Perhaps I am a stumbling block to success; if so I don't want to keep my personality prominent in the councils of the party. . . .

I have been to two National Conventions; in one I nominated Blaine, and I presided over the other. In this one I must keep absolutely silent. . . .

Just wire me that you have received this when you do. If a letter comes from you or Bailey, I will write one of you again.

But, my friend, I still feel that I ought not to be at the convention, because I cannot help anybody, and the situation has only humiliation for me. However, I shall be there unless I am again laid up and am unable to leave my room. . . .

Everything is dull here; I see hardly anybody and am alone in my rooms most of the time.

Your friend,

E. O. W.

To

HON. W. S. BOYNTON,
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.

Mr. Wolcott attended the National Convention, which was held at Chicago; but he kept his word, and for the first time at such a gathering remained absolutely quiet. He was far from well, and the political embarrassments in his own party, growing out of his recent contest, had extended to figures prominent before the national assembly. Roosevelt was nominated for President.

After the convention and just before sailing for Europe, Mr. Wolcott wrote to his friend, United States Marshal Bailey. His letter possesses a strongly personal tinge, but it throws so much light on his view of the Colorado political situation and especially on his state of mind generally that it is given:

NEW YORK, June 25, 1904.

HON. D. C. BAILEY,
U. S. MARSHAL,
DENVER, COLORADO.

DEAR BAILEY:

I have your letters, and better than all, I have received that photograph, which I was delighted to have and I shall always keep.

The political situation in Colorado is deplorable. As I understand it we have to sell the Denver Committee furniture to pay the unpaid debts of the last compaign. The enormous fund in control of our opponents, and the defection of former friends who want to hold on to their offices or get new ones will be too much for us in the State Committee. My chief anxiety is for you. . . .

I have been very hard hit in financial matters recently, but there will always be enough, my friend, to keep the wolf from both our doors, and you shall not suffer if I can help it. Don't

worry about the situation. I am unwilling to spend any more money, and I know that you would be unwilling to have me do so. It is of no use. We have already wasted thousands of dollars to make it possible for our enemies to control the situation. . . .

If things go against us I shall not hurry back, but in any event shall return early in September and shall remain some time at Wolhurst, where you and I will have some happy hours I hope.

As things have turned out, I should not go abroad if I did not believe it necessary that I take a cure at Carlsbad. I go away of course depressed over the situation, but neither you nor I have anything to reproach ourselves with.

I trust you will write me sometimes, and with all good wishes and sincere regards, as always,

Your friend,

EDW. O. WOLCOTT.

LAST VISIT TO COLORADO

After the National Convention, Mr. Wolcott was compelled to go to Europe on account of his poor health, and he did not return to Colorado until the latter part of the following October. In the meantime the State convention for the nomination of State officers had been held, Governor Peabody had been placed at the head of the ticket for the second time, and the campaign was well under way when on the 24th of that month he reached Denver for a visit of brief duration. Mr. Peabody's administration had been marked by a great activity on the part of the Western Federation of Miners and by many disputes and even conflicts on account of labor troubles, and altogether had been far from peaceful. In a brief interview given during his stay in Denver, the ex-Senator said:

I have just returned from New York, where I find the most intense interest is being taken in the result of the Colorado election. It seems incomprehensible that the Governor of Colorado should not be supported in the determined stand he has taken on behalf of law and order in the State.

It seems to me of the greatest possible importance that good citizens should support the Republican ticket. No matter what

individual grievances may exist, or however much we may differ on other matters, the welfare of the State requires that the course of the chief executive during the last two years shall be vindicated at the polls.

Mr. Wolcott made but one speech in the campaign of 1904. It was delivered at Coliseum Hall to a packed and enthusiastic audience on November 7th, the night before election.

In this contest the principal State issue was Governor Peabody's controversy with the Western Federation of Miners, which organization was charged with responsibility for many atrocities committed in the State, and the campaign was a bitter one. Mr. Wolcott devoted much attention to the organization, which he denounced vigorously and fearlessly. His speech had little of the stirring oratory which usually characterized his campaign addresses. It was a closely reasoned argument such as he was accustomed to give in court-rooms and was a clear, measured, and convincing statement of facts showing how law and human rights had been ignored and vindicating the repressive efforts of the State government. The last part was the more effective because of the self-restraint manifested. He explained his reason for not taking part in the campaign, and closed with a beautiful tribute to Colorado, whose future he pictured in rainbow hues. His explanation of his failure to participate in the campaign was a frank avowal of his dread of the criticism which he knew his appearance would arouse, and was as follows:

I am touched by this cordial and kindly reception, and I feel moved to make but one personal explanation. It is that the reason I have not participated more early in the campaign has been solely because, though I do not count my years as old, I have become weary to death of personal abuse, vituperation, and slander.

This abuse has followed me since '96, and while it does not keep me awake at night, it yet makes me feel that there are times when the post of honor is the private station, and I can say to you that I have no political enemy attacked by vituperation and slander, and no political friend similarly attacked, that my feel-

ing toward them is not kindlier and warmer when attacks are made upon their private character.

We have more of personal abuse in Colorado, I fear, than in most of the States, and while for the moment it meets the passions that partisanship engenders, in the end it lowers the moral tone and degrades the community which endures and tolerates it.

The meeting was the last political demonstration in which Senator Wolcott ever participated. The campaign resulted in a victory in the State for Roosevelt and Fairbanks on the National ticket, but on the face of the returns Alva Adams, Democrat, was elected Governor. The Legislature was Republican, however, and he was unseated on an allegation of fraud. His antagonist, Peabody, was not given the place, but it was awarded to Jesse F. McDonald, one of the State Senators who had been deposed during the legislative entanglement of 1903, and who in the fall of 1894, had been elected Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

There can be little question that if Mr. Wolcott had lived and had retained his health, he would have returned to the Senate. While in Denver in the fall of 1904, he told his friends that he would be in the race to succeed Mr. Patterson in 1907, and with his hold upon the party leadership re-established, as it most securely was, the prospect of success was flattering. Still, there were many ugly complications, and that he had full appreciation of them is indicated by his letters to personal friends during this period. But in the main he then looked forward with some eagerness to the contest. He was more anxious to return to the Senate than he had been in 1901. Then his first concern had been for party success. But he had not at that time experienced the bitter personal assaults from inside his own party organization that were made upon him and upon his friends in the fight of 1903, and he felt all the generous impulses of the strong man who has done a great thing. He was willing, as are all big men under such circumstances, to share the reward with others or even to entirely divert

it from himself. Now it was different. Not only he, but his friends had been attacked. He had been persuaded to turn his back to his foes and to leave the State in the contest of 1902, the first time he ever had submitted to such humiliation, and we have seen how deeply he regretted his course. He expressed himself frankly to this effect in his speech of November 18th, and privately he was even more emphatic. In conversation with friends he was full of self-condemnation for permitting himself to be influenced as he was, and at such times would complain bitterly that he had allowed any one to make "a renegade" of him. He resented also the criticisms directed against his friends in public life. While he did not grudge full membership and high position to any of the Republicans who had been led away by the sentiment in the interest of silver, he did resent the strictures of some of the returning members of the party upon those who had remained faithful in the days of adversity.

He had still another reason for desiring election at this time. His intimate personal friend, Grant B. Schley, of New York, told the writer that it was Mr. Wolcott's ambition to go back to the Senate and show what he really was capable of by giving more serious and closer attention to public affairs than ever he had given.

He had been promised, even before asking, the enthusiastic support of "the Old Guard," and many new friends, both in and out of the State and in and out of the Republican party, had told him that they would do all they could to assist.

He was to go abroad, regain his health, recoup his fortune, and come back and make such a fight as never before had been made in the State. But, alas, he soon was to encounter a foe more obdurate and more unrelenting than even Fusion candidates or party opponents!

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S last speech, the one made at the Denver Coliseum November 7, 1904, proved his undoing. He had been indisposed with a cold when he went to the meeting, but his condition was not in the slightest degree alarming.

As always, when the Senator spoke, his whole being was launched into the effort; voice and gesture were vigorous and emphatic. The occasion aroused every faculty of the man. Not only was he at his best intellectually, but the emotions were stirred by the recollection of past experiences in the great hall. It had been the scene both of trial and triumph; he had spoken there in '96. When he took the platform he was tremendously in earnest. He spoke with much vehemence, which necessarily involved great physical effort. In the hall, packed to suffocation and poorly ventilated at best, the heat was oppressive, and, after speaking under such trying conditions, he left the platform superheated and somewhat exhausted. The weather was bitterly cold, and despite the advice of friends, he insisted on walking to his apartments in Glenarm Street.

That night he was taken with a chill, and by next day bronchitis had developed. With his customary indifference, he at first paid little attention to the attack. Some days in bed under care of doctor and nurse for the time averted pneumonia, but the bronchitis was still severe and troublesome. He did not improve sufficiently to satisfy his physicians, and a decision was reached that he should seek a lower altitude and a milder climate. Henry also was indisposed, and the brothers determined upon another journey across the water in search of health, each going, as he

thought, largely for the benefit of the other. There were times when Ed realized his own condition, while at others he spoke lightly of his sickness and freely discussed the advisability of beginning preparation for the next Senatorial campaign, which his friends fully expected him to enter as a candidate. Not even Henry fully appreciated the dangerous possibilities of his brother's attack. He knew, however, that for a year or two Ed had been far from well, and was generally apprehensive about him. He was sufficiently alarmed by the symptoms to determine upon removal to a lower altitude.

But while it is true that the cold and the Coliseum meeting doubtless were the immediate cause of Mr. Wolcott's collapse, other reasons also must be sought, and they are easily found. In part at least, he was the victim of adverse conditions and unjust criticism. His spirit was weakened by the repeated personal aspersions of the press and the politicians, and there is little doubt that this fact had much to do with his ultimate breakdown. He would not have succumbed so easily five years previous. It is doubtful whether he cared so much to live as formerly. If the world was entirely without gratitude, and if one could succeed only by deserting one's friends, what was there to live for? Very little for Ed Wolcott!

By November 22d, following the Coliseum meeting, Senator Wolcott had recovered sufficiently to justify his removal to New York. But he did not long remain there. The weather was bleak and harsh, and his bronchitis was so much aggravated, that, after a stay of six weeks, another change was decided upon, and by January 7, 1905, the two brothers found themselves aboard the *Deutschland*, bound for the Mediterranean. It was their last voyage together. Ed did not return. In the early evening of the 1st of March the news of his death was flashed under the seas from far-away Monaco.

Before leaving New York, Mr. Wolcott wrote a letter to his brother William, probably the last to any member of the family before his departure. It was dated January 3d, and in it he said that it was the intention that he and Henry should sail for Cairo *via* Naples on the following

Saturday, "to be gone three months or so." He made only slight reference to his physical condition. Saying that both he and Henry needed a journey and a change of climate, he added: "I rarely go down-town, for I have not been very well lately, being troubled with a rather persistent bronchitis." His brother had notified him that he had sent him a Christmas present, which evidently had been directed to a down-town address, and he expressed anxiety to get it before leaving.

The original intention of going to Egypt was changed *en route*. The brothers decided to stop at Naples and not to continue to the region of the Nile. An unfortunate choice; that winter was the worst Southern Italy had experienced for thirty years. They next tried Palermo, in Sicily; Palermo was unbearable—cold, bleak, comfortless.

Ed's condition grew worse. He developed more serious bronchial trouble, and upon the advice of eminent physicians decided to go to Southern France. Choice lighted upon Monte Carlo in the Mediterranean as being the best calculated of all places to coax back health through climate. Here, with Henry, he established himself soon after the 1st of February at the Hotel de Paris, and there remained until the end came a month later.

The last letter of any length from Senator Wolcott, and unquestionably the last utterance by him on Colorado politics, was written to United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey, from Palermo, January 31, 1905, a short month and a day before the end. The letter was in Mr. Wolcott's own handwriting, and he appeared quite broken in spirit. But there was the same contention for honest politics that so often had been heard by his friends. It also contained the assurance that his finances, which of late had been running down, were now improving. The letter reads:

GRAND HOTEL DES PALMES,
ENRICO RAGUSA, PROP.,
PALERMO.

Tuesday, January 31st.

DEAR DEWEY:

. . . If anything could make me well again at once, it would be your interesting and entertaining letter of the 15th, which has

just reached me here. I was delighted to get it. The fact is that I have been pretty sick; I have never fully got over the attack of bronchitis I got in Denver, and in New York I did not take any sort of care of myself. I have, however, taken more care ever since I sailed. But a slight cold gave me a very bad attack, and I have been in bed here for a week.

Henry went on to Rome and Albert [Ed's valet] and I have fought it out together. It has been rather dismal, but I am getting a good deal better and hope to get away from here by the last of the week. If I am well enough I will go to Cannes, or somewhere in the south of France for a little time, and I 'll be coming home before long. . . .

Away down in my heart, but this is to you alone, I have n't the slightest idea that I shall enter another Senatorial race. But it is good to feel that those of us who have always stood together, still stand for honest politics and do not seek to justify wrong-doing by the fact that our enemies did wrong at prior elections. . . .

I know that you will be glad to know that things are coming right with me again. There are still many holes to fill, and I am by no means back where I used to be, but there 's enough. . . .

I have n't seen an American newspaper for weeks, and am three days from London papers, so I cannot keep much track of what is going on at home.

I think often of you and am very glad when you find time to write.

With best wishes, as always,

Your friend,

Edw. O. Wolcott.

To

Hon. Dewey C. Bailey,
United States Marshal,
Denver, Colorado.

When they reached Monte Carlo Senator Wolcott was not regarded by the physicians as seriously ill. Ever vigorous in movement, he mingled with the crowd and seemed even then stronger than most men. He drove considerably, patronized the amusements when so inclined, and seldom referred to his physical condition. He suffered greatly from a severely irritating bronchial cough, but for a time after

his arrival this trouble improved. Indeed, the change was at once generally beneficial, and had he exercised ordinary prudence and care all might have been well. But it was now the end of February, and the wind had set in from the north, bringing every afternoon chilling breezes from the Alpes-Maritimes. Senator Wolcott was more than indifferent to the precautions ordinarily taken against cold and exposure. He hated heavy or warm clothing. Rarely was he seen in Denver wearing an overcoat. He had a vigorous man's contempt for pampering himself, and in winter, as in summer, his clothes were of thin and light texture. To this fact probably may be attributed the final attack to which he succumbed.

The sudden malignant turn of the disease was unexpected. Only a few days before Edward's death a Denver business friend received a cablegram from Henry, stating that he and Ed intended to leave Monte Carlo soon and travel to Paris by easy stages. They were to stay there a short time and start for America in April.

When driving in the afternoons at Monaco, Henry repeatedly warned his brother. He begged him to clothe himself more warmly and carry an overcoat. All such suggestions and remonstrances were listened to good-naturedly, but were unheeded. On the evening of February 21st, the wind being more than usually biting and dangerous, while returning from a long drive, the Senator remarked to his brother that he felt chilled, and he said he would keep to his room for a day or two. Evidently he was not alarmed, for he did not call a doctor until two days later. Then Dr. Guigliumenti was summoned.

The doctor found his patient breathing with difficulty, coughing considerably, and in an anxious state of mind. By the next day his general condition had become critical: bronchitis had developed into pneumonia. There was a high fever. Another doctor was called on the 26th, and a third on the 27th. But the best skill and care were in vain. He did not rally, and at 9:13 o'clock of the evening of March 1st, within less than a month of his fifty-seventh birthday came the end, the Last Scene of All, the scene "that ends this strange, eventful history."

There were present at the deathbed only Dr. Guigliumenti and Henry Wolcott, the stranger and the brother—Henry Wolcott, the faithful, the brother who had watched over his progress from infancy to manhood and through manhood's struggles, rejoicing more over his triumphs and weeping more over his reverses than did he himself; who had been with him in his days of health and days of illness, in the flush time as in the lean time, and who never had been less than a brother. Surely if only one member of the family—the family he loved so well—could be present at the last struggle, it was fitting that Henry should be that one. It was a companionship that never had been interrupted. How appropriate that it should continue to the end!

A few days after the demise the body was cremated in Paris, and the ashes carried to America, where in the beautiful Woodlawn Cemetery at New York, they were interred. The spot is appropriately marked and is often visited by admirers from far and near.

THE NEWS AT HOME

Henry Wolcott cabled the distressing information of his brother's death to the members of the family, to Ed's law firm, Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman, in Denver, and to various business associates throughout the country.

Everywhere the news was a surprise and a shock. Washington found it almost impossible to believe. Denver was dumbfounded. Ed Wolcott dead? Incredible!

But it was so.

To his friends and admirers, Mr. Wolcott's death seemed most untimely. He was in the prime of life, and but for an occasional attack of gout or of quinzy, had appeared in general good health. His prospects, political and financial, were promising. Indeed, never did Death seem to enter at a more inopportune time, causing all to feel the sad truth of Mrs. Hemans's lines:

> Leaves have their time to fall,
> And flowers to wither at the north-wind's breath,

And stars to set; but all,
Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death!

Washington was in the throes of preparation for the inauguration of President Roosevelt, and the Fifty-ninth Congress was rushing to a close when the information of Mr. Wolcott's death reached the National capital, where recently he had been so active and so well known. But, busy as all were, the news from across the water did not fail to arrest the general attention. All expressed grief as well as surprise. Few men ever left more or more devoted friends upon retiring from the Senate than did Mr. Wolcott. He was loved for his genial, companionable, helpful disposition, and admired for his strength and brilliancy. Nor were his mourners confined to official life or high society. Many a poor creature who had been the beneficiary of his big-heartedness mingled his tears with those of the more fortunate of his friends.

In a somewhat different way and even more intensely did the news affect Colorado. There he was more generally and more intimately known; there the grief over his loss was quite universal. At the time the Legislature was intensely occupied with the complications growing out of the previous campaign. The State was torn with partisan and factional strife. The Capitol was constantly guarded, and armed men stood over the legislative halls while business proceeded. It was a period of great bitterness and intense excitement. But the news of Wolcott's death had the effect for the time of stilling all excitement and quieting all strife. The Legislature and the courts, Federal and State, adjourned as soon as announcement of the demise was received, and all ultimately adopted resolutions and took other action expressive of the deep regret of the community. The news came at night, and the public expression of grief was necessarily postponed until the morrow. But the private utterance was not deferred; it was immediate and genuine. In the hotel lobbies and the club-rooms the Senator's death was commented upon to the exclusion of almost every other topic. Late political foes were quite as unstinted in their praise of the dead man's noble qualities

and in expressions of admiration for his genius as were his friends. The universal thought was that the State had lost one of its strongest characters and one of its ablest and most devoted public servants.

The Denver newspapers printed long biographies and appreciative eulogies of the Senator, and expressions of sympathy and sorrow poured in from all directions. The head-lines in the papers on March 2d announcing the death were illustrative of the general feeling. In them politics was completely obliterated. In the *Denver Republican*, Republican in politics, we find this: "E. O. WOLCOTT, COLORADO'S GREATEST STATESMAN, DEAD"; in the *Post*, Independent, "E. O. WOLCOTT, KING OF DIPLOMACY, POLITICS, AND ORATORY, IS DEAD AT MONTE CARLO"; and in the *News*, Democratic, "EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, ORATOR, JURIST, STATESMAN, DEAD."

In Denver, on the day after the announcement of the death, evidences of grief were visible on every hand. Republican State Headquarters were draped in mourning. Out of respect to the memory of the departed statesman, the State Legislature took a recess. The offices of the law firm of Wolcott, Vaile & Waterman, of which he was senior partner, were closed. The depression was especially marked in the offices of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. As general counsel for this road his relations with the heads of the various departments had been exceedingly close and cordial, and all were deeply touched by the news of his death.

EXPRESSIONS OF ESTEEM

Both in Denver and in Washington, many of Mr. Wolcott's former associates in public life gave expression to their feelings through the public prints.

When a sitting Senator dies a day is set apart for eulogies, but this course is not pursued with respect to a deceased ex-Senator. No exception was made in Mr. Wolcott's case, but in lieu of such action the presiding officer and all the members of the body in which so recently he had been so conspicuous a figure expressed themselves personally in strong terms. Included in these expressions were

those of Mr. Wolcott's former colleague, Senator Teller, and his successor, Senator Patterson. Senator Teller spoke as follows:

I am deeply shocked over the sad occurrence. I knew Ed Wolcott as a young man, when he first came to Colorado. I was with him when he tried his first case. I sat by him in this trial at his request and advised him. I also knew him when he taught school at Blackhawk. Mr. Wolcott was a brilliant man, and one whom any person could not help admiring. We differed politically in late years, but our relations were always pleasant. I regarded Mr. Wolcott as the natural successor to Senator Patterson should the Republicans have the State at the next election.

Senator Patterson said:

The death of ex-Senator Wolcott, so sudden and unexpected, comes with a great shock. The announcement hushes all adverse criticism and calls out acknowledgments of his great talents and charming manners which fall spontaneously from the lips of all who knew him. He was a most distinguished citizen of Colorado, and his public career has shed lustre upon the name of his adopted State. His power with men is shown in vivid light from the fact that, though he has been so little in Colorado for the past six or eight years, he held to the last thousands of devoted friends who followed his fortunes in sunshine and storm and through evil and good repute. The death of Senator Wolcott removes a powerful element for good in the politics of Colorado. While his methods in many a political struggle have been severely criticised, he was nevertheless so thoroughly independent in his party and kept in closer touch with the people than any other of the most prominent Republican leaders.

His death will be a distinct gain for the intolerant autocrats in the Republican party, for he was the last serious obstacle to the unquestioned rule.

Other expressions were:

Vice-President Fairbanks.—Senator Wolcott was a man of great ability; strong and firm in his friendships. His death was a very great shock to me. I had supposed he was a man of

the most robust health and reasonably assured of many years of activity and usefulness.

PRESIDENT PRO. TEM. W. P. FRYE.—Ned Wolcott's death was almost tragic. I have known but few men who possessed so many admirable traits of character and yet were distinctly men of force and resolution.

SENATOR A. P. GORMAN.—Wolcott was one of the braniest men that ever came to the Senate. He was genial and thoroughly delightful—a well-spring of pleasure to know.

SENATOR J. B. FORAKER.—He was a gifted man, charming in manner, but so full of energy that he lived more rapidly than his constitution could stand.

SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.—He was a great, big, broad, splendid fellow. He ought to have lived forty years longer, if he had taken care of himself.

SENATOR SHELBY M. CULLOM.—He was one of the most forceful men I ever knew. He had wonderful resolution and an undaunted spirit, and was a power in this body.

SENATOR JOHN W. DANIEL.—Wolcott's death came to me as a very great shock. We were excellent friends, and I learned to respect the man's indomitable perseverance and splendid pluck. He was a fine type of the Western man, trained in one of the world's great universities to help in the upbuilding of the nation.

The expressions from public men in the State were quite as warmly appreciative. Of those the following must suffice for present purposes.

JUSTICE JOHN CAMPBELL OF THE STATE SUPREME COURT.—I followed his lead for many years, and the news of his death has come to me with a shock that is beyond all description. I was for him for United States Senator the first time, the last time and for all time. . . .

I have been a close personal friend of his for many years and have always been proud to be numbered among his followers. I know of no blow that has come upon me that has cast such a chill on my heart. It has made the face of nature seem lacking in something, wanting in one of her grandest works—the presence of Edward O. Wolcott.

ARCHIE M. STEVENSON, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN —Poor Ed! Gone! It grieves me greatly. It was so unexpected, and yet I knew he was sick and that he had, in fact, been a very sick man for years. The doctors had him nearly

scared to death and sent him all over the world a dozen times to be cured. Had he lived he would surely have been the next Republican Senator from Colorado. He was strong, generous, sincere, and brave even to indiscretion and rashness. He was warm, generous in his friendships, and always open and manly to his friends. He never turned his back.

GOVERNOR ALVA ADAMS.—In his death we lose the most brilliant man in the State, and a great national leader; always a commander and never a follower. Strong and dominating, he made bitter enemies and loyal friends. A natural leader of men was E. O. Wolcott. When inclined to please, few could resist the fascination of the man.

DEWEY C. BAILEY.—Senator Wolcott was the bravest, kindest, and best friend I ever knew. Faithful to his friends and to himself, the loss is not to this State alone, but to the nation. He was greater than the State, belonging to the nation. His place in public life never will be filled.

IRVING HOWBERT.—He was one of our most distinguished citizens, and his loss will be greatly felt by the State. His brilliant career in the Senate made him one of the most commanding figures in that body and he was universally recognized as one of the brainiest men of the country. Colorado will mourn his loss.

JUDGE S. S. DOWNER.—I regarded Senator Wolcott as one of the bravest, cleanest, and ablest men in public life in this nation. I think he has died at a peculiarly unfortunate moment, as the State needs him and his services more than ever.

HENRY BRADY.—My sorrow will scarcely let me speak. No man will ever know the depth of my grief. It is like losing a father. Side by side we have fought in many a bitter political fight. His victory was my victory.

JOHN W. SPRINGER.—What a superb leader! What a friend to his friends! Tears come unbidden when I recall his fight for me in the mayoralty contest in Denver less than a year ago. Coming all the way from New York, and rising from a bed of sickness, and leaning heavily on his cane, he appealed to the loyal members of the Grand Army of the Republic to stand by the regular nominees of the Grand Old Party. I would I could lay a fitting tribute on his bier—but time will make all things right.

Of the newspaper testimonials none was more eulogistic or more genuinely sorrowful than those of the *Denver*

Republican and the *Rocky Mountain News:* the former Republican in politics and then owned by Mr. Crawford Hill, under whose father's management, that of the late Senator Hill, the paper had been very antagonistic to Mr. Wolcott; and the latter Democratic, and still under the management of Mr. Wolcott's perennial opponent and finally successful rival for the Senate, Hon. Thomas M. Patterson. The editorial remarks of the two papers are here reproduced as fair specimens of the tributes from the press of the State. On the morning following Mr. Wolcott's death, the *Republican* said:

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

In the death of former United States Senator Edward Oliver Wolcott, Colorado loses its most distinguished citizen and the nation one of its most noted public men.

A great orator, a sound law-maker, a political leader of rare magnetism and enthusiasm, a masterly lawyer, and always a sterling patriot worthy of his splendid lineage reaching back to the foundation of our government and beyond seas to its English origin, his memory will be fondly cherished by the people of Colorado long after the dust and din of party strife, in which he won and lost in such heroic fashion during his somewhat stormy political career, shall be forever laid in oblivion.

He made mistakes—who does not?—but where shall we seek for another so gifted in so many ways—so wise and witty, so keen in his intuitions of men and things, so capable of going to the very core of any problem, so highly cultured and widely read, so spontaneous and so full of courageous optimism?

He had faults, but, like his vastly outweighing good qualities, they were temperamental. As the years passed, the philosophic spirit triumphed over the impatience and the natural insolence of ardent youth in him, as it does in most strong natures fortunate enough to keep sweet through the successes and failures of life, and we have no doubt that if he had been spared to fill out the normal span of existence his opponents would have been disarmed of their hostility, and he would have seen

> "The stubborn thistles bursting into glossy purples
> Which outredden all voluptuous garden roses."

The twelve years which he served as Colorado's first favorite in the United States Senate would have been prolonged indefinitely, beyond doubt, if he "had gone with his State" in the great Presidential campaign of 1896. He stood for unflinching loyalty to the Republican party, not because he was hostile to the overwhelming silver sentiment of Colorado, but because he believed that both country and State would fare better in all desirable things under McKinley than under Bryan.

That was not politics, but it was magnificent, and countless thousands of Coloradoans who thought otherwise then will now do fuller justice to his wise foresight and his unselfish patriotism.

This is neither the time nor place to do full justice to the countless admirable qualities of head and heart of this many-sided man, with his vast capacity for the making of warm friends and bitter foes, his undying charm of person and voice and manner and utterance, his dauntless spirit and his boundless interest in everything that goes to make up the sum of life.

His great contemporaries at the bar, in the halls of Congress, and in many other fields of human effort will grieve at his going and will most fittingly do honor to his memory as a leader among men.

The *News's* expression of the same date was as follows:

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

Edward O. Wolcott, who died yesterday in Europe, was one of that remarkable series of young men for whom Gilpin County was the scene of first prominence and who afterward attained distinction in many walks of life. Coming to Denver, where his brilliant qualities were already known through his service as State Senator, he sprang almost immediately into the position of a party leader to whom it were well for the older leaders to pay respectful attention. Soon followed his advancement to the Senate of the United States, wherein for twelve years he was a figure of no mean proportions. Since his retirement from that position in 1901 comparatively little of his time has been spent in this State, the management of financial transactions centring in New York and frequent visits to Carlsbad and other curative springs occupying his attention. Rheumatism of a severe type had been his relentless enemy. During his last visit to this city he was compelled to lean heavily upon his cane, and his friends were deeply moved to see his once stalwart and

splendid figure bent by the assaults of a disease to which his ringing voice and merry jokes gave no indication of surrender.

No man in Colorado had a more remarkable gift for making friends—and enemies. However far away might be their chief, however dark might seem his fortunes, his friends stood together like a loyal band of brothers, always with their faces to the front, always a force to be reckoned with. Whatever criticism may be passed upon Edward Oliver Wolcott by those who ranked themselves as his enemies—and they were not few—no man who held the enthusiastic support which always came to his standard, whenever he sounded the call to battle, could be other than a leader of distinguished qualities.

Gifted with a fine presence, a melodious and powerful voice, an alert and resourceful mind and the air of one fearless, daring, and born to command, he was a truly impressive figure on any political stage.

To attempt to consider within the limits of this article an intellectual equipment so large, a character so complex, and a life so full of action and color, were idle and unseemly. Only shall we say that he was a truer man than some who remain to grieve little at his death.

Of many hundreds printed only one outside obituary is reproduced here. It is from *Goodwin's Weekly* of Salt Lake City, a publication whose editor ever had been a sincere admirer of the Colorado Senator. It follows:

SENATOR WOLCOTT

So the stormy life of Senator Ed Wolcott has worn itself out. Gifted beyond his fellows, he was handsome, winsome, impulsive, impetuous, reckless, undisciplined, a born leader, a born fighter, subtile as a serpent, eloquent and high-bred as a Greek master, implacable toward enemies, enchanting to friends, magnetic, imperious, audacious, at home with Bacchus when in the mood, but ready to look Thor full in the face and challenge him to bring out his biggest hammer and try conclusions with him. He was a natural aristocrat by virtue of his lineage, his learning, his family place in the nation's history, and his own masterful abilities, but still a genuine American in every way, and especially reverential of the fact that when it comes to a question of country and the direction of events all Americans stand on the same plane, and all have a right to a hearing, and the

more especially that the aristocracy of a republic rests on brain and heart alone. So, many-sided, followed by honors and troops of friends and always shadowed by embittered enemies, for twenty years he has been more the concernment of the men of Colorado than any other man; his comings and his goings among them were like those of Mercury on Olympus, "to witch the world." He will be passionately mourned in that State by those who loved him, and even his enemies will feel as did Earl Douglas when, his passion cooled, and in justice, he said: "Bold could he speak, and fairly ride."

He died young, comparatively, and when his intellectual powers were at their height, and, still, judging by his life for the past thirty years, he was eighty-seven instead of fifty-seven, for in those thirty years he lived two years for every one. He aspired to the very highest honors that the Republic can bestow; he had abilities that justified his ambition, but he, strong and controlling as he was, would never control himself, and he watched as he burned life's candle at both ends and contemplated calmly what would come when the two flames met.

There also were many tributes in verse, the most notable of which was from the pen of James Barton Adams, a Western poet who has contributed many worthy lines to modern literature. His tribute was printed in the *Denver Post* and ran:

"Ed Wolcott's dead."—As comes a thunderbolt
From cloudless skies with harsh, earth-jarring jolt,
So fell the tidings on the startled ears
Of us who knew him best, and sorrow's tears
From pain-drawn eyes of those who loved him well
On pulsing, grief-swept bosoms silent fell;
And e'en his enemies with bated breath
Read of the ruthless stroke from hand of death
With swollen throats, and hearts that seemed to feel
The stinging of bereavement's cutting steel;
And lips in animosity once set
Against the aggressive statesman voiced regret
That death had chosen such a shining mark,
Had dimmed forever the bright vital spark
Of one whose gifted tongue oft thrilled the land
With eloquence immeasurably grand,
And friend and foe in this sad hour of gloom
Clasp hands and place a wreath upon his tomb.

Following these more or less public utterances came pouring in letters of condolence from all over the world. Manifestly it is impossible to here give a tithe of these, and a few only will be reproduced. Generally they were addressed to Mr. Vaile of Mr. Wolcott's law firm. The few selected for reproduction follow.

From E. T. Jeffery, President of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company:

I have just received your personal letter of the 4th instant about the death of our good friend, and can scarcely write you upon the subject. I saw him the day before he sailed and felt a little apprehensive about his health; in fact, I had felt so for several months and often talked with him about it. But he was so cheery and hopeful, and seemed so full of vitality, that I believed he would return to us as strong and vigorous as ever.

You know I was greatly attached to Senator Wolcott and he was to me. It was a mutual friendship in every way, and we seemed to understand one another, for in all the thirteen years of our intercourse, we never had an unpleasant incident of any kind. I realized his great natural ability and his cultivated, resourceful mind, and all the winning qualities that go with so unusual a man; and yet I knew his faults and we often discussed them together, for he despised hypocrisy and never pretended to be one bit better than he really was. He made no pretence of any kind; he was outspoken, and frank, and manly, and when moved to folly of any kind, spoke of it in an open, straightforward way. But you know all these characteristics of him, and a great many more, just as well as I do, and some day when we are together again, we can sit down and discuss them and keep his memory warm in our hearts, for he was deeply attached to both of us. I can't quite tell you how I feel about the matter, for I am not yet adjusted to his sudden death.

I have read many of the laudatory articles written about him by those who were formerly his critics and enemies, and I am glad to see that all, regardless of parties, or factions, or political controversies, characterize him as Colorado's greatest statesman in the Republican party.

From C. E. Perkins, President of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company:

I was greatly surprised and shocked to hear of the death of Edward Wolcott. I have heard no particulars whatever about his death, and not knowing Henry Wolcott's address abroad I have not communicated with him. I wish, when you can, you would tell me about it, and also send me Henry's address. Had Edward been to Carlsbad? I have always felt, and often told him, that I feared he would overdo it in going there some time. Edward Wolcott has been a very near and dear friend of mine for a great many years, as you know, and I shall miss him very much. I shall thank you sincerely if you can give me some particulars, and if you will tell me about his property, and how it is left. What will become of that most attractive house at Wolhurst?

From Mr. Wolcott's former law partner, John G. Milburn, Esq., of New York:

I cannot tell you how deeply shocked I was when I heard of Wolcott's death. The last time I saw him he was looking so well, so happy, so full of life and energy that it is difficult to realize what has happened. Though I have not seen much of him for years, there was never any diminution of my attachment to him or my affection for him. He was a man of extraordinary ability and of the most lovable qualities. From the first and always afterward, I felt toward him as I have felt toward few men in my life. Since I came here I have hoped to see more of him, and now I feel a great personal loss.

From W. H. Rossington, Esq., Topeka, Kansas:

I met poor Ed in Chicago when he was on his way to New York and to Europe, and spent a very pleasant evening in his company, and it is hard for me to conceive of him as having joined the majority. He was so full of life and its experiences and all high enterprises, political and otherwise, that it is almost impossible to believe that his career has been so suddenly and untimely arrested.

From Ben. B. Lindsey, Judge of the County Court of Arapahoe County and originator of the Juvenile Court:

I have always been a deep admirer of the noble qualities of Senator Wolcott. Everyone knew and appreciated his magnificent attainments as a lawyer and as a statesman, but I never

felt so deeply touched as when a year or two ago one morning I received in my mail a personal letter from Senator Wolcott. It was full of praise and kindly encouragement, for what he was pleased to term a creditable work in the children's court. When I went East recently, I took this letter with me as one of my valuable possessions, and while I always set a high value on this possession, I cannot express to you how much I prize this letter now—even more than I ever did, because it will always recall to me the noble heart of a noble man, expressing as it does his love for the welfare of the children of Colorado, and encouraging me beyond all I can estimate to keep up a work in which I have tried to do some good, but in which I fear I have sometimes been misunderstood, and therefore needed sympathy and encouragement. It came from him—God bless him!—at a time when it was most needed, unsought and unexpected, and coming as the sincere expression of his great heart, I am sure I would be false to my feelings if I did not recall to you for the first time this incident among my pleasant memories of a good man.

Many letters were received from abroad, of which the following from Gilbert C. Clarke, of London, must suffice:

I am truly sorry to learn of the great loss you have sustained in the removal by death of Senator Wolcott. It is now nearly sixteen years since you and he were so kind to me in Denver, but its remembrance is as true and keen as though it were a matter of last year. Though I then met men in great variety of position and with every variety of political opinion, I never heard anything but the highest praise of your firm and personal admiration and respect of its members. The Senator indeed seemed one of those charmed and charming men that inspire affection even in those with whom they have but slight contact.

Over here in England it is perhaps impossible to follow the internal affairs of your country, though we certainly should be better informed than we are. But with foreign relationship our Press does go more into detail, and, on more than one occasion, as I read a report of a speech by your colleague in the Senate, I have been warmed through and through by its breadth of view and boldness of aim. America is the better for his life, and England with other Nations also has benefited in ways both seen and unsuspected.

He bore without reproach
The grand old name of gentleman.

You must please excuse my thus writing on a subject and at a time that should forbid the intrusion of stranger hands; but I cannot refrain from showing that the loss is not yours solely.

BY BAR AND COURT

Soon after the death of Senator Wolcott the Bar Association of Denver met to take appropriate action. A committee was appointed, and it prepared resolutions commemorative of the life and character of the Senator to be presented to the various courts, Federal and State, before which Mr. Wolcott had practised. The committee consisted of Messrs. A. M. Stevenson, H. M. Orahood, L. M. Cuthbert, Clinton Reed, and E. M. Cranston. After being adopted by the Bar Association, these resolutions were presented to all the important courts sitting in Denver and by them ordered spread upon their records.

In addition, the committee adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That as an expression of our sympathy with those who, bound by closer ties to the late Edward Oliver Wolcott, have the heavier burden of affliction to bear in his death, a suitable engrossed copy of this memorial be forwarded to the Hon. Henry R. Wolcott (the best beloved, the most unselfish of brothers, and the staunchest of friends), with the request that it be preserved in the archives of the family as a testimonial to the enduring worth of the deceased from those among whom and for whom he labored during the best years of his eventful and honorable career.

The Bar Association expressed itself as follows:

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

"A mighty memory has gone
From the full volume of the hour,

The less a majesty passed on
Than something measureless of pow'r;
A spirit missing from the page
That yet incarnateth the song;
A presence parted from the stage,
Though moves the drama still along."

A masterful force, a mighty intellect, an indomitable spirit, "something measureless of pow'r" has passed on.

Entering upon the active duties of his profession, holding his first public office, and first coming into public notice coincidentally with the admission of Colorado as a State into the Union, the development and growth of Edward Oliver Wolcott kept pace with the advancement of the State, and the fortunes and misfortunes, the successes and reverses, the welfare and the troubles of the man and the State have been so intermingled and commingled that the life of the one is the history of the other.

He brought to the discharge of the duties imposed upon him as lawyer, statesman, and diplomat commanding talents such as few are blessed with, and a rigid, resolute devotion to principle which was his by nature, by inheritance, and by training.

In every walk of life he was an indefatigable, untiring worker. As a student he so absorbed and assimilated the wisdom and knowledge of the sages that he passed rapidly from the class of learners to that of teacher, scholar, and leader. Ambitious to achieve, he excelled by virtue of his own personality, genius, and talents. His motto was ever "*Spes sibi quisque.*"

As a lawyer he had the rare gift of adapting fundamental principles to the elucidation of points in issue, and could establish precedents with greater effect than less gifted men could follow them. He was no less successful in convincing judges than in persuading juries.

As a statesman he brought to his aid a thorough training in polemical and political science and a far-seeing, almost prophetic insight into the effect of political events, inspired by a patriotic love of his country and his State.

As a diplomat in negotiations with the representatives of foreign powers, who for generations have been trained in all the subtle arts of diplomacy, he more than held his own, met guile with frankness, overcame prejudice by the charming grace and courtesy of his demeanor, and displayed a knowledge of the resources and politics of foreign countries as novel as it was surprising.

His whole career, social, political, and professional, was illumined by his strong and marked individuality. Controlled by the courage of his convictions he was always aggressive and never on the defensive. Often upon the losing side, he was ever unconquered. A leader of parties, neither the declarations of principles nor the will of even a majority could induce him to abandon what he thought his rightful position. Whether it were a victorious army or a forlorn hope that responded to his call, he was ever in the front.

With it all, he was master of an attractive and engaging manner and delivery that was captivating even when it was resented; of a sparkling wit that was not tempered with bitterness; of an occasional shaft of sarcasm that was not tipped with envy or malice, and of a wonderful gift of eloquence which made him *facile princeps* among the orators of his day. *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, with equal facility he won the affections of his allies and compelled the admiration of his enemies.

In every relation he was a great force. By birth, instinct, and education, under all circumstances, he was a leader of thought, a commander of success, a ruler of men.

His character was complex and his abilities extraordinary. He hated shams and despised hypocrisy. He cherished his friends and defied his enemies. Perfect he was not, but those who knew him best, knew his great worth and were proud of his friendship.

The memory of his attractiveness and his magnetic qualities may die with those of us who have come within the circle of their influence, but the forces which he has set in motion will actuate and influence the conduct of heroes yet unborn, of leaders now undreamed of.

May we reverentially have confident belief that by virtue of the divine spirit of immortality, the wonderful gifts which distinguished Edward Oliver Wolcott from all others are not lost, but that in another and better realm they are still used for noble purposes.

"He passes silent to his peers
In that still chamber dim and vast
Where sit, invincible of years,
The uncrowned monarchs of the past;
A grander embassy to know,
In that far country overhead,

Than soul inheriteth here below,—
The white-robed senate of the dead."

Respectfully submitted,
A. M. STEVENSON,
H. M. ORAHOOD,
L. M. CUTHBERT,
CLINTON REED,
E. M. CRANSTON,
Committee.

The resolutions were presented to the United States District Court, Judge Moses Hallett presiding, November 25, 1905, by Hon. Earl M. Cranston, United States District Attorney. In bringing them to the attention of the court, Mr. Cranston said:

There are many in this State to whom Senator Wolcott was more than a merely valuable citizen, more than a distinguished member of the bar, more than a political leader to be followed, and more even than a great statesman to be honored. He was to us a friend beloved always. And if we seek the reason for his pre-eminence in all these things we cannot find it, I think, in his great intellectual powers alone, although these moved as rapidly and as brilliantly as the flash of the lightning. Nor can we find it, I think, in his wit, which was as nimble and as warm as a sunbeam. And not even in his intense personal magnetism, which held men to him as irresistibly as gravitation draws all things to the centre of the earth. I believe the secret of his great success lay in his intense manliness and his courage. And if this courage sometimes angered or temporarily embittered those whom he opposed, it is equally true that always, always, it stood as a bulwark of defence for his friends, whom he never dishonored or betrayed in any way. The loyalty of our friend to old associations was most marked. It leaped over all the years across the miles of distance, to the old New England hearthstone, where the Puritan father and mother sat in the bright light of his affection as long as they lived. And so we say that the strong points in the character of Senator Wolcott were his perfect manliness, his devotion to his friends, his courage, his filial affection, and a personal winsomeness that warmed and charmed every circle in which he ever sat. Intellectually accurate and honest in all his methods, he never paltered and he never quibbled, and he was impatient with anybody who did

so. He had his faults, perhaps, as all of us have in common, but he had many virtues. And so we say, Peace to his ashes and all honor to his memory.

Judge Hallett responded:

I believe that Mr. Wolcott in his lifetime enjoyed the esteem and commendation of his associates at the bar, and it is gratifying on this occasion to have their sentiments reiterated in respect to his ability and character as a statesman and as a lawyer. It is appropriate that this record should be made in this forum, where he was often seen and heard. I respond to the sentiments of the bar in the fullest degree. The resolution as presented by Mr. Cranston will be entered of record in the Circuit Court.

Memorial services were not held in the Supreme Court of the State until February 6, 1906, almost a year after Mr. Wolcott's death, when there was another pronounced outpouring of affection for the man and of admiration for his qualities of head and heart. The committee resolutions were presented by Mr. Cuthbert, and were adopted and ordered to be spread on the minutes of the court. Mr. Cuthbert's address was a careful study of Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer, and deserves preservation in its entirety. He said:

In the death of Edward Oliver Wolcott the bar of this State has lost one of its most brilliant lights.

Favored by nature with marked abilities, he added to those gifts the experience of a life which, though ending in its very prime, was full of energy and intellectual vigor.

With all the promises for the future which talent and genius could give, how sad was this death, in a foreign land, and before the completion of his life-work! What thoughts of life and its possibilities must have coursed through his rapid-thinking mind, as he lay upon that lonely deathbed in the south of France!

"Oh, what hadst thou to do with cruel death,
Who wast so full of life, or death with thee,
That thou shouldst die before thou hadst grown old?"

It was as a lawyer, engaged in active and engrossing practice, that most of us first knew him and learned to appreciate and admire his masterful qualities; and while his later years

were spent in the broader fields of national affairs, his training and education at the bar were always the governing influence of his life. He acquired the admirable art of presenting a case with such clearness and exactness as to carry conviction in the mere statement; thereby illustrating the remark of a great lawyer, "that a case is won, not so much by labored and elaborate argument and eloquence, as by the clearness with which it is put by counsel before the court or jury."

His preparation of a case was always thorough and effective, and he possessed, in a high degree, the faculty of discrimination, and of knowing how to utilize the labor of his assistants. By reversing an ancient and time-honored maxim, and "never doing himself what he could get some one else to do equally well," he was enabled to accomplish more in the way of work than most men could, under similar circumstances; whereby he was enabled to concentrate his energies, with splendid success, upon the vital features of the case in hand.

There was in his manner, in the quickness of his perception, in his grasp of a situation, a subtle and indescribable element which distinguished him from other men. There was a wit peculiarly his own; a rapidity of retort; a promptitude to meet every adverse situation or proposition, which he alone possessed, and added to these indefinable qualities there was a sincerity and force which never failed to impress the individual or tribunal to which he addressed himself.

There has certainly been no man at this bar whose personal characteristics counted for as much as his. His power of eloquence won for him a national reputation. He could sway, with irresistible force, an audience of thousands—exciting sympathy or evoking ridicule, or making those rapid transitions from seriousness to gayety which are so effective in a public speaker; but always carrying conviction, and winning the enthusiastic admiration of his hearers.

His power of sarcasm was withering; but it took strong provocation to call it forth. His dominant characteristic was his magnetic force and effectiveness, whether in addressing an individual or an audience. And combined with all these there was, deep in his heart, a strong and abiding sympathy with his fellow-men, affection for his friends, and loyalty and patriotic devotion to his State and country.

No man could attain the eminence which he reached in the professional and political world, without being subjected to criticism, and even, at times, to bitter partisan attack and hostility;

and his vigorous and aggressive character secured for him a full and, perhaps, undeserved measure of such treatment.

This is no occasion for a discussion of the merits or demerits of personal criticism. The shadow of death has cast its mantle over this great career, and the voice of censure is hushed in the presence of that messenger who, sooner or later, summons us all to a bar where justice and right, in the truest sense, are administered.

It is the natural disposition of men to speak well of those who are dead. This inclination is often conducive to unwarranted, and, at times, exaggerated, flattery; and the critic of the living often becomes the eulogist of the dead. What is more pathetic than

> "To hear the world applaud the hollow ghost,
> Which blamed the living man,"

as Matthew Arnold expresses it? This spirit of appreciation —the desire to see and remember only what was good and true and beautiful in one whose career is ended—is, however, to my mind, a virtuous trait, and a tribute to the kindly instinct of man.

In the career of him, toward whom our thoughts are at this time directed, are found qualities of the most remarkable and admirable character; qualities which not only made him the great and representative man that he was, but which have stamped his record and memory indelibly upon the history of his time. His usefulness and effectiveness were not confined to the limits of his State, or even to those of the United States Senate, where his influence was felt to a marked degree. His abilities and accomplishments secured for him an international recognition—through which there was reflected upon his State and his country the greatest credit and honor.

As a lawyer his career was eminently brilliant and successful; as a statesman he won laurels both at home and abroad; and as a citizen his aims and efforts were always for the welfare and betterment of his fellow-men and his country.

Personally he possessed a wonderful magnetism, which drew men to him, irresistibly and firmly; and, when cemented by that kindly spirit and generosity which were his great characteristics, the friendships of his life became strong and abiding.

The later years of his life were saddened by a feeling that his efforts and aims had not always been justly or fairly

estimated or appreciated by the people of the State which he loved so dearly, and whose welfare he so conscientiously and persistently considered. But to many who were close to him, it was apparent that there had come to him, with those sentiments—depressing as they were—a softening of character, a broadening of sympathy and consideration, and a deeper respect for the views and opinions of those from whom he differed. His later years were certainly

> "Mellowed and soften'd as with sunset glow,
> A golden day's decline."

I am grateful for the opportunity of presenting to this court the memorial of the Bar Association, and of paying this tribute to the memory of a man who has done so much to elevate the profession of which he was such a distinguished member.

Chief Justice Gabbert replied for the court:

By those who knew Edward Oliver Wolcott well, or are familiar with the history of our State, his life-work as a citizen, lawyer, and statesman will at once be recognized in the summary of his career epitomized in the memorial of the Bar Association. He came to Colorado in his early manhood and shortly thereafter actively engaged in the practice of his profession. He moulded his own career; he did not wait for opportunity to come to him, but created it himself. He did not wait for his ship to come in, but when he discovered its sails hovering on the horizon of his life, uncertain and wavering in its course, he reached out, grasped, and securely moored it to the shore of success. He was trained in his profession, but no man becomes a great lawyer by training alone. In addition he must possess some of those peculiar characteristics of intellect which enable him, by discipline, to grasp and solve legal problems. Nature was kind to Edward Oliver Wolcott in this respect. He was wonderfully successful as a lawyer, but in a great measure this success was due to the fact that he thoroughly mastered and understood his cases, and thus he was enabled to make others comprehend them also. With the advent of his adopted State into the Union his public career began, and continued almost without interruption for a quarter of a century. It was marked with a degree of success at home and abroad seldom achieved by any man.

Except to gratify a laudable ambition he had no need to become a United States Senator in order to realize further success. His pre-eminence was then established. In the law, in business, as a leader, as a citizen, he stood prominent. His sphere of usefulness would have been extended without the Senatorial toga. But the additional honor thus conferred was fully reciprocated by the services he rendered his State and the nation.

The lifelong friends of the departed are his best judges. They knew his good qualities and were acquainted with his frailties. The chance acquaintance, the world at large, were more apt to give heed to the latter; but when intimate friends who understood the motives which prompted his action and who clave to him at all times, testify to his many admirable qualities, we can rest assured and can truly say he possessed many noble attributes of character.

IN MASS MEETING

Probably the most general expression of the grief of the people of Denver was heard in a meeting held at the Broadway Theatre on the anniversary of Mr. Wolcott's birth, March 26, 1905. This ceremony was under the auspices of the Colorado Club, but there was no effort to confine attendance to members of the organization. The proceedings were non-partisan in most respects. John W. Springer presided. The programme was as follows:

"In Heavenly Love Abiding" *Mendelssohn*

DOUBLE QUARTETTE

Invocation

REV. FRANK T. BAYLEY, D.D.

Hymn—"Christ for the World we Sing"

DOUBLE QUARTETTE AND AUDIENCE

"The Citizen"

JUDGE JOHN CAMPBELL

Solo—"One Sweetly Solemn Thought" *Ambrose*

MRS. W. J. WHITEMAN

"The Lawyer"

HON. JOEL F. VAILE

Trio—"Lift Thine Eyes" (*from the Elijah*)

MISSES DAVIS, WHITEMAN, AND ROST

"The Statesman"

HON. A. M. STEVENSON

Solo—"God Shall Wipe Away All Tears" *Sullivan*
MRS. OTIS B. SPENCER

"In Memoriam"
HON. JOHN W. SPRINGER

Hymn—"Lead, Kindly Light"
DOUBLE QUARTETTE

Hymn—"My Country 'T is of Thee"
DOUBLE QUARTETTE AND AUDIENCE

Benediction
REV. THOMAS NELSON HASKELL

How appropriate it was that the hymn "Christ for the World" was included in the services will be better appreciated after it is explained that it is the production of Mr. Wolcott's father, Dr. Samuel Wolcott. This fact was of course understood at the time, although but few in the audience could have known the interest Mr. Wolcott had always felt in his father's poetical creations. The hymn is one of Dr. Wolcott's best, and the account of the services would be incomplete without it. It follows:

CHRIST FOR THE WORLD

Christ for the world we sing;
The world to Christ we bring,
With loving zeal;
The poor, and them that mourn,
The faint and overborne,
Sin-sick and sorrow-worn,
Whom Christ doth heal.

Christ for the world we sing;
The world to Christ we bring,
With fervent prayer;
The wayward and the lost,
By restless passions tossed,
Redeemed at countless cost,
From dark despair.

Christ for the world we sing;
The world to Chirst we bring,
With one accord;
With us the work to share,

With us reproach to dare,
With us the cross to bear,
For Christ our Lord.

Christ for the world we sing!
The world to Christ we bring,
With joyful song;
The new-born souls, whose days,
Reclaimed from error's ways,
Inspired with hope and praise,
To Christ belong.

At the right of the stage was placed a picture of Mr. Wolcott appropriately draped. The boxes were occupied by the members of the Wolcott family, including Rev. William E. Wolcott, Herbert W. Wolcott, Miss Anna L. Wolcott, and Mrs. Frederick O. Vaille, brothers and sisters of the dead Senator, and several nephews and nieces. Governor McDonald and the Legislature as a body were present. The theatre was crowded from pit to gallery.

Justice John Campbell, of the State Supreme Court, delivered the first address, speaking of Mr. Wolcott as "The Citizen." It formed an extended commentary upon his life, furnishing a character study of value. Excerpts follow:

When the people of Colorado, by their chosen representatives, twice elected to the United States Senate Edward Oliver Wolcott, they honored themselves quite as much as they did him. That he was not continuously kept there must not be interpreted as a lack of appreciation by his constituents, or that he had not faithfully represented their interests. For all concede that with distinguished ability and rare fidelity he discharged the duties, and maintained the dignity, of his high office.

It is but natural and seemly to speak kindly of the dead. In the presence of death, human passions are stilled, jealousies buried, rivalries forgotten, bitterness and vituperations cease.

If the masterful man whose life went out in a foreign land, and whose ashes have just been deposited in his native soil, had fashioned the programme for his own memorial services and supervised the addresses that are to be made, the editorial blue pencil would be ruthlessly drawn across every word and sentence

that savored of fulsome flattery or sycophancy, and the award of virtues to which he made no claim would be more distasteful to his honest and discriminating mind than to be accused of offences of which he was not guilty.

The prime quality of a good citizen is integrity. In the fiercest controversies in which Mr. Wolcott engaged, in the bitterest political battles that centred around him, in legal and business dealings, no whisper against his personal integrity ever reached my ears, and I do not now recall that his enemies—of whom all great leaders usually have a full quota—ever publicly challenged his honesty. They might, and did, disagree with his policies, question the wisdom of his political doctrines, and dissent from his judgment, but his personal integrity was conceded by his most virulent foe.

He would be the last man to defend or commend for the imitation of young men, some of the things he did, and other things he was accused of doing, but which he did not do. He was no Pharisee, and the halo of saintship had never been authoritatively conferred upon him, or claimed by him. But the friends who knew him best—and now that the hot passions aroused by political controversies have cooled, enemies also—will testify to his intellectual honesty, his unbending integrity in the various affairs of life.

I do not intend to criticise, or rebuke, or introduce a discordant note, or assume to pass judgment on any one's motives, but I cannot withhold reference to the superb moral heroism displayed by Mr. Wolcott in 1896, when apparently his entire party and his State were about to cut loose from the national political organization to which he belonged. It is so easy to drift with the current, but Mr. Wolcott made up his mind to stick to his party. This determination meant much to him. The breaking of long existing and pleasant social and political friendships was involved, and the almost certain loss of office was one of the minor penalties that stared him in the face. But he did not hesitate.

Having decided what his duty to State and nation was, he threw his whole soul into the fight for principle, never turned back, never apologized, never asked for, or gave, quarter. Because of its relation to a national election in which the paramount issue was a policy of international importance, this act of Mr. Wolcott's centred upon him the eyes of the entire country and made him a national character.

Henry Clay, though a great compromiser; Blaine, the target

of abuse and party hatred; Randall, charged with misrepresenting a selfish policy of his immediate constituents; Jackson, the typical spoilsman, each and all were courageous men. The people trusted them, and though all did not achieve the object of their great ambition, each one was a statesman, and all are dear to the hearts of their countrymen. In this list of courageous men, Senator Wolcott's name belongs.

Sincerity, the very antithesis of demagoguism, was one of his dominant characteristics. No one who heard him in public or conversed with him in private could doubt the sincerity of his convictions. It rang out in all his utterances because it permeated every fibre of his brain and saturated every tissue of his heart. The arts and insincerity, the hesitation and caution, of the "gum shoe" politician, constituted no part of his equipment. Fragile glass could not sustain the weight of his convictions on questions of governmental policy. His feet were planted on solid rock, and he made no attempt to muffle the sound of his footsteps.

Our friend did not escape the common experience of a great leader. He had his complement of fair-weather friends, and felt the sting of ingratitude that is so hard even for the strong and self-reliant to bear.

But while the relation of true friendship lasted, how royally did he reward his friends with charming confidences and material aid, and how valiantly he protected and stood by them against every attack! That he was imposed upon, as President Grant was, and sometimes shielded bad men, after the world knew their real character, is true, but so long as his own belief in the friendship endured, nothing could induce him to withdraw his protecting arm.

Pious cant he abhorred, and meaningless generalities avoided. The good things he did he would have us remember, and only those; for, though he never paraded his religious beliefs, his godly father's religion was for him the eternal verity.

Hon. Joel F. Vaile, the former law partner of Senator Wolcott, spoke of him as "The Lawyer." He told of the dead Senator's career at the bar; of his unimpeachable integrity; of his brilliancy and wonderful oratorical powers, and read selections from his speeches. In part, Mr. Vaile said:

There are those in this audience whose acquaintance with

Senator Wolcott long antedates mine. Graduating in 1871 from the law school of Harvard University, he came at once to Colorado. And his whole professional career has had its centre of action here. When I first met him, twenty-three years ago, he was already, at the age of thirty-four, a commanding figure at the bar of Colorado and of the West. He was then participating in most of the important cases tried in the State and Federal courts, in this jurisdiction. He was then performing the duties of general counsel of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company, and soon after was appointed general counsel, and held that position to the end of his days. He was then the representative of the Burlington Railway System in Colorado, and so continued throughout his life. Such positions and responsibilities are obtained, and retained, not by favor, but by worth. It is because for value received, full value is given in efficient service.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of phenomenal intellectual powers. Facile and sure in his mental operations, I have never known any other man who could so quickly grasp all the features of a complicated problem; who could so readily unravel all the tangled threads of a difficult subject and weave them into a fabric displaying their logical relations and significance. He had the power of rapid and accurate generalization. This quality made him not only powerful in argument, but invaluable as a counsellor. To use an expression of Huxley's, his intellect was ready, like a steam engine, for any kind of work, to spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind.

That Mr. Wolcott had, in an unusual degree, the power of moving eloquence, is a fact probably well known to you all. This faculty was manifested alike in the judicial forum, on the floor of the Senate, and on the political hustings. But I conceive that the real basis of that eloquence has not been sufficiently appreciated. It is to be found expressed in the words of old John Milton:

"True eloquence," says Milton, "I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others; when such a one would speak, his words, like to many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

Mr. Wolcott's addresses, legal, Senatorial, political, or gen-

eral, were marked by this impress of truth. He always spoke from conviction. He was never in the slightest degree a time-server. He spoke the truth as he saw it. It is here you will find the main structure of his power in address, a structure indeed embellished by a playful fancy, a ready wit, and a magnetic presence.

In considering Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer there is one characteristic of the man that must rank above all others, and that is the high standard of professional duty and honor, which he always upheld. The temptations to lower such standard come often with great force to the lawyer representing numerous and large and varied interests, and especially in running the strenuous pace set by this money-making age. Yet in these twenty years of close professional association with Mr. Wolcott I have never heard a suggestion, affirmative or by consent, of any act which would fall below the highest plane of professional integrity.

Hon. A. M. Stevenson dealt with Senator Wolcott as a statesman, saying in part:

It is difficult for one who enjoyed Senator Wolcott's friendship and was proud of it, to speak of him only as a statesman. There is something so impersonal in the subject assigned me that I hope to be excused if I wander away from it somewhat in the little that I may say on this occasion. I had, in fact, hoped that these exercises might have been delayed until we could secure the attendance here of one or more of his colleagues in the Senate, who would best be able to speak of his career as a statesman.

It was in the closer personal relations of life that I knew him best, and it is of the charm, grace, and attractiveness of the man and his personality that I should prefer to speak.

Now that he is gone, those who never agreed with him in life will admit that he deserved the high place which he attained and always held. He was the peer of any Senator. His friends and intimates at Washington were the best and greatest of our statesmen. When he addressed the Senate every member was in his seat, and the public galleries and those of the diplomatic corps and of official Washington were always filled.

We cannot on this occasion follow in detail his work as a legislator. He accomplished much for his State and was untiring in his devotion to its interests. He went to Washington thoroughly imbued with the ideas and sentiments of the people

of the West, and especially those of his own State, upon economic questions, and at once became a leader both in counsel and in debate upon all subjects connected with the monetary system of his country. He believed then that the free and unrestricted coinage of silver by the independent action of the United States was possible. His speeches in the Senate advocating this monetary policy will always be classed among the most convincing arguments in behalf of the double standard.

Senator Wolcott was always a partisan, but he never allowed his partisanship to betray him into unwarranted and unjustifiable attacks upon those who had carried the banner of the Confederacy. He recognized the bravery and chivalry of the men of the South and when the war was over, it was, in fact, over with him. He recognized that we are all Americans and his efforts were ever directed toward bringing about a better feeling between the sections. He wished to see our country again united and all the people of all States striving for a common destiny.

During President Harrison's administration there was introduced in Congress a bill commonly known as the Force Bill. . . Mr. Wolcott believed the bill injurious to the South and therefore unjust to the country. He opposed it and brought all his wonderful powers of oratory and organization to bear to accomplish its defeat. The good feeling between the sections was thus cemented. Those days of distrust and hatred have passed away and we are once more a harmonious and united country.

Senator Wolcott was a partisan, but he was a partisan for what he thought the right, and the will of even a majority of his party could not make him abandon what he considered his rightful position.

It is only minds like his that can see beyond the passion of the hour, and courage like his that can stand, alone if need be, for the right.

He was a Protectionist. In all contests for Free Trade or for Tariff for Revenue, he stood for Protection. He looked beyond the infant days of Colorado to the time when her great resources should need the aid of Protection to insure their development. He believed that the policy of Protection was the best for all the people of the country.

In all his public career he retained the friendship and affection of those highest in the counsels of the nation. President McKinley loved and trusted him; he was the intimate personal friend of our great Secretary of State. He knew the men of

affairs and statecraft in the leading nations of Europe and they respected and believed in him.

Honors were heaped upon him wherever he went, but no honors were his that did not honor his State—the State that he loved and whose people now, too late, all honor and respect his memory and appreciate his virtues.

He was a manly man; he hated shams and fought in the open. He was a loyal friend and he has left us a legacy of kind and generous deeds.

The State mourns the loss of her most brilliant statesman; his associates mourn the loss of his wise counsels and generous and hearty sympathy, and I am bereft of a friend.

John W. Springer, as President of the Club, delivered the memorial address proper, saying:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour,—
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

In the hush of the eventide, March 1, 1905, a message was flashed over the fields of France, and under the waves of the Atlantic, and on over the Alleghanies—to the sunny peaks of the Rockies:

"Edward Oliver Wolcott died this day in Monte Carlo."

What sorrowful news for all Colorado! There is not a man, woman, or child within the confines of this commonwealth, but knew this masterful man—the Alexander Hamilton of the West.

His scholastic attainments, his intrepid and fearless courage, his lofty patriotism, coupled with an irresistible personality, supplemented by his bewitching oratorical ability, made him the peer of any man during that Senatorial period; and Colorado became famous as Edward Oliver Wolcott went up and down the land, swaying tens of thousands with his matchless powers of oratory, and brilliancy of diplomatic address.

I shall never forget my introduction to Senator Wolcott, in 1896, in Colorado. As I look back, those truly were strenuous times. The old party was rent in twain, and any man who would not cheer for "16 to 1" was not only considered disloyal to his State, but an enemy of his country. How well do I remember my feelings when I saw this American statesman de-

serted by thousands of his lifetime friends and partisans, almost single-handed and alone, go up and down the Rocky Mountain region, surrounded by what has fittingly been called the "Old Guard," pleading with the people to fearlessly cling to that magnificent Republican (our martyred President), William McKinley.

I followed, as a stranger, this great Colorado champion of the old Republican party. I heard him denounce this "will-o'-the-wisp" fantasy of cheap money. I saw him fall, a victim of this State's delusion. And when I look back and remember the tens of thousands of dollars of his own earnings he poured out with a lavish hand; to say nothing of the weeks, months, and years, he labored like a dray-horse for the "Old Party" and its undying principles, I thank God that is was my choice and my pleasure to stand by him in every succeeding fight, and to do my best to aid him, in 1903, to return to the Senate of the United States, which was owing to him more certainly than to any man within the borders of the Centennial State.

Edward Oliver Wolcott's record is made up, and his life-work closed. We loved him in life, and we mourn his untimely death. Truly, it is a trite saying that "death loves a shining mark." With only a few years over half a century in his life's journey, with many a task uncompleted, many a hope crushed, and many bitter memories, his proud spirit reluctantly gave up the unequal contest, and had he lived to-day would have marked the fifty-fourth mile-post in life's journey.

May all the good influences of his active life dwell with us and linger in our hearts, as we go hence. And may we take one special lesson from his life and death, and that is—when a public servant does his duty fearlessly, tell him you appreciate it, while he is living. A smile, a word of appreciation, a hearty hand-shake, an earthly reward for service well rendered, is worth all the eulogiums, the monuments, and the tears shed by multitudes, after one is dead. A man needs help while he is alive—not praise after the cold hand of death has been laid upon him. Adopt the principle of speaking well of a man, or of saying nothing, and learn by heart the words of Will Carleton:

"Boys flying kites, haul in their white-winged birds.
You can't do that way, when you 're flying words.
Thoughts unexpressed may sometimes fall back dead,
But God Himself can't stop them when they 're said."

His political vindication was his just desert. It was denied him here; it will be meted out over there. As we take a parting look at his ennobling features, portrayed upon the canvas beside us, we shall but mirror his great and good deeds upon the tablets of our memory, which shall abide with us. Peace to his ashes, and rest to his soul!

On the 19th of April following, the Board of Directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company adopted the following:

WHEREAS, death has taken from us Mr. Edward Oliver Wolcott, who since the organization of this company has been a member of its board of directors and its general counsel, and prior thereto, throughout nearly all of his professional career, was connected with the legal department of the railroad, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Wolcott served his country with much distinction, and this company with unwavering devotion to duty, and his friends with loyalty and affection, this Board, whose members individually feel the personal loss of a friend, as well as an official associate, desires to give expression, though inadequate, to the high place held by Mr. Wolcott in its esteem, and the deep sense of the loss occasioned by his death. Now, therefore,

Resolved, that the directors of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company do hereby express their great sorrow at the death of the Honorable Edward Oliver Wolcott, who departed this life on the first day of March, 1905.

Mr. Wolcott was for many years a valued member of this Board. He assisted in the organization of the company and since its creation has been its general counsel. He has served the company with exceptional ability for the past nineteen years, and we desire to express our sincere appreciation of his admirable qualities as a man, his great efficiency as the counsel of the company and the head of its legal department, and his valuable aid given to the company in many directions during his long association with it.

The services which he rendered to his State and his country while holding the office of United States Senator make his loss a national one, while his lovable qualities as a man make that loss peculiarly poignant to his relatives and friends.

This memorial is placed of record in the minutes of this Board as a slight tribute to his memory, and the secretary of

this company is directed to send an engrossed copy of this resolution to the Honorable Henry R. Wolcott with assurances to him and his brothers and sisters of our deep sympathy in their day of affliction.

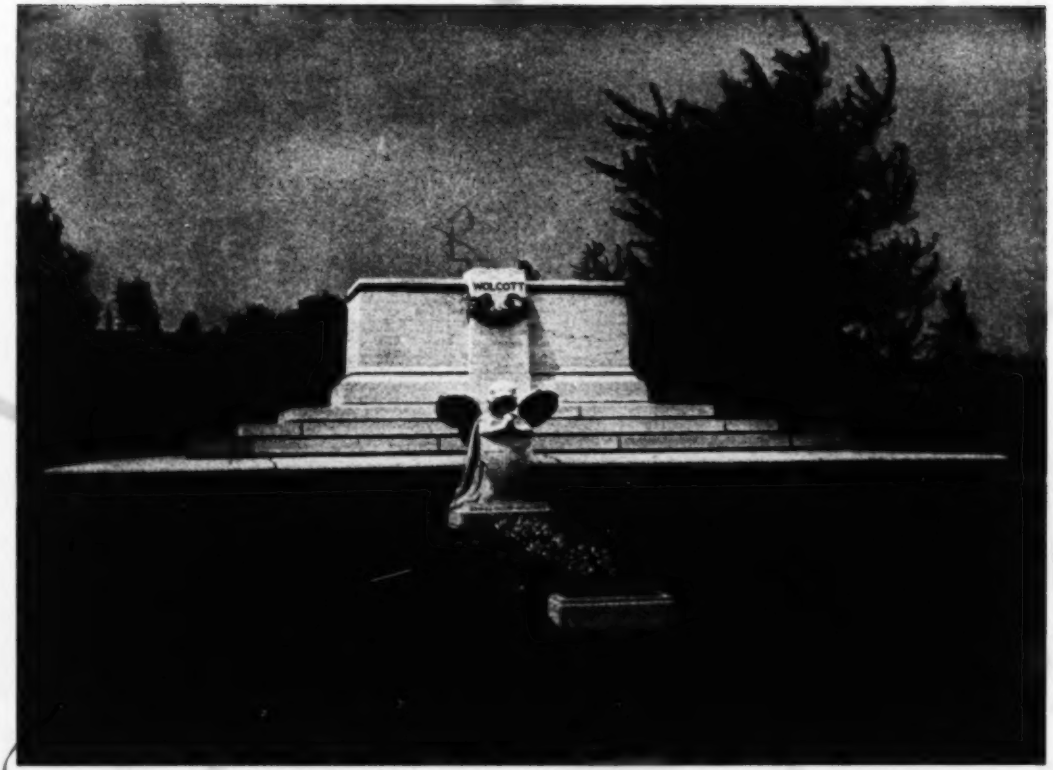
E. T. JEFFERY, *President.*

As further evidence of the good feeling for Mr. Wolcott existing among the officials of the Denver and Rio Grande, the following letter of April 21, 1909, from Traffic Manager A. S. Hughes, is quoted:

My acquaintance with Senator Wolcott runs back a great many years, to early in the seventies, when he was a young lawyer at Georgetown, later District Attorney, and afterward Senator from Clear Creek district. This was followed by a very pleasant association upon his removal to Denver, through our long connection with the Denver and Rio Grande, which began with both of us in 1880 or 1881. The Senator's brilliant attainments, his fame as an orator, and his distinguished career at the bar, are too well known to require comment from me. While I was not of his political faith, at the same time, in common with many others similarly situated, I—all of us, indeed, were pleased when he was made United States Senator for Colorado, as we knew in advance that he would attain the prominence which was accorded him in the Senate.

LOOKING TO THE END

Many of Mr. Wolcott's friends believe that when he left Denver the last time in November, 1904, he realized that probably he never would return. During his stay there he took a street-car ride to Fairmont Cemetery, and after looking it over and making a general inspection of the surroundings he struck out across country and walked back to the city three or four miles away. Arrived at his home, he spoke much about the burial-place and told his friends that he desired to be interred there when he died. "Give me the blue skies for my canopy and the old Rockies for my monument!" he exclaimed with exuberance. Apparently he spoke in jest, but his listeners now believe that he foresaw the approaching end. Later, he told other friends that he desired that his body should rest near New York, and there his ashes lie.



SENATOR WOLCOTT'S MONUMENT IN WOODLAWN CEMETERY, NEW YORK.

There are other evidences that at that period his mind was occupied largely with the possibility of early dissolution. His intimate friend A. M. Stevenson relates that on one occasion during this visit Mr. Wolcott went into the Denver Club just as he (Stevenson) was about to depart. He asked Stevenson to remain, and when the latter pleaded an engagement he urged him so persistently that ultimately he consented. "I want to talk with you," said Mr. Wolcott. He and Mr. Stevenson then sat down and went over many matters together. Toward the close of the interview Mr. Wolcott said, addressing his friend familiarly: "Now, Stevey, I am going away, and I doubt very much whether I ever shall come back. Henry and I are going abroad for the benefit of his health, but the truth is that I am the sicker man of the two. I feel that present conditions cannot long continue, and, as I have said, I don't believe I shall ever see you again."

Mr. Stevenson remonstrated with him, but with little effect, for later in the same day, at his own residence, as Mr. Stevenson relates the story, Mr. Wolcott brought up the subject again. Mr. Chisholm was then present, and Mr. Wolcott was making preparations to get away. He had been going over his will, and he tossed the document over to Chisholm, asking him to put it away. He then told Mr. Chisholm that he had not forgotten him in the will and suggested that he should read it. This Chisholm declined to do and the document was sealed up.

Already two memorials have been erected to the memory of Mr. Wolcott, one of them a monument in Woodlawn Cemetery in New York, where his ashes are interred, and the other in Denver. The location of the burial-place is a solemnly attractive one, and the monument erected there by the loving hands of his brother is an elaborate and beautiful piece of marble, attesting at once the durability of the dead man's name and the splendor of his fame. The inscription on the head-stone is a bare notation of name and date of birth, as follows:

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT,
BORN MARCH 26, 1848—DIED MARCH 1, 1905.

The foot-stone contains the following:

"Warm summer sun shine kindly here,
Warm southern wind blow softly here,
Green sod above lie light, lie light;—
Good-night,—dear heart—good-night,—
Good-night."

The other memorial, the one in Denver, is a life-size portrait in a stained glass window in the Colorado State Capitol. It portrays Mr. Wolcott seated in reposeful attitude in his library, and is a very pleasing picture. The window is in the rear of the Lieutenant-Governor's seat in the Senate Chamber, and is 5 x 9½ feet in size. It was prepared on an order from the State, given very soon after the Senator's death, and was placed in position in March, 1906, just a year after that event.

WOLCOTT STAINED-GLASS WINDOW IN THE STATE CAPITOL AT DENVER.

Characteristics

WOLCOTT THE MAN

THE most striking characteristic of Mr. Wolcott was bigness. Tall and well rounded out, he rose physically above the average man, and, whether taller or otherwise bigger of body, his eyes were more expressive; his grip was stronger; his step was more energetic; his language readier and more to the point; his grasp of events quicker and more comprehensive; his generosity greater; his follies more extreme. Whatever he did, good or bad, he did on an unusual scale. There was no "half-way house" on his road. He must needs be a leader, never a follower. He must mingle and compete with the best and strongest, and surpass them. His contest was altogether with the sturdy; he found no pleasure in outrunning the slow, in outfighting the weak, in outwitting the dullard. He won fame as a lawyer; he assumed the leadership of a great State; he forced his way into the Senate and there soon ranked with the foremost in that body of established leaders; he compelled a partially unwilling National Administration to keep the promise of its party in the interest of International Bimetallism, and he came near to revolutionizing the world by forcing the double monetary standard upon it. He controlled men and dictated policies. He was a man of achievement, not the mere man of words that the popular speaker generally is. He possessed moral courage far beyond the ordinary. His intellectual processes were swift, independent, and accurate; his mental vision broad and keen—penetrating, comprehensive. He always thought and acted on a large scale; he seemed to see all sides and all phases of a subject at the same time and at the first glance.

Baseness and meanness were foreign to his nature—pettiness quite antipodal. He possessed such magnetism that involuntarily men were drawn to him. He was impulsive, but tenacious; intuitive, but exact; quick, but strong and determined. In many respects he was what men call a genius. And if he possessed the good qualities of the genius he possessed also some of the bad. Was ever there a genius who had not eaten of the tree of knowledge of both good and evil?

It is not intended that this shall be a record of the man's deeds only along the lines of the world's approval. At times he diverged from those lines, and the story of his life would not be correctly told without recognition of these delinquencies; he would not himself have it so.

What, then, were his faults?

Their enumeration will not require great space. They were largely social, and were of a character which in another age and another land would scarcely have been considered such. He drank with his friends, and occasionally drank more than he should; he smoked excessively at times, and he was fond of a game of chance. He swore upon occasion. In addition, it must be said that there were some phases of manner and temper which had their disagreeable aspect. Often he was petulant and brusque, and generally he was arbitrary in disposition. While ordinarily polite and agreeable under right conditions, he could be very exacting. He did not drink regularly, and he drank excessively only at rare intervals. He would continue for months without the use of either liquor or tobacco. Frequently he would say that he would not smoke or drink for a given time, and he would invariably refrain for the specified time, notwithstanding it frequently covered many months. His excessive betting was also spasmodic and infrequent.

Whether all these characteristics or habits were serious faults or necessarily faults at all must depend upon the point of view from which they are observed. His brusqueness of manner, for instance, unquestionably was the result of preoccupation and impatience due to the fact that the minds of others did not keep pace with his own. If he

appeared arbitrary it was because of his conviction of right in any position he might take on a subject. To some his brusqueness and autocratic course might easily appear as natural consequences of his busy life and preoccupied mind. To others, to subordinates working under his direction, or to his equals engaged on the same task but differing from him, they seemed unreasonable and unnecessary.

But all must agree on the one point that, whatever his shortcomings or derelictions, they may be traced to his temperament, which, nervous in high degree, caused him to appear varying, when in reality he was steadfast, and led him to do many things merely for the purpose of relieving a strained mental or physical state.

It is no more the purpose to excuse these derelictions, so far as they were such, than to conceal them. Nor is there any intention of parading them in an attractive way for the enticement of others. It is not to be contended that they were any part of the man's greatness. Their necessary effect was to lessen his capacity and detract from his prestige. If he accomplished all that he did while indulging these propensities, he would have done more if he had kept them in complete subjugation.

Indeed, what could not Ed Wolcott have been but for the social pastimes which stole away his time? But, on the other hand, does not such a nature demand relaxation, and did he not do wonders despite his excesses?

And would he have been Ed Wolcott if he had been different from what he was?

He was a man of the world. He lived the life of the man of the world. He played his part both night and day, and he led the game all the time.

A man of the world? A man of many worlds—of the political, the official, the business, the literary, the art, the travel, the social, the club world, and of the "about-town" world. He was a part of all these worlds, and he knew them all. His experience was wide, his life crowded.

It is undeniable that Mr. Wolcott spent money freely when engaged in actual political combat, but it should be stated that he always strongly reprobated the corruption of the ballot. Never a niggard, never ungrateful, Mr.

Wolcott gave liberally for all legitimate purposes, and it is possible that inquiry as to legitimacy was not always as scrutinizing as it might have been. He paid the expenses of his campaigns, and, whether during a campaign or at any other time, he did not permit a political supporter to suffer.

Frequent comment has been made upon the fact that Mr. Wolcott was not a man of detail and would not delve as laboriously into the intricacies of a lawsuit or of a piece of legislation as would others. It was not in him to do so, and, indeed, it may be seriously doubted whether, if he had attempted such a course, he would have been as successful as he was. It is not always the man of detail who accomplishes most in life. The proverb tells us that "the penny soul never comes to twopence." There is ever a possibility of holding a small object so near the eye as to shut out all other objects, large or small. Most men have only a limited stock of energy, and if it be exhausted in one direction it will not be found available in another. He utilized the labor of other people, where that course could be pursued as well as not; but not to the disadvantage of client or constituent, for he found no difficulty in adapting the work of others, and he had few equals in discovering the salient points in a given case and in marshalling them for effective presentation. His was a policy of conservation. He did not wear himself out on small matters or on work that was uncongenial, and hence was prepared to deal with large problems when they presented themselves. On the other hand, no one labored more tirelessly over a task that could not be delegated to others. The preparation of his speeches is an example. No toil was too severe, no detail too trifling, for him in that work. Fortunately, he had the capacity for the larger work, and in "passing up" the drudgery of small things he did not thus deprive himself of all opportunity, as has many another who has had the aspirations without the ability of our subject.

To those who knew him only casually, Mr. Wolcott seemed a man without a care. He seldom appeared in public when not in jovial good humor. But, while such was his pre-

vailing disposition, he was not always cheerful nor always in good humor. On the contrary, he not only occasionally was resentful, but often was despondent.

His anger scarcely deserved the name. It generally took the shape of irritation due to impatience with conditions which were not such as his orderly mind demanded. At such times he could be and often was disagreeable to the delinquent. But the storm did not continue long. He did not hold resentment, and when he offended he usually was quick to show contrition, and even to make apology, if the offence called for such a course. In case of prolonged conflict, he would fight on day after day and year after year, but not with personal hatred.

Not so short-lived, but more deep-seated, were his periods of depression. When he became despondent, he would retire from the world, seeing as few people as circumstances would permit, and getting rid of those he did see as expeditiously as he could.

To this tendency to melancholy some of Mr. Wolcott's more intimate friends attribute many of his most pronounced faults and greatest excesses. They say that to such moods invariably could be traced his resort to liquor in unusual quantity. And, pursuing the baneful influence further, they declare that it always was while controlled by liquor that he risked his money foolishly and in excessive sums in the gambling resorts. Following the drinking, there generally was a reaction, and it was then that, with nerves unstrung and everything distorted, he would permit his irritability to get the better of him, causing him to do and say unjust and unkind things. Thus, not only the gambling tendency, but the irascibility and even the drinking itself were due to a mental characteristic such as is not always easily controlled.

At times his periods of despondency seemed irresistible. Possessed of an unusually impressionable nature, he was quick to feel the influence of surrounding conditions. If these were agreeable, he was genial and merry beyond most men. He was easily bored and would not remain in uncongenial company or an unpleasant social atmosphere if he could get away. He was far more quickly discouraged by

adverse conditions than was popularly supposed, and when apparently the situation was beyond control, for a time he would give way to despondency. At other times the mood would take possession of him without apparent reason. But, be the origin of the depression what it might, he occasionally resorted to the use of intoxicants for relief from it, at times going farther than was dictated by prudence. It was on such occasions that he made his record as a "plunger."

This despondent tendency became noticeable to Mr. Wolcott himself when a very young man, and he regarded it as hereditary. We find him mentioning it in his letters from Cambridge while in the law school there, and his Norwich cousin, Mr. A. P. Carroll, who was closely associated with him as a young man, noted the trait when, after obtaining his law degree at Harvard, Ed was preparing to start to Colorado and to enter upon his career. Mr. Carroll says that Ed's grandfather Pope had advanced $500 to him and that it seemed such a paltry sum with which to begin life that, when he was leaving Norwich, he was greatly depressed. "I went with him to the station," says Carroll, "and as we sat outside the depot, overlooking the river, I shall never forget the deep cast-down tone in which he said: 'I feel far more inclined to plunge into the water yonder and end it all than to board the coming train, and face what is before me.'"

Another notable instance of the manifestation of this disposition was observable when in 1896 Mr. Wolcott retired to Wolhurst, practically refusing for days to see any one, because of the state of mind superinduced by the complicated political conditions of the period. He also was much more deeply depressed over the failure of the Bimetallic Commission than the world ever knew. He never recovered from the treatment he received from his fellow-Republicans in 1902–3, when he was ostracized by a large faction and his return to the Senate prevented.

But, while unquestionably it is true that Mr. Wolcott's depressed periods had a vast influence in causing his departure from the beaten paths, they were not entirely re-

sponsible for this course. His was a unique and a varied character, and by no means all of his habits were traceable to any one trait. Excitement seemed essential to him. His love of change was unquenchable. Of an intense nature, his mind must be occupied. He must be looking at or hearing something new; he could not and would not endure the humdrum of the ordinary. The fact that the path was beaten was in itself sufficient to drive him from it in matters of entertainment. Routine was well enough for others, but would not do for him. If he smoked or drank, or played pool, or bought "futures," or poked the enemy in the ribs, he did so largely because there was coming to be too much sameness in life. If awake, he must be doing something, and he never slept so long as there was "something doing." It has been said, and truly, that every moment of his life was lived intensely. He did everything with zeal and with all his soul. He devoured books. If he spoke, he gave utterance to the best in him. If he worked, he worked hard; if he played, he played zealously. He was most loyal to his friends; his enemies he let alone—intensely. If he was for you, he was strongly for you; if against you, he would exert himself to the utmost; he "nailed his enemies to the cross." Success was a passion with him. He always played to win, and in a way all phases of life were a game to him. If he gambled, he "went the limit." When a boy he often attended three church services in one day; after he grew to manhood, he would "take in" three or four theatres in an evening. One has said of him that he had "the intemperate temperament."

Necessarily there must be another side to so tense a nature. Periods of depression were as inevitable as that the pendulum of the clock which swings one way must alternately swing in the other direction.

But, as a rule, the depressed period was comparatively brief. Generally, he was cheerful, frequently jolly. Good nature was his predominating state of mind. Ordinarily, he was the inspiring spirit of any company, and any social occasion in which he long was a participant was sure to be gay. No one enjoyed a jest more than he, and much of his ordinary conversation was in the lighter vein. At home

he was the life of the household, and without him no gathering of his friends was complete.

With all his frailties and all his talents, Ed Wolcott was the most generous, the most magnanimous, the most appreciative, of mortals. He never forsook a friend, and he seldom punished an enemy. He gave lavishly to the unfortunate, and his pity for those in distress knew no bounds. He was frankness itself.

There was no limit to his gratitude. Benefits conferred were never forgot and never unrequited. Indeed, he did not permit any opportunity for manifesting appreciation to pass without availing himself of it. Proof of this statement is found in his attitude toward his father and his brother Henry—indeed in his attitude toward all of his family. He never tired of aiding the younger members of the household, and he joined generously with Henry in providing for the comfort of their father and mother in their declining years.

As with members of the family, so with friends. None of them served him in vain. When convinced of the loyalty of a political follower, no amount of abuse—nothing short of conviction of personal dishonesty—could impair his attachment or diminish his support. This characteristic was tested to the utmost in the trying days of the renaissance of the Republican party of Colorado from 1900 to 1905. Most of the calumniation of him in that time of triumph and tribulation was based upon his retention of certain of his followers in the Federal offices. But he did not let them out. "How can I?" he would ask, and then by way of explanation would add, almost pathetically: "They stood with me in '96, you know."

No person ever was franker in speaking of bad habits than Mr. Wolcott, and none could or did more thoroughly appreciate their baneful effect. His letters to his parents teem with references to his faults and show that he made many efforts to permanently break away from them, as he often temporarily did. He repeatedly told his friends that he especially wished he could refrain entirely from the use of intoxicating liquors. "I know that when under their influence I am not the man I am at other times," he said over

and again. When told of some friend who was falling into the drinking habit, he would say: "Tell him to cut it out —it will get the best of him; he ought not to drink if he can't stop short of getting full."

But if he drank he did not try to conceal the fact from any one. Indeed, he was more apt to exaggerate the fault and make more of it than conditions warranted. Deprecating his use of liquor to any excess, and distressed when it caused him to depart from conventional paths, he did not shrink from discussing the circumstances in a given case. If occasion required, he would speak of them to his minister-father or his pious mother as freely as to any one else. He was not given to secret sins.

No one ever came more honestly by a characteristic than did Mr. Wolcott by his frankness. It was one of the many likable traits derived from his father. Writing as far back as 1836, a classmate of Dr. Wolcott's at Andover speaks of that gentleman's candor as one of his "faults." Fault it may not have been in either the father or the son, but one may imagine that it could be easily so regarded by a fellow-student, even in a theological school. But, whether the characteristic was abnormal or not, it was inherent in both the elder and the younger Wolcott. They concealed nothing for fear of the ill effect of publicity upon themselves.

A friend of both Senator Wolcott and his father has admirably portrayed the quality in the following:

"I should say that with both Dr. Wolcott and his son frankness was neither a fault nor, perhaps, a virtue, but an instinct—a native endowment, like the leopard's spots—an inalienable inheritance—together with the wide-open blue eyes which gave it expression. They loved frankness, and there was not one particle of guile in either of them."

Senator Wolcott had no secrets except those the telling of which might affect injuriously other people.

He would never deny or shirk a slur if it was based on the truth, and often the very boldness of his candor disarmed criticism. When charged with the possession of habits, any one of which would break an ordinary man, instead of challenging the assertion he would concede it and add that it was worse than represented. In consequence

of this trait, the fact became impressed upon his associates that in spite of vices there was one individual who could command respect by reason of the abnormal strength of his personality and the possession of a host of compensating virtues. On account of these characteristics, Mr. Wolcott has been compared to Alcibiades, who, as a boy and as he approached manhood, led the gilded youth of Greece in all their follies, but as a grown man abandoned all such excesses and became the leader of the armies of Athens and the restorer of her liberty.

The fact that Mr. Wolcott spoke so freely of his shortcomings, seeking neither to conceal nor extenuate, should be kept constantly in mind in considering his self-depreciatory expressions. He did not pretend to be better than he was. Indeed, he was a much better man mentally and morally than he claimed to be. His bad side was more often exposed to view than his good side. Many of his meritorious acts of charity and kindness were known only to himself and those to whom they brought benefit, relief, and encouragement. He did not discuss his charities, and an intimate knowledge of his character and daily life, making all due allowance for shortcomings of which the public was made only too well aware, only added to the esteem in which he was held by those who really knew him.

But he was the soul of honor, and though he did not attempt to hide his own transgressions, he said little or nothing of those of others, and he never discussed to their injury the secret affairs of his friends. In business transactions, he was scrupulously punctilious and most careful of his good name.

These pages teem with instances of the man's independence, courage, and sincerity. If his conscience or his judgment was opposed to a given course in politics or in business he did not permit his own policy to be dictated by numbers; and when he decided upon a line of action it was ever controlled by honesty of purpose. His method of proceeding always was such as to supply the best evidence of his lack of fear. When his conscience and conviction were aroused he did not count the consequences to himself.

Mr. Wolcott's tenacity has been remarked upon. He would not "let go." This trait of character was as noticeable when he was a boy as it was after he grew older. Members of his family still recall that when in 1864 he started to the war, he proudly refused to accept aid in carrying his accoutrement as he marched with his regiment through Euclid Avenue in Cleveland. He was a strapping fellow, large for his age; but he was very young, and, quite unseasoned as he was to severe physical exertion, the ordeal was a severe tax upon his powers of endurance. Much "winded" though he was, he bore up to the end, declining proffered assistance from first to last. He had enlisted to be a soldier, and he meant from the first to show that he possessed the physical requisites for the service. The same fixedness of purpose characterized his entire life; but, of course, in his more mature years his zeal was tempered with a greater degree of wisdom. When he set out to accomplish something he did not desist until he had triumphed or until success was plainly out of the question.

He could not listen placidly to useless and pointless talk. When waiting for a situation to develop or when in committee meetings or other consultation, he generally wore an air of impatience. On such occasions his manner depended entirely on the course of events. If matters were running to his liking, his eyes were atwinkle, and he frequently would interrupt the proceeding with some witty remark or pertinent story. If the problem to be solved was a knotty one, or if there was unreasonable or unexpected opposition, his displeasure was made manifest by physical movement rather than by verbal expression. If the situation was displeasing, he was a veritable caged lion. He would stride from one end of the room to the other, stop suddenly to look at a picture or other object, and start impatiently, his hands jammed deep into his pockets, face and figure showing in every lineament and outline that conditions were of such a nature that he feign would get away from them. He never, however, overlooked a fact nor failed to make a point when it occurred to him. On such occasions he did not enter into long arguments, but spoke sententiously and with telling effect. If he was largely responsible, as when chair-

man of a committee, he was insistent, often to the point of being considered arbitrary. If not especially answerable, or if clearly in the minority, he would enter his protest, give his reasons in a few clear-cut sentences, and subside, continuing his pace until the close of the meeting. If presiding, he of course retained his seat;—but then he kept himself so occupied mentally as to obviate the necessity for physical exercise.

In support of these general statements, a number of anecdotes and personal reminiscences have been collected. It is believed that they will afford a better idea of the character of the man than could any dissertation, however accurate or extended. Most of them are from intimate friends, and either relate real incidents in Mr. Wolcott's life or give the personal views of those who were close to him and had an opportunity to study him at first hand.

But even with these aids it is difficult to portray the actual man. This is true because of his varying character. Presenting one characteristic, you are liable to discover traits that would seem to call for a diametrically different portrayal. The solution is found in the fact that he was not always the same man, or, rather, that he did not at all times present the same phases of character. When he worked he worked with might and main, and yet he did not work for the love of labor. Apparently a man of leisure, he turned out more work than others. He was a business man and yet was fond of society. He allowed others to do much of his investigating, but no one was more thorough in his mastery of a lawsuit or a piece of legislation. Reading was a passion with him, but he was easily lured from his books. He would borrow from one friend to give to another. He was austere, yet kind; aristocratic in bearing, but easily moved by the recital of any tale of woe. Strong and firm in essentials, he was weak and yielding in minor matters. Merry and of good cheer generally, he could be moody and despondent at times. He appeared the boldest of men; we shall see that he was the timidest. He moralized, almost preached, and still disobeyed some of the Commandments. He was not the same man to different persons, because he

was seen under different auspices. What wonder, in view of these facts, if some of the characterizations appear contradictory and some of the anecdotes seem not to fit!

ESTIMATES OF SOME WHO KNEW HIM

We have heard from Justices Harlan and Brewer; from Senators Teller, Hale, Aldrich, Lodge, and Penrose; from his former law partners, John G. Milburn and Joel F. Vaile, and from such political associates in Colorado as A. M. Stevenson, Judge John Campbell of the Colorado Supreme Court, and United States Marshal Dewey C. Bailey.

Justice Brewer has supplied something more than the testimonial printed as a part of the foreword. In an extended interview granted the writer, he said:

I knew Senator Wolcott well. I became acquainted with him while I was United States Circuit Judge in the Ninth Circuit. Colorado is in that Circuit, and I met him first in Denver in 1884. The acquaintance continued until the Senator's death in 1905, and we were thrown together at frequent intervals. I liked and admired him for his many excellent qualities. He was a good lawyer in that he never piled up a lot of useless matter. It was his habit in presenting his cases to pick out two or three strong points. He was an analyzer, and he did not waste either his time or the time of the Court. He selected the points decisive of the cases he cited, and he did not read many authorities. He would argue briefly the principal questions at issue, and let the rest go. Thus he avoided confusing the Court and made sure that every point counted.

Independence was a strong characteristic with the man, and he was as courageous as he was independent. He was perfectly honest with himself. He followed his own reasoning and his own conclusions. He stood by his convictions. He did not surrender to the popular view, nor did he consider that it was anything out of the way for him not to do so. He did not feel that he was doing a brave thing in holding out for his own ideas, for to do so was natural with him. He spoke his own opinions and did so naturally. The water flowed from the rock, and it was the pure water of his own thought. It did n't make a bit of difference what others thought. Some men who talk bravely think they are courageous simply because they so talk; but he

did n't have that feeling at all. He unconsciously "talked it out," and he voiced his convictions regardless of the consequences to himself. He would oppose your views without hesitation. If he did not agree with you, "out it came." I believe that if I had said something on the Bench which did not appeal to him, he would have opposed me. Of course he would not have said anything indecorous, but he would have met me as man to man after I had left the Bench. He had opinions on everything that was within the reach of ordinary intelligence, and he expressed them whenever he felt called upon to do so. He did not care a cent for anybody's opinion if convinced in his own mind. I was in Denver when he was expecting to run for the Senate. There was a Republican meeting, and as usual there were sharp divisions on local questions. He went to the meeting and made a speech in which he sharply criticised some of the persons who were supporting him. He did not name them, but assailed their principles, and left no doubt as to who was meant. I remember hearing his friends say he was a fool to attack men to whom he was looking for support. But they were mistaken as to the effect, for the speech did n't hurt him.

I heard Mr. Wolcott frequently in Court, and I also heard him deliver his speech at the Minneapolis Convention in 1892, placing Blaine in nomination for the Presidency. His man was not successful, but he made a magnificent plea for him. Blaine was the kind of man that would appeal to him, and his splendid voice and thrilling language created a fine effect. He did not talk for more than twenty minutes, but, as usual, he struck to the centre.

Wolcott was not only an able man, but he was a lovable man. We all knew his weaknesses; but we loved him for his perfect sincerity and for his generous nature. He did a great many humane acts. While he was general counsel for W. S. Jackson (Helen Hunt's husband), when Jackson was Receiver for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, there was a strike on the line in which a little blood was shed. Some of the strikers were arrested and were to be tried in the United States Court sitting in Denver. Judge Hallett did not want to sit in the case, and I was sent for. Only few knew that I was to be there to act. After I arrived, and before I went on the Bench, Ed came to me in the packed court-room, and urged that as the wife of one of the men was ill, he should be let off "as easy as possible." I had a private talk with the man, who confessed that he had been one of the offenders. I asked him if he thought

he had done right, to which question he replied that he only went into it to be with the rest. I told him we did not want to deal harshly with him, and, receiving his promise that he would make no more trouble, I released him. He went back to work and kept his promise.

But while he was generous, Wolcott was not always discreet in his charity. He would give to a beggar on the street without making any inquiry, and he always gave liberally. He did everything in a big way. He was the luckiest fellow you ever saw. In those days I was very fond of whist and was invited around to the Denver Club to play when in Denver. No betting was allowed between players in the public room, but the making of bets by onlookers was not covered by the rules. When Ed came in he would go around among the players and bet on half the games, and he would win four times out of five. On one occasion he came to my table and asked, "How do you stand, Judge?"

"They have one game on the rubber and four points out of five on the second, while we have n't any," I answered.

"I will bet five dollars you win," he said without a moment's hesitation.

I replied: "Ed, what are you talking about? We have no chance at all."

Some one put up the money against him, and he won.

He seemed to have an instinct for winning. He would run all through the room, and, looking at one after another of the players' hands, would make bets here and there as he went. Intuition seemed to guide him, and the mere fact that he would lay a wager on a player seemed to increase the man's chances.

Wolcott was a man of tremendous vitality. Starting early in the morning he would go until late at night, and he was on the jump all the time. I knew in those days a man who had gone from Leavenworth to Georgetown, where Wolcott lived before going to Denver, and he told me about Wolcott's powers of endurance. This man was one of the characters of the frontier. He had been a scout in the Union Army in the Southwest, and was a fine fellow. He was capable of "going some" himself, and he told me that Wolcott was equal to any demands in a test of endurance. Every little while they would go down to Denver together, and twenty-four or thirty-six hours was nothing to them; they never stopped while away from home.

To sum up: Mr. Wolcott was a man of engaging personality; a lawyer of splendid insight; an orator of convincing power.

His success in life was marked, but it was not beyond his deserts. He was absolutely honest in his views, and we have had few public men who were so courageous in expressing their real convictions. Whether in private or public life he thought for himself, and he was never swerved from a purpose by self-interest or public clamor. I was familiar with his career for twenty years, and I had sincere admiration and real attachment for him.

With Justice Brewer's estimate of Mr. Wolcott's power of analysis agrees perfectly that of Mr. Morrison, Mr. Wolcott's old-time Georgetown–Denver friend.

The especial quality that expressed this force and made a leader of Mr. Wolcott [says Mr. Morrison], was the faculty to generalize the facts of a complicated lawsuit or of a political campaign so as to take in at one glance and to state in specific terms the decisive point in such suit or campaign. The weak spot being seen, all aid was hurried to that point—just as a general sees the wavering bend in a line of battle and hurries his troops to that place, knowing that if the repulse is there complete all other parts of the line will right themselves. Such capacity makes the leader not the laborer, not the soldier but the captain.

Let us next hear from Hon. Chas. S. Thomas, former Governor of Colorado, who was Henry Wolcott's successful rival for gubernatorial honors in the Centennial State in 1898, and Senator Wolcott's Democratic antagonist in many stubbornly contested political fields. He writes:

Mr. Wolcott was very strong in his likes and dislikes. Indeed, he was built upon a large scale. There was nothing meagre about his mental qualities, whether good or bad; what he did he did with all his might. It was difficult for him to be negative in anything.

His worst enemy never could accuse him either of hypocrisy or deceit. He was not only outspoken in opposition, but aggressively so. He could not criticise an enemy unless he did it in so pointed and personal a manner as to deprive his statements of the least suspicion of insinuation. He loved a fight, and seemed at times to be never so happy as when engaged in one that involved practically all the members of his immediate com-

munity. This was true whether the quarrel were personal, social, or political, or whether, if political, the quarrel involved his adversaries in his own or the opposite party.

Mr. Wolcott enjoyed and suffered very keenly. Yet his love of approbation never weighed a feather in the scale against his determination once formed to do or to say things which were sure to encounter opposition. On the other hand, the certainty of censure and abuse, with its inevitable pain, was equally unavailing. What he determined to do, that he did, and what he determined to say he said, seemingly unmindful of the consequences to himself. Hence, his public life alternated in quick successions of pleasure and torment.

His temperament was intensely nervous. When excited, or when interested, or impatient, he paced the room with swift footsteps, only halting to make some statement or suggestion. I saw him on one occasion, while smarting under the jibes and cartoons of a Denver morning paper. He was furious with indignation, but said he tried to comfort himself with the reflection that no man in America had ever been hanged for killing an editor.

He was generous to prodigality. I never knew a man who cared so little for money except as a means to satisfy his wants or desires. His contributions to the various charitable enterprises, and to others of less deserving nature, were generally so large as to demoralize other contributors in the profession when confronted with his donations. On the other hand, he never seemed to need money, as his practice was very large and his clients abundantly appreciative of his good work.

His refusal to leave the Republican party in 1896 unquestionably cost him his popularity and standing in Colorado. At that time the question of bimetallism was more than acute. It became synonymous with State loyalty, and no man in public life could even seem to be lukewarm in its behalf and remain in public office. But it was characteristic of Wolcott, after determining upon his course, to adhere to it regardless of results to himself, his friends, or his party. Of course, I could not approve of it personally, or commend it politically; yet I could not but admire the sublime courage which such a course demanded, and which he at all times displayed in breasting the waves of opposition and calumny, standing almost alone, denounced in public and in private, and virtually ostracized by the overwhelming public sentiment of the day. It was an epoch in his life, and the bitterness of his subsequent defeat doubtless shortened his

days. Yet he lived long enough to perceive, as well as to enjoy, a decided moderation of public sentiment. There is no doubt that his efforts in 1897 and 1898 to obtain some international agreement in behalf of silver were sincere and earnest, and they would doubtless have been successful, if the Administration had vigorously supported him, and given him that official countenance which his political importance and that of his mission demanded.

Senator Wolcott was not a popular man as the term itself is generally understood. He held himself aloof from the general mass, and while he always advocated the public welfare and the rights of the individual, he seldom mingled with the mass or resorted to the usual arts of the politician. He was neither cold nor reserved in his intercourse with men and audiences, but, on the other hand, he never pretended to that intimacy and familiarity which is universally observable in candidates during campaigns. Yet I do not think that he ever weakened himself or his party by this attitude. It was impossible for him to pretend an intimacy and familiarity which he did not feel, and his very attitude was an indication of his honesty of plan and purpose.

He had but few close and intimate friends. His companionships were therefore limited to an unusual degree for the public man. With these he sometimes had serious differences, but in general he retained their respect and confidence, albeit he sometimes severed his close relations with them. His life was a success socially, professionally, and politically, and his memory should at all times be cherished as that of one of Colorado's greatest citizens.

Former Chief Justice John Campbell of the Colorado Supreme Court has supplied the following estimate of some phases of Mr. Wolcott's character:

To those who saw him only on the platform, heard the impetuous flow of eloquence, the biting sarcasm, the provoking irony, the fearless attack upon the powerful, the dauntless assault on the intrenched, his jaunty bearing, the boldness of his argument, his wonderful ease of manner, and felt the charm and yielded to the fascinating spell of his mellifluous voice—it must have seemed that timidity had no place in Mr. Wolcott's mental equipment. The early friends, however, know that he was naturally disinclined to public speaking, and when he made his

first political campaign for district attorney, stage fright almost demoralized him. Once, in a conversation with him, in response to an assertion that he was not a good mixer, he admitted it to be so, and said that natural shyness incapacitated him for that rôle. I remember well the word he used, because it impressed me at that time as expressing the exact truth.

He was not a vain or egotistical man. Rather was he modest and as far as possible removed from boasting. Well he knew his own powers and limitations, and, with that knowledge in mind, he was careful to confine his activities within the range of the former, and equally scrupulous to observe the laws of the latter.

It might be a difficult task to convince those who knew him only at second hand that he had patience, and could, when occasion required, exercise a rare self-restraint. The impetuosity of his attacks, the fierceness of his onslaughts on traducers of his character, the apparent zest with which he girded on his armor for battle, might cause one to conclude that he coveted opposition and solicited controversy out of sheer love of fighting. These qualities seem, at first blush, inconsistent with self-repression. But under as trying an ordeal of abuse and vituperation as a public man ever encounters, under false charges of personal misconduct that caused him infinite pain, stung to the very quick by the grossest perversions of his attitude toward great questions of state, he at times exhibited a patience and practised a self-control which were the admiration of friends and the consternation and refutation of enemies. Do not infer that he did not often strike back with blows that annihilated his adversary; but, as he would say, life was too short, and there was too much of earnest, useful work to do, to stop for reply to every carping critic who, by slandering others, sought to attract attention to himself.

Mr. Wolcott's friend Voorhies, who knew him from the early days in Georgetown to the time of his death, says of his general character:

I believe I can truly say that in all these years, wherever the atmosphere was congenial—at dinners, in the ballroom, or the court-room, or in general conversation—I have never met any one anywhere who was Ed Wolcott's equal for fine presence and bright sayings. He possessed a magnetism and charm that were well-nigh irresistible and indescribable. At all times, even when

suffering from pain, he could think of and say something in quite his own way that would drive away gloom as sunlight does the mist.

He was the boy grown up. His exuberance of spirit, his trust in his friends, his petulance, and short-lived irritability were those of a boy. On the other hand, he was capable of really serious moods, and he could give the closest attention to any matter that was up for discussion. His power of appeal and invective was tremendous.

At the Memorial Services held in Denver immediately after the death of Senator Wolcott, his former law partner, Joel F. Vaile, who knew whereof he spoke, used this language:

Mr. Wolcott was a man of phenomenal intellectual powers. Facile and sure in his mental operations, I have never known any other man who could so quickly grasp all the features of a complicated problem; who could so readily unravel all the tangled threads of a difficult subject and weave them into a fabric displaying their logical relations and significance. He had the power of rapid and accurate generalization. This quality made him not only powerful in argument, but invaluable as a counsellor.

Cy Warman, the Colorado-Canadian poet, contributes the following, showing characteristics of the man:

Senator Wolcott was one of the best friends I had in Colorado. When I undertook the establishment of a daily paper in Creede, I "touched" the Senator gently because I knew that he knew that I was a Democrat—blown in the bottle—but I had only hinted that I was forming a little stock company to establish a daily in the silver camp, when he shut me off by saying, "Splendid! Good idea!"

Here my conscience began to cramp me, and I said: "But you know, Senator, I am a Democrat."

"Yes, but before everything else you are Cy Warman, and you are my friend."

Well, I got the Last Chance check, and that was the last chance they had to say good-bye to it. The repeal of the Sherman Law put Creede out of business. Bob Ford was killed, Slanting Annie contracted pneumonia and went away, Soapy

Smith left town, the daily *Chronicle* gave a few convulsive gasps, stiffened, and succumbed, and so Senator Wolcott's contribution, along with those of D. H. Moffat and other "angels," went to the melting pot.

Senator Wolcott never forgot his friends, though sometimes he got them mixed. I called to see him merely to say, "Howdy" at the Senate in 1895. He greeted me warmly enough, if I had not known the Western hand-shake that he handed out at Denver and Creede.

"I am glad you came in," said he. "I want to thank you for the way you fitted up these rooms for me," and he glanced up and about, and went on telling me how I had just hit off his choice.

When he slowed down and stopped, I said to him: "Senator, have you any idea who I am, and what I am here for?"

He looked perplexed and asked, "Are you not the gentleman who decorated these rooms?"

Then I broke the real news to him. I had been abroad for a couple of years and had not seen him for four or five years. He took both of my hands now, and backing away brought me to a window and looked me over. "Now," said he, "I hope you won't hold this against me, Cy, and I am awfully glad you came in. Charlie Thomas quoted a poem of yours against me in Denver the other night, and I want you to know that I know that poem was not written for me, but for another party altogether."

"Well, Senator," said I, "that is just one of the things I came here to say to you—that that tin was tied to another dog's tail and not to yours at all."

And so we parted with a new understanding and with our friendship unmarred, and we never met again.

SOME INSTANCES

The magnetism of Mr. Wolcott has been remarked by almost all of his commentators. It was one of the secrets of his success, and it was manifested early in life in a persuasiveness that was almost beyond resistance. We have seen how that as a child Wolcott's parents and grandparents recognized his commanding presence. Both as boy and man he was the centre of any group in which he chanced to be; he was ever the grand seigneur. His eldest brother, Samuel Wolcott, relates that when he and Ed were boys of about

the high-school age, they took a boat-ride down New York harbor, probably to Staten Island, and went to a resort which consisted of a large room. They found there a crowd of men, at a fishing club, and he says that within half an hour Ed was the centre of the entire assembly, although he was only a boy, and the others were men and strangers. The same thing happened many years afterward at a Yale alumni dinner in Denver, as his brother Herbert reports: "Ed," he says, "came in late, after the guests had gathered around the speaker's table. He took a seat at the foot of the table, and in a remarkably short time all shifted their seats and grouped around him. In that case, as generally happened where he was, 'the head of the table was where McGregor sat.'"

When Mr. Wolcott was in the Colorado State Senate, Mr. Tabor, as Lieutenant-Governor, presided, and seemed by the manner of announcing the votes to recognize Wolcott's pre-eminence. He would look toward him as he would announce the result in a hotly contested matter, and say: "*You 've* got it," or "*You 've* lost it"; "20 to 7," or whatever the vote might be, apparently never stopping to think that any one else might be concerned.

An observing visitor to the gallery of the United States Senate once said after departing: "Most of the Senators come in with an air of apology; but that man Wolcott acts as if he owned the place. He assumes the part of host, and the others appear to recognize him as such."

His Norwich cousin, Mr. A. P. Carroll, relates the following instance of the effect of his persuasive powers even when a boy:

> A gold mine was being promoted on Wauwecus Hill near this city. It was listed on the New York Exchange in the '60's, though never an ounce of gold was ever extracted. Ed and I drove out to it one day—beyond doubt the first mine he ever visited. A typical hermit guarded the entrance, far back from the highway, in a deep ravine, who upon our approach was as set and mum as possible. Yet Ed soon coddled him in such a way that he laid bare all of his fairy expectations.

A younger brother recalls that in boyhood days, when

garnered pennies were few and the members of the family were many, the narrator started off one Saturday morning with a sum of money, the amount exactly known to all the family, but hardly exceeding a dollar, and spent the day in buying Christmas presents for the household. After he was in bed that night, Ed came to his room and asked him what he had bought for the various other members of the family. The junior guilelessly told him what the presents were, and what was the cost of each, whereupon Ed, computing the total and deducting it from the amount at the beginning, and bearing in mind his fondness at that time for minstrel shows, drew his inference, and said, "You bought me a dime song-book," which was the fact.

As illustrating Mr. Wolcott's capacity for concentration and his determination to remain undisturbed when engaged in mental effort, as well as his liberal inclination, one of his former private secretaries relates an interesting incident. It occurred during Mr. Wolcott's Senatorial career, and he was engaged in dictating a speech. As the amanuensis relates the circumstance, the Senator was pacing up and down the room in his usual impatient manner, holding tightly grasped between his teeth a cigar, at which at intervals he puffed with the vigor of a locomotive, while he snapped out his usual telling sentences in short, crisp, and forcible words,—when there came a rap upon the door. He stopped suddenly in both his walk and his talk and opened the door. A young man with whom the Senator was barely acquainted entered. The visitor received a rather cold greeting, but, regardless of this fact, he began to unfold what the private secretary designates a "hard-luck" story. He scarcely had begun the narrative when the Senator thrust his right hand into his pocket and drew out a roll of money. Without stopping to look what he was doing, he peeled off the outside bill, and, thrusting it into the man's hand, said: "There; go!"

The gentleman who narrates the incident caught a glimpse of the money as it passed from one hand to the other, and ascertained that it was a twenty-dollar bill, but he says he is confident that Mr. Wolcott never knew how much he had given his visitor.

Without any comment upon the incident, with no expression of regret nor even of impatience, Mr. Wolcott resumed his walk up and down the floor and proceeded with the dictation of his speech as if he had not been interrupted.

HABITS OF STUDY AND WORK

Coming down to particulars in our characterization, we find that Mr. Wolcott was not inclined to close application either as man or boy—as lawyer, legislator, or student. The mere drudgery of learning did not appeal to him. And yet he could "bone" if necessity required that he should. We find him working hard over his Greek and Latin at Hudson. But he was preparing for Yale. He was ambitious for a collegiate education, and he knew that admission to that institution could be obtained only through thorough preparation. But, once in the college, his lethargy asserted itself. He did his best work under the pressure of emergency, but, unlike most men of this disposition, he was easily aroused; he was one of the readiest of men. He must, however, have some especial incentive to cause him to do work not naturally pleasing to him. He once wrote to his mother, "It is hard for me to understand how a man can work unless he is spurred by necessity."

His willingness to toil for a purpose is shown in his law studies, as it was at Hudson. He applied himself satisfactorily when in the office of the Russell Brothers in Boston, and he completed the law course at Harvard in less time than do most students there. But then—beyond lay—not Italy, but the diploma, and the world—the world which he was to conquer.

As it had been in his studies, so it was in his law practice and in his service in the Senate—he would only work when expediency required. During his term as District Attorney, notwithstanding his own purse was wofully depleted, he required his assistant, Mr. Orahood, to prepare most of the papers and gave him the fees, which constituted the major portion of the emoluments of the office. The same policy was followed after his practice had become more extensive; assistants were employed to gather

the details and even to present them in court, if the case was an ordinary one. Unless the occasion was worth while and the achievement of sufficient consequence to afford an incentive to the exercise of his own master hand, he would remain out of the case entirely. It is not intended to convey the impression that he enjoyed an opportunity for mere "show." Nothing was more foreign to his nature. He liked to do big things, and he did not like to do little things. He loved to exercise his talents, but not to exercise them unnecessarily.

The same policy prevailed in his work in the Senate. Ordinarily he depended upon others to do the routine. But there were exceptions. If his duties demanded, no line of labor was too arduous for him; but he did not give close general attention to questions with which he did not expect to deal.

We have heard much of his advocacy of the silver cause. His speeches, in the Senate and out, on that subject were among the most effective made while the question was before the country, but one would search in vain for an elaborate array of figures in support of his assertions. He left statistics to his co-laborers. His was the part of the cavalry charger; others must prepare against assaults or cover retreats. He would not go into the subject in a humdrum or plodding way.

But when he did work, Wolcott applied himself with his whole heart. A man of vast, though erratic, energy, he did not cease in a task until he had accomplished it. But so quick was his perception, that a subject once taken up was soon mastered. He grasped every situation almost intuitively. Once an investigation was undertaken, he continued the inquiry with avidity. He read everything he could get and utilized all other means of gathering information on the subject. When so inclined, he could attend to the details as effectually as any one. While he was at Georgetown, he acquired such a name for drawing up contracts and other legal papers that people came from a distance to have him do this service for them, and would defer their business for days, if need be, until he would be at his office to wait on them.

LIFE AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Wolcott's life as a Senator served to develop some of his most pronounced characteristics, and of them a volume might be written. In many ways he was the most extraordinary man in the Senate. His personality asserted itself not alone in his speeches, but in his manner of life and his intercourse with others. During the greater part of his two Senatorial terms he was the possessor of a large income. His practice was lucrative, his mining interests remunerative, and his other investments profitable. He therefore could afford to live well, and he did so.

Residing for most of his term in a rented house at 1221 Connecticut Avenue, he bought the adjoining lot, and built on the rear portion of it a library. Above the basement was one big apartment, connected with his dwelling by a corridor. A large fireplace, book-shelves, and pictures used up the wall space, while rugs and reading-tables and easy-chairs scattered about the room made it an ideal place for loafing or working or entertaining his friends. Here he liked to assemble his intimates for the interchange of ideas, and here conversation covered all possible topics. As will appear, Mr. Wolcott was extremely practical and "current" in his public speaking, but in the communion of his own fireside his discussion took a wide range. He liked to talk of art and literature and of the theatre and of sports; to discuss philosophical and speculative themes; to dilate upon the leading events in history and the participants in them. He was especially apt in his characterization of current happenings. No man in public life had a clearer view or a better understanding of the occurrences of the day, and none could discuss them more intelligently. He had politics, local and general, at his tongue's end, and in a few sentences he could summarize the proceedings of Congress for a week.

He went much into society and he frequented the theatre. He entertained a great deal, and his hospitality was proverbial. The style of living was in consonance with his wealth and his liberal disposition. Indeed, wherever he lived, whether in Washington, Denver, New York, or abroad,

whether at home or at club or hotel, he lived well; some would say extravagantly. He was a money-maker and a money spender. He did not affect "the simple life." It is not meant to convey the idea that there was a loud or a pretentious display. Mr. Wolcott was not given to that course. He had a passion for the elegant, but he was not capable of vulgarity. He never cared for wealth for the mere display of wealth. He never sought money for the impression it enabled him to make on others. In addition to his many charities, he used his means for the gratification of his own excellent tastes, and no man knew better how to maintain a state of quiet magnificence. His manner ever suggested the newly rich. On the contrary, he created the impression of one who had been born to wealth and position. Indeed, no man had a better natural sense of the proper use of large means.

He often said that it cost him $150,000 a year to remain in the Senate. Probably, however, he would have spent almost as much in any other station of life.

As in his home, so with his person, Mr. Wolcott was an example of taste and elegance. Every suit of clothes must be pressed afresh before he wore it a second time. The florist had a yearly contract to have a fresh bouquet on his desk every morning. With little exact knowledge of botany and with little personal experience of gardening, he had a great fondness for flowers. Waiting once in Boston while a legal snarl straightened itself out, he walked around to the Granary Burying Ground half a dozen times a day to look at the hollyhocks growing there.

It has been said of him that he was the best-dressed man in public life. There was in his time no man in either House of Congress who wore as many varieties of clothes and such fashionable and becoming ones as he. He was a veritable Beau Brummel, and his manner could be as pleasing as his dress was elegant. He kept standing orders with Fifth Avenue tailors and with the shirt- and hat-makers of Paris, who would send him whatever they thought he ought to have. Thus his fine figure always was attired in the height of style.

He insisted on the best of everything. Regarding his

food he was fastidious to a degree. The choicest cuts must be his. The table linen must be immaculate, and the waiters must be on the alert. Indeed, his demands upon the Senate café were such that the management was compelled to station a scout at the door who would signal his approach. Instantly a waiter was at his side, his service was immediate, and his viands the best that human agency could place before him. A New York friend said that no one knew so well how to order a dinner as did Wolcott. Toward waiters he was at once merciless and generous. Once after he had entertained a friend at a café he said to the man who had served them: "Here 's fifty cents for you; I 'd give you more if you were a good waiter;—but you are not."

Mr. Wolcott loved to be a pioneer. He was original and never would "trail in" on anything. Next to Senator Chandler, he was the first public man to ride a bicycle in Washington, and, when the fad was at its height, he was a conspicuous figure on the streets of the city and of the suburbs of the Capital. He rode the finest wheel that could be found in the foreign or domestic market, and as he was among the first to use, so was he the first to abandon, the wheel. The Colorado Senator was also one of the first ever seen riding in an automobile on the streets of Washington. He was the observed of all observers as he dashed around in his little electric runabout, and he was very fond of asking some colleague to ride home with him after adjournment. He would shoot down Capitol Hill, and, probably because of clumsiness, would narrowly miss many a formidable obstruction. Without conceding his own awkwardness, he would laugh like a boy at the fears of his companion. Few colleagues were known to ride twice in Mr. Wolcott's electric if they could avoid so doing.

For street-cars he had an abhorrence. He would ride in almost any kind of an individual vehicle rather than sit in a traction car. He loved horses with long pedigrees, and his private equipages were equal to the best. His business sense showed itself, however, in his employment of an expert in his purchase of horseflesh.

He loathed the sight of worn and ragged money or even of bills that had been crumpled. Nothing would suit him

but crisp money fresh out of the Treasury, and woe be to him who dared fold the bills. He did not like to have money counted out to him.

On my first trip to the bank for him I returned with $10,000 [said one of his secretaries]. I started to count the bills, but he shoved the bunch into his pocket. The next time I counted the bills, amounting to $3000, outside the door with Old Man Friday [a nickname for the Senator's messenger], who saw that the count was O. K. Then I laid the package on the desk and began counting, when Mr. Wolcott reached for it.

I said, "There may not be $3000 there!"

"Well," he replied, "suppose there is n't?"

I responded, "You might pay out two hundred and think you had paid out only one hundred or so, and then you would not have the right amount!"

Wolcott looked at me, and said, "You are afraid of money, are n't you?"

I said, "I 'm afraid of other people's money, and think it should be counted; it only takes a minute. I might have lost some!"

"Suppose you did," he replied; "that is all there is to it, is n't it? Counting it would not bring it back."

But just the same [added the confidential man], I always counted the bills outside the door with some one, and then handed them directly to Wolcott.

Mr. O. O. Stealey, in his *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, says of him:

"Senator Wolcott was an exceedingly popular man with all classes. He had a charming personality, was very handsome, and always dressed in the best style. He was a lion in Washington society, and was the observed of all observers at the notable receptions."

Yet, with all his elegance, Senator Wolcott loved to recur to the simple life of the early days, and no associations ever were so dear to him as those of that period. He had seen much of the world and he knew that it did not give peace of mind. He never cared for mere display. He liked the best because it was the best; he did not look down upon others who did not possess all in the way of comfort or luxury that he enjoyed.

USE OF PRIVATE SECRETARY

Mr. Wolcott was more than thirty years of age before he enjoyed the luxury of an amanuensis. He was not in position to employ one until after he removed from Georgetown to Denver, and while he dictated with freedom, even after the change he generally conducted his private correspondence in his own penmanship. Of all the many family letters from him, covering a period of more than forty years, which have come into the hands of the author, only one was written by another person, and help was employed in that instance only because of accident. Even when busily engaged with his Senatorial duties or in the work of the Bimetallic Commission, he used his own hand in family correspondence, and he wrote many long letters even during those intensely occupied periods of his life. Most of his personal letters to friends also were written by himself. If compelled by any circumstance to call in help, he apologized for doing so.

An account of his first employment of a clerk has been left by Mr. Wolcott. It took place soon after the establishment of his office in Denver, and his father was duly notified, as it was considered an important transaction. Afterward as business increased, the clerical force of his law-office grew rapidly, lawyers as well as stenographers, typewriters, and other assistants being given places.

While in the Senate, he was supplied by the Government with a private secretary and with such other clerical assistance as was needed in his labors for the public, and the Washington force was entirely distinct from the Denver staff. With his Senatorial secretaries Mr. Wolcott had trouble. His duties were many, and he was inclined to lean heavily upon his assistant for details. The work of the secretary often was greater than any one man should have been expected to perform. This was the fault of the Government, but the consequences were suffered by the Senator and his assistant. While he occupied the office he made many changes, and he created the impression of being over exacting and irritable. Possibly this was true at times, but Mr. Wolcott's whims were not the only cause of the secretaries'

troubles. He thought with the rapidity of a lightning flash, and it must be an expert man who could anticipate his wants or even keep pace with them. Often the appearance of unreasonableness was due to the wide difference in viewpoint. Much of his brusqueness was traceable to his absorption by the subject in hand.

When these conditions led to a severance of relations the separation generally resulted in no disturbance of personal regard on either side. Knowing his own exacting disposition, Mr. Wolcott did not condemn as useless the man who could not maintain his pace or appreciate his abruptness. Most of the Senatorial secretaries were exceptionally competent men, and it is only just to say that as a rule the change of relationship was due to no fault except that of not being able to meet all the exacting requirements of their employer. It also should be stated that none of them left Mr. Wolcott's employ without profound respect for his ability. Many of the most appreciative expressions concerning him have come to the writer from men who formerly served him as private secretary.

The Senatorial secretary was Mr. Wolcott's confidential man in all things. He trusted him implicitly, and he expected much of him in many directions. Not only was he required to give attention to political and official affairs, but to domestic and social details as well. To him the Senator entrusted much of his private business. The secretary signed many of his employer's checks, and to one of them he gave *carte blanche* in the matter of the purchase and sale of stocks.

In Washington the private secretary attended to the great bulk of the Senator's routine work for his constituents, while the latter contented himself with general information as to what was done without acquainting himself with the minute proceedings. He was, however, always sufficiently informed regarding any given matter to deal with it intelligently, and he had a way of asking questions at a critical time which would have been very embarrassing to a subordinate who was neglecting his work.

The secretary called at the Senator's house in Washington each morning, including Sundays. There he received and

went over the mail, and had the programme laid out for the day. The mail was very large. The Senator had the distribution of patronage, and it involved an immense amount of correspondence. He was Chairman of the important Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, and took an active interest in every detail concerning its work, in which the secretary necessarily was his right-hand man. He aimed to meet every business caller, especially constituents, and to give consideration to each request. When away from Washington, he was advised by wire daily of the proceedings in the Senate and of any other important political or official matter arising. In brief, he was especially scrupulous in his duties, and insisted that all features of any given matter should have all the care that the circumstances demanded. He pursued that course with the work reserved for himself, and he expected his assistants to be just as punctilious as he was. He did not permit any one, constituent or other, to impose upon him or monopolize his time simply because he was a public official.

He would not allow people to bore him, and he would not abandon important duties to meet mere tuft-hunters, or to greet even constituents, who wanted to see him without reference to business. By this course he occasionally gave offence, but as a rule the indignation did not continue long at a time; it would disappear with the Senator's next triumph in the Senate or with his next act of generosity, the object of which was as liable as not to be the offended one. On one occasion, when he had been especially beset by idle visitors, he gave one of his clerks a formula to follow: "If," he said, "a visitor merely calls to shake hands, you shake with him, and then sometime I will shake with you; that ought to satisfy any one on such an errand!"

Of all the men employed as clerks either in Denver or Washington, C. A. Chisholm, of the Denver office, was the only one who held a position with Mr. Wolcott for a long term of years. Beginning in 1884, soon after the young lawyer had risen to the dignity of employing assistance, Mr. Chisholm soon rose to be the head of the clerical force of the office, and he continued to occupy a responsible relationship toward Mr. Wolcott so long as the latter lived.

He remained in Denver during Senator Wolcott's stay in Washington, giving his attention largely to affairs outside the National Capital except in an emergency.

Mr. Wolcott's course in engaging Mr. Chisholm was characteristic of him. A Scotchman by birth, Chisholm had just arrived in Denver, when, unintroduced and unannounced, he called at Wolcott's office to seek employment. He at first was told that there was nothing for him to do, and was about to retire when Mr. Wolcott called him back.

"Do you write a good hand?" asked the lawyer. It was in the days when typewriters were scarce, and the handwriting of clerks was more important than latterly.

Picking up a piece of paper, Mr. Chisholm wrote, repeating the question, "Do you write a good hand?" and passed the paper over to the attorney.

Whether Wolcott was pleased with the handwriting or impressed with the young man's originality, does not appear. He merely said: "Come back to-morrow, and go to work."

Having obtained the place, Mr. Chisholm had the discretion not to become offended by the manner of his employer. Methodical, industrious, and intelligent, he soon made himself invaluable. Mr. Wolcott became greatly attached to him, and when he died the young Scotch clerk, who had grown almost gray in the service of Mr. Wolcott and his firm, was made the only beneficiary of his will outside the family. He trusted Chisholm implicitly, and he once said, "Chisholm has handled millions for me, and I never have insulted him by asking him for a bond."

There can be no better place than here to acknowledge the present writer's indebtedness to Mr. Chisholm. But for his methodical foresight in the preservation of material, his affectionate regard for Mr. Wolcott's memory, and his intelligent attention to detail, the labor of compiling this memoir would have been doubled. The assistance of others of the former Senator's clerks also has been freely given and is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

WRITING, READING, DICTATION

Letters relating to official or business matters were gen-

erally dictated, but as we have seen, most of Mr. Wolcott's private correspondence was penned by himself. He wrote with great rapidity, seldom finding it necessary to erase a word or change an expression.

Mr. Wolcott was ambidextrous, and a stranger could not easily determine whether any given piece of his manuscript was from the right hand or the left. He used the two hands indiscriminately in signing checks, and the banks accepted those signed by one hand as readily as those signed by the other. When a boy at school, he would write on the blackboard with both hands simultaneously to the astonishment, not to say, the envy, of his fellow-pupils. After he grew to manhood he wrote habitually with the left hand, but often rested it by using the right. He thus was enabled to turn off a large quantity of work at a sitting. When first elected to the Senate he felt that he must make acknowledgment of all letters of congratulation in his own handwriting, and he wrote ninety notes of this sort in a single afternoon.

To those who were intimately connected with him while he was in the Senate the use of the "off" hand was ominous. When "the skies were clear" and "the weather calm" he always wrote with his left hand; but when there was a storm on, when conditions were not agreeable, he resorted to the use of the right hand, as they tell the story.

A private secretary puts it thus:

> When Wolcott wrote with his right hand, something was wrong, and it was a good time to have important business elsewhere for a few hours at least. Whenever his confidential man Friday, or his secretary, walked into the room and saw Wolcott writing at a desk and using his right hand, a quick exit followed. As one said, "What 's the use of hanging around near a piece of dynamite?" I imagine [added the secretary] that there are some of Senator Wolcott's right-hand notes still in existence among the politicians of Colorado, but I doubt whether the receivers of them would be willing to put them at your disposal.

He wrote "a good hand"—legible, clear, even, the letters being small, square, and distinct. His writing was entirely different from what would have been expected of

one of such characteristics, and it was a serious puzzle to those who professed to find in chirography an index to character. The Senator was persuaded once to send a sample page to such an "expert." The result was ridiculous. The character reader replied by letter that the Senator was "even-tempered, deliberate, cool, slow to anger; indeed, phlegmatic"!

Mr. Wolcott read with astonishing rapidity, and contrary to the general experience of rapid readers, he took in the meaning of the text as he proceeded. He always knew "what it was about."

No man [said one of his private secretaries] could read a book or a newspaper or a piece of manuscript as could Wolcott. He could read more rapidly and more comprehensively than any one I ever saw. The secret was that he read a page at a time. Instead of reading only a word or two, as most people do, or a line or two, as others do, he, like Macaulay, read the page as a picture. I proved this one day. I had written a very important letter to one of his political enemies and I wanted Wolcott to say it was O. K. so that there might be no flareback thereafter.

I gave him the letter and he handed it back again. I said: "I wanted you to read it." He replied, "I have read it." "Why, you did not have time enough to read the date line." "I tell you I read the letter." "Well, just tell me what the letter says." He did; he had read it all right.

Another instance of Mr. Wolcott's capacity in this respect is related by the same gentleman. He says that on one occasion he accompanied the Senator to Denver. They went straightway from the railroad station to the Senator's law-offices. After Mr. Wolcott had greeted his partners and some callers, he sent for a young attorney who was employed in the office, and asked him if he had prepared a brief in a certain case which the office had in hand, and which, before leaving for Washington some months before, he had instructed him to get up. The young man went out, and in a few minutes returned bearing a voluminous typewritten document, which he handed to Mr. Wolcott with no little show of pride. He had worked on the brief for

months and apparently was quite satisfied with his accomplishment.

Standing in the middle of the room, Mr. Wolcott took the document, laid it on a high table near him, turned over one page after another almost as rapidly as he could do so, glancing at each as it went, and within less than five minutes' time turned upon the young man, saying, "You have missed the one point which I told you must be covered; it will be necessary to do the work over, and quite as necessary that it should be done by some one else."

"He had read that brief as carefully as another man would have read it in two hours," said the secretary, "and he knew more of its contents than the ordinary man would have known if he had read it several times."

"Indeed," added the secretary, "I was so impressed with his wonderful capacity in this respect that I once spoke to him about it, asking him if he had been born that way. He laughed the question off, and did not seem to think the gift a peculiarly remarkable one."

It is related that on one occasion Wolcott went into the office of a prominent official of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company and found that gentleman in apparent embarrassment. "You are just the man I want to see," said the railroad man; "here is a case in which we must have your judgment, and we want it as soon as we can get it. Can't you take the papers to your hotel and give us your opinion some time to-morrow?"

"Let me have them," said Wolcott. Retiring to a corner he immediately began a rapid perusal of the record. He returned in less than an hour with a brief written statement of his views, advising a course of action, which being followed, led to a successful solution of the problem.

When, after years of productive individual prosperity, the Last Chance and Commodore mines at Creede came into conflict and a great law-suit became imminent, Mr. Wolcott was consulted. He and his friends were heavily interested in the Last Chance, and his legal services were called into exercise in behalf of the mine. He had not participated in the preparation of the case, but when the papers were in readiness he looked them over with care, though rapidly.

The survey completed, he pronounced a verdict without a moment of hesitation.

"Compromise it," he said, and a mutual agreement was reached outside the courts.

Possibly a long law-suit might have brought success, but Mr. Wolcott's friends thought enough of his judgment to accept it.

QUICKNESS OF SPEECH

It is quite impossible to repeat all the "good things" spoken by Mr. Wolcott during the twelve years he occupied a seat in the Senate and during his twenty-five years of political speaking in Colorado. He had a nimble wit, and he liked to use it.

Whether on his feet making a speech or sitting with friends at the Club or by his own fireside, Mr. Wolcott never hesitated for apt expression. He delighted in repartee, and his utterances were not commonplace. Often they were cutting and severe, but a study of the man's character will convince one that in many instances they were so only in appearance and not because of a cruel disposition. He liked to tantalize, and his best friends often were the subjects of his sharpest thrusts. He enjoyed the intellectual exercise found in an exchange of witticisms, and was as willing to "take" as he was to "give." If, however, the occasion called for severity he was capable of manifesting that trait, and when so disposed he could be most sarcastic and exasperating—all the more so because of his ability to express his thoughts in terse and telling sentences. Whether talking to or about people, he characterized them in the aptest language, and would say in a few words what others would amplify into columns. He never entered a company that he did not add to its brilliancy, and his friends agree that quick and apt wit was one of the strongest characteristics of his conversation. They also say that while others were generally the subject of his reflections, he did not spare himself, if greater point could be given a remark by making himself the butt of it. "I have often wished," says his friend Voorhies, "that a 'shorthand' could have been pres-

ent to take his sayings as repeated by his coterie since his death. All of them recall much in that way, but none can remember all. To my mind only another Boswell could do justice to his memory in this respect."

In the Senate Mr. Wolcott's speeches were given the closest attention, and the galleries were crowded whenever it became known that he was to take the floor. It was notorious that he was opposed to every form of graft as he was to every sort of sham, and he was in the habit of saying so to the edification of the public. As Chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, he was one of the first to give warning of the Post-office Department scandals, which afterward attracted the attention and the interest of the country. Almost every speech, whether political or otherwise, contained some witticism that would be worthy of note.

Probably the most famous of Mr. Wolcott's bon-mots in the Senate was that delivered at the expense of a Western colleague whose State had just been admitted and who was comparatively new to the Senate. It had been supposed by the Western Senators that, when this gentleman should take his seat, he would assist them in their fight for free-silver coinage. But he did not, and Wolcott regarded his course unfavorably. The retort came toward the end of a day of sharp controversy over the money question. Senator Wolcott made a sarcastic attack upon the other Senator for being a gold man when, as he contended, the new Senator's section of the country was for free silver, and in his reply his antagonist was foolish enough to resort to the cheap method of ridiculing Mr. Wolcott's habit of wearing good clothes. Wolcott's reply was brief but crushing. Declaring that the gentleman came from that part of the country where it seemed to be an offence for a man to wear a clean shirt, he began as if about to make a long and detailed attack upon him. Apparently thinking better of it, he threw up his hands, and, as if the subject were worth nothing more, exclaimed:

"But, Mr. President, in dealing with this subject I am reminded of the old Spanish proverb: 'It 's a waste of lather to shave an ass.'"

The Senate was thrilled by the boldness and brevity of

the response, and the subject of it did not rally from its effect for many years.

As characteristic an expression as ever was uttered by Senator Wolcott was voiced by him on January 28, 1896, in response to an address on the Monroe Doctrine by Senator John M. Thurston, of Nebraska. The speech was made soon after Mr. Wolcott's remarks on the same subject and, in a measure, was in reply to the Colorado Senator. Mr. Wolcott had taken advanced ground of friendship toward Great Britain, and the Nebraska Senator was just as pronounced in his assertion of ultra-Americanism. He declared that the English press already had seized upon the utterances of the Colorado Senator as an indication that the people of this country were ready to abandon their position of responsibility toward the South American Republics. Asserting that both the British newspapers and the Colorado Senator were mistaken in their view of conditions, he announced in florid language his determination to support a resolution that had been brought in, declaring adherence by the United States to the Monroe Doctrine:

I shall [he exclaimed, with much fervor] vote for the resolution in this time of profound tranquillity, convinced that peace with honor can be preserved. I would vote for it if we were already standing in the awful shadow of declared war. I would vote for it were all the navies of Europe thundering at our harbors. I would vote for it were the shells of British battleships bursting above the dome of the United States Capitol. I would vote for it and maintain it at all hazards and at any cost, with the last dollar, with the last man; yea, though it might presage the coming of a mighty conflict whose conclusion would leave me without a son as the last great conflict left me without a sire!

Mr. Wolcott had remained near his Nebraska associate during the delivery of his speech, but, instead of making any general or generally audible response, he simply turned to the Senator sitting next to him and asked, "Did you observe that Thurston skipped a generation in his patriotism?"

Discussing the silver question in a speech made in the Senate on October 9, 1893, Mr. Wolcott said:

"Senators have differed widely as to the causes of the existing monetary troubles, and as to the remedy that will cure them, but on one point there is a perfect accord. We are all friends of silver; the only distinction seems to be that some of us are bimetallists and the rest of the chamber are 'by-and-by' metallists."

That he was quite as apt in his political and after-dinner speeches as in his addresses in the Senate, reference to those speeches will show. Take, for instance, a thrust made at an opponent at a political meeting at Pueblo. This occurred in the days of Populism, and Mr. Wolcott had been preceded there some days before by one of the most popular and most effective of the orators of the Populist party—a man of small stature, but an excellent speaker. During the course of a long speech in discussion of the issues of the day, he attacked Mr. Wolcott violently as the arch enemy of Populism, as in reality he was. "Now, my friends," he exclaimed, after paying his respects to several smaller lights in the two old parties, "now, we come to Mr. Wolcott. Some people appear to be afraid of him. I am not, and to show you that I am not, I am going to get into his hair."

Much more the gentleman said, but further quotation is unnecessary for present purposes.

I have heard [said Mr. Wolcott, in meeting the attack of his opponent] that Mr. Blank has told you that he means to "get into my hair." I would not have you think for a moment that I underrate the seriousness of the threat. I fully appreciate it, and to reassure you on that point I will impart to you the information that immediately upon learning of his intentions, I proceeded to arm myself with a fine-tooth comb.

He made no further reply to Mr. Blank.

Hon. Charles Page Bryan supplies an incident illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's effective use of sarcasm in his speeches. The speech in question was made in 1879, when Wolcott was just beginning his career, and had for its purpose the prevention of the defacement of the magnificent scenery of the Rocky Mountains by advertisements. Mr. Bryan tells the story thus:

Georgetown was long the largest silver-producing camp in America. It is reached by the Colorado Southern, then the Colorado Central Railway, which winds through the stupendous cañon of Clear Creek in Colorado. This was the first road that gave the tourist the opportunity to view the marvels of a Rocky Mountain gorge from a comfortable seat on a train. In the earlier days that sublime scenery was marred by huge patent-medicine advertisements daubed on the rocks, and by other natural sign-boards. Mr. Wolcott fathered a bill in the State Senate to prohibit, under heavy penalties, this abomination. He put forth his best efforts in a speech advocating the measure. In the peroration he delighted his audience with flights loftier than the snow-capped peaks, which he described in language as brilliant as the Alpine glow—a glow, by the way, rarely seen in the Rocky Mountains.

The torrent of Clear Creek rushing in sparkling beauty through the sombre chasm which it had forged in the long æons; the "everlasting hills," with their fringe of pines silvered in the morning sun against an azure sky; the Golconda treasure-vaults beneath, honeycombed with veins of precious metals, and the slopes gilded like an Oriental dream; the hunter in buckskin scouring the forest primeval for the elk-monarch; the disciple of dear Sir Isaac alone amid the solemn grandeur of a storm in the Rocky Mountains; all these familiar visions the orator pictured with a splendor of treatment worthy of Doré, who has in various works illustrated Colorado scenery with a naturalness marvellous in its chance resemblance.

Mr. Wolcott concluded, in substance, thus: "Mr. President, the climax is worthy of the approach. In charming contrast to the awful sublimity of the cañon is a lovely valley in which nestles the pretty town of Georgetown, yclept the 'Silver Queen,' which is environed by natural battlements of granite towering heaven-high. Thereon, amid all-surrounding grandeur, you read, emblazoned in letters that can be deciphered miles away: 'Have you got worms?'"

Writing of Mr. Wolcott soon after his first election to the Senate, Mr. Bryan related an incident which will serve to show how readily Wolcott could turn even an awkward mishap to himself to the discomfiture of his opponents.

His speeches [says Mr. Bryan] are always apt and to the point. Whether in mass-meeting, at banquets, before juries, in

conventions or legislatures, he is ready and forcible, with freshness of matter and individuality of manner calculated to arouse enthusiasm. . In 1880, the struggle in Colorado between the Grant men and the anti-third-termers was intense. The former prevailed, and in the convention outnumbered their opponents three to one. Wolcott was conspicuous in the minority, which made a fine fight for recognition. When Blaine's name was first spoken a great shout went up from his followers, and through his vehemence Wolcott's chair gave way under his stalwart frame. Of course, the Grant enthusiasts laughed; but Wolcott, unabashed, stamped on the remains of his seat, and, kicking them aside, exclaimed: 'So, gentlemen, will we crush your machine!'"

A fellow-speaker at a public meeting during the administration of President Cleveland had indulged in criticism of the acts of some of the Democratic office-holders. Referring to the criticism, Wolcott asked, "What can you expect but a muddy stream when you have a muddy spring?"

He was the subject of much bitter attack by the newspapers in connection with the campaign of 1896. Alluding to this circumstance in his speech in the Denver Auditorium of that year, Mr. Wolcott said he hesitated to attempt a reply. "It is," he said, "like throwing mud at a man who drives a garbage-cart every day and has it full all the time."

Speaking in the same speech of Hon. W. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, who that year was the candidate of the Democracy for President, Mr. Wolcott contrasted him with Buffalo Bill (W. F. Cody), also a Nebraskan, and then proprietor of the Wild West Circus. "Nebraska has produced two great men, and both of them are named Bill," he said. "There is, however, this marked difference between them: 'Buffalo Bill' has 'a show,' and Bill Bryan has n't any 'show.'"

In his introduction to the "Anecdotes" volume of *Modern Eloquence,* Champ Clark, the Democratic Congressman from Missouri, who in 1909 succeeded John Sharp Williams as the minority leader of the national House of Representatives, supplies the following as illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's capacity for extricating himself from an awkward dilemma by the use of his wits:

During his twelve years of Senatorial service the Coloradoan has won for himself the honor of being about the most eloquent Republican in the Senate. In addition to his oratorical talent, he is wonderfully clever at campaign repartee. This gift was well demonstrated before he became nationally known, when he was sent to a Southern State to advocate Republicanism. At a certain place he was politely informed that the "rally" would begin and end about the same time, and that not since 1883 had any Republican been permitted to finish a speech there. Wolcott was determined, however, and upon learning that the citizens, as a rule, were kind enough to permit the speakers to get out of town and fill their next appointment, he concluded to make his speech as billed. The chairman was instructed to dispense with the music and introduce him to the audience in as few words as possible. The advice was followed a little too literally. He simply pointed at the audience and then at the speaker, and disappeared behind the scenes.

Wolcott began his speech with one of his best stories. The audience was separated, the colored folk all being in the gallery, and only white people below. In about five minutes Wolcott's discretion was overcome by his Republicanism, and he made a pointed thrust at the opponent party, whereupon a body of young men in the centre of the theatre shouted in concert, "Rats!" Wolcott paused for a moment, and then, waving his hand at the gallery, said, "Waiter, come down and take the Chinamen's orders!" The effect was electrical and effectual. In laughingly referring to the incident afterward, the Senator said: "You should have seen that dusky hillside of faces in the gallery break into ledges of pearl!"

As a specimen of his capacity for presenting an ugly fact in a delicate way and at the same time making a joke of it, the following from his first New England Society dinner speech is worth presenting. He was speaking of the assimilation by Colorado of its Mexican population and said:

Where we have a chance to work without precedent [he said], we can point with pride of a certain sort to methods at least peaceful. When Mexico was conquered, we found ourselves with many thousand Mexicans on hand. I don't know how they managed it elsewhere, but in Colorado we not only took them by the hand and taught them our ways, but both political parties inaugurated a beautiful and generous custom, since more honored

in the breach than in the observance, which gave these vanquished people an insight into and an interest in the workings of republican institutions which was marvellous: a custom of presenting to each head of a household, being a voter, on election day, from one to five dollars in our native silver.

Out of Mr. Wolcott's brief experience as a stereopticon lecturer while engaged in his law studies at Boston, have come many anecdotes. His cousin, A. P. Carroll, was present at one of his Providence lectures, and Ed appears to have added somewhat to his discourse on this occasion for the benefit of his kinsman. Relating the incident, Mr. Carroll says:

I accompanied him to the large hall which was packed to its capacity and was seated on the platform close by his side, where he could interlude the drollest side remarks and where I was not seen by the audience. He held the audience spellbound from start to finish, almost threw me into convulsions of merriment, and drove the managers frantic over the wild statements made, but which were as captivating to his hearers as they were wide of accuracy. It was such a pronounced success that he received double the pay originally promised and the local papers gave most flattering notices of his lecture.

The views pictured the Arctic regions, and Ed described them in vivid language, manifesting as great familiarity with the land of snow and ice as he could have possessed if he had beaten Peary to the Pole. One of the stories of this lecture relates that while Ed was descanting upon a glacier, some one in the audience asked: "How fast does it move?" Ed did not know, but an answer must be given, and he quickly replied, "A mile a minute."

"Why, Ed," whispered the man behind the curtain, "it only moves an inch in ten years."

But Wolcott was equal to the occasion, and pretending not to have understood the question, he asked to have it repeated.

"Oh," replied the lecturer, "that glacier only moves an inch in ten years. I thought the gentleman was asking about the velocity of the winds in that section. The winds blow

around the glacier at the enormous velocity of a mile a minute. Hereafter I wish those asking questions would speak so plainly and distinctly that I can readily hear them."

Quoting Mr. Carroll further:

The next morning, flush with his unexpected earnings, Ed hired a pair of horses for a drive about the city, and included a visit to his old home where his family had lived while his father presided over a church in Providence. It was not the house itself that appealed to him, but he drove into the alley at the rear of the yard and asked me to hold the reins, while he jumped out and climbed over the tall fence, just as he had done when a mere lad. It seemed to give him more enjoyment than all the rest of the drive.

Governor Thomas relates the following:

On an occasion, a somewhat prolix attorney, whom I will call Smith, was droning through an interminable argument upon a demurrer, with Wolcott as his opponent. The latter was impatient at his detention and paced the room with nervous strides. Smith finally referred to a case decided in the forties in Massachusetts, remarking that the successful attorneys were Webster and Smith.

"Was that you, Mr. Smith?" asked Mr. Wolcott.

"No," replied Smith, "you know very well it was n't."

"Oh! I beg your pardon," said Wolcott. "I ought to have known it was a son of yours."

The effect of this sally upon the Court naturally abbreviated the argument, and as Wolcott made none he was soon relieved of his detention.

When at a time that there was a sharp controversy on in the Senate between a Republican Senator and a Democratic colleague, a discussion arose in the Republican cloak-room as to the relative personal qualities of the men. Neither of them was especially popular, and the Senators found much amusement in the speculation as to which of the two men was preferable. Some gave one reason and some another for a choice, none apparently satisfactory, until Wolcott was

heard from. "I like the Democrat best," said the Colorado Senator; "he sits farther away from me."

After the caucus had voted almost unanimously for his election of the United States Senate the first time, Ed went to the Denver Club, where the chosen of his friends were waiting to celebrate. In all that crowd, and the rooms were packed, only one faintly discordant voice was heard and that only so in comparison. George W. Cook, then a railroad man, since a Congressman, admired Henry Wolcott more than he did Ed, which comparison was always objected to by both brothers. Cook spoke so many times that evening to Ed of his preference for the brother that finally Ed took George by the hand and shook it cordially, saying: "George, that shows your good feeling toward my brother, and I am glad. Now, if you had a brother, I should feel the same way toward him."

At another time in a small group, a man's name and business methods were mentioned in a way to provoke Ed to a terrific review of both, a review which before a jury would have meant a heavy sentence.

Henry finally remonstrated, asking: "What 's the use?" and added, "You nor any one else can collect what he owes."

Ed replied: "Henry, have I put it too strong?"

Henry responded: "Not at all, but what good does it do?"

To this Ed at once retorted: "By false pretences and a confidence game he got money from me; now, when I express my full and unreserved opinion, I credit him on account, and if I can only think of him a few times more and say a few more things of him, I will wipe out the score."

When Ed purchased his country place, Wolhurst, he was urged to buy more land across the road for protection at an excessive price. When he refused, he was threatened with the establishment of a "road-house" on the land, with all the objectionable features of such a place. This threat aroused all his ire, and he said to the man who "held the option," a well-known real-estate dealer: "Let me tell you for once and all, I will not buy that tract of land even if *you* should build a house and live there."

Governor Shafroth, of Colorado, was at one time pitted against Mr. Wolcott in the trial of a suit against the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad for damages. The complainant was an accomplished and handsome widow, and she was asking for reparation for the death of her husband on the road. Mr. Wolcott represented the company, and when the lady entered and took her seat, he leaned over to Mr. Shafroth, and said, "John, I would give five hundred dollars if she was n't so darned good-looking." The result of the trial showed that he had not miscalculated the effect of the lady's personal appearance upon the jury, for the award in her interest was exceptionally large.

Naturally, Senator Wolcott was not in a very amiable frame of mind after his defeat for the Senate in 1903. He felt especially badly over the fact that some of his former friends had joined in a conspiracy against him. For many of them he had done innumerable favors, and the suggestion of ingratitude was very strong. A few of his remarks showing his frame of mind have been handed down. Some one came to him with a statement that Mr. So-and-so was abusing him roundly.

"Abusing me?" asked Wolcott. "I cannot imagine why he should be abusing me; I do not recall that I ever did him a favor."

Soon after the Senatorial election he was driving from Denver to Wolhurst with Judge Carlton M. Bliss. It was a magnificent winter-day. The snow sparkled upon the trees and the country stretched out in a beautiful glistening blanket to the mountains, which were only a few miles away. Mr. Bliss was struck with the scenery and he said:

"Senator, is n't this a beautiful day? Are n't the mountains a wonderful sight to see?" Then, warming to his theme, he added: "Who can comprehend their wealth-producing possibilities? Who can estimate the innumerable prospects yet to be opened up and developed into mines?"

"Yes," responded Mr. Wolcott, adapting Bishop Heber's lines, "This is a country 'where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile.'"

After Senator Wolcott had made his Venezuelan speech, a Western colleague, who was unfriendly in his attitude

toward the Colorado Senator, approached him, and instead of congratulating him as many other Senators had done, said to him, "Well, Wolcott, you have ruined your reputation." The response was sharp and quick. He said: "That is more than you could possibly have done, seeing that you have no reputation to ruin."

Mr. Wolcott's capacity for caustic and ready speech was never displayed more markedly than in connection with an interview with President Harrison over an appointment to a Federal office in Colorado. He did not like the President, and the insistence of the Executive in making appointments in Mr. Wolcott's State without giving due heed to the latter's representations was the cause of still greater variance between the two. On the occasion in question the Senator called to make protest over a nomination contemplated by the President. Finding the latter obdurate, Mr. Wolcott insisted upon knowing his reason for the selection. The reply was nettling. The President said: "It should be sufficient reason that the gentleman is my friend." "Oh, well," responded the Senator, "if you have a friend in Colorado appoint him by all means." The retort gained publicity, but was attributed to John J. Ingalls, who also was at loggerheads with the President. It would have done credit to the talented Kansan; but, having heard Mr. Wolcott relate the incident immediately after his return from the White House visit, the narrator feels that he takes no risk in attributing the remark to the Coloradoan as against the claims of his Kansas colleague.

The *New York Herald* of January 26, 1891, supplies the following:

> There was a little interchange of words between Senator Wolcott of Colorado and Senator Sanders of Montana in the Senate on Friday, the true inwardness of which escaped most people. When the Montana Senatorial contest was up in the Senate last session, Senators Wolcott and Plumb refused to vote to seat the Republicans, Sanders and Power. The latter naturally have not felt over-kindly disposed toward Wolcott and Plumb. On Friday Senator Sanders thought he saw a chance to get in a quiet whack at Wolcott. Senator Gray in the course of a speech asked if ex-Senator N. P. Hill of Colorado, who

was recently nominated by the President as a member of the International Monetary Conference, did not own a newspaper which opposed the Force Bill. Senator Wolcott said he did, and that he would be confirmed in the office for which the President had nominated him.

Now there is a bitter personal feeling between Senator Wolcott and ex-Senator Hill, and Senator Sanders, knowing this, thought this was his chance to rub it in a little on Wolcott. So Sanders asked if Hill was a good man for the place for which he had been nominated. Senator Wolcott looked calmly at Sanders for a moment and then answered: "I desire to say that he [Hill] has been a member of this body, and that he did not get his seat after a contest, either." Senator Sanders turned very red at this pointed reply and did not pursue the subject further.

In this connection it can but add interest to the incident to relate that Mr. Sanders had been the leader of the Helena Vigilantes who in the "sixties" had hanged and driven out of that city several scores of "bad" men.

Although a showy man and much in the limelight, and notwithstanding he possessed a sharp tongue, Senator Wolcott was at heart modest and of an extremely kindly nature. He did not knowingly "fool" people, and it was a difficult thing for any one to "fool" him. He understood his own limitations and always knew whether he was getting all that was coming to him. Illustrative of this characteristic the following is related:

A Washington newspaper friend once asked him for some information about the proceedings of the Finance Committee. The Senator replied that he had no knowledge whatever on the subject; that he was as ignorant as anybody else of what the Committee was doing.

"But aren't you a member of it?" the Senator was asked.

"Yes, I am a member of it," he said, with a characteristic shrug of the shoulders, "but I don't *run* it. You don't suppose that those who *do* let *me* know what they are doing, do you?"

In this remark he did himself an injustice, for no one knew better what was going on. He did not want to tell.

This same newspaper man was once consulting with the Senator about the advisability of asking some public men of their mutual acquaintance to take an interest in a private business matter of importance to him, and said:

"Of course, Senator, I don't want to ask to have this thing done simply on the strength of my newspaper connections?"

"Why, you young blockhead," said the Senator, in his honest and impetuous way, "you don't think for a minute they would do anything for you if you were *not* on a newspaper, do you?"

Another newspaper correspondent who was on intimate terms with Mr. Wolcott received a telegram from his paper one night telling him that the Senator was in possession of the facts in an important matter, and asked for a complete story. The correspondent called at the Senator's house, but he was not there and nobody knew where he was. He hunted the town high and low but without result.

The next day a rival paper had the whole story. The correspondent also discovered that day that the Senator was stopping at the Arlington Hotel. He sent up his card, was invited in, and there in a room big enough for a whole family sat the Senator all alone. A number of books, comprising the latest novels, were strewn about, and cigar ashes and empty cigarette-boxes indicated that he had been having a hard time to entertain himself. The correspondent began to tell the Senator how disappointed he had been at not being able to find him the day before, when Mr. Wolcott blurted out:

"Oh, of course you are just like everybody else. When there is nothing to do you are always around, but here I have been sitting for forty-eight hours crazy to give somebody a good newspaper scoop. You never know anything about it until some fellow over in New York tells you."

The Senator really looked disappointed.

That he did not worry over disaster which might have befallen, but which did n't, is illustrated by the following:

He had taken a position on a matter before the Senate, and while he had come out all right the result had seemed doubtful for a time.

"You skated on mighty thin ice," said a friend who was inclined to remonstrate with him.

"Well, I did n't break through," responded the Senator nonchalantly, and apparently dismissed the subject.

Once a lady residing at Colorado Springs wrote her sister in Denver asking her to forward a corset to her and at the same time requesting her to have Mr. Wolcott send her a pass over the Denver and Rio Grande, which as the general solicitor of the road he of course could do. The Denver sister forwarded the entire letter to Mr. Wolcott and in due time received this reply:

"I take pleasure in enclosing pass for your sister, but regret to say that, owing to the fact that I have forgotten the number of her corset, I cannot supply her want in that respect."

THE GENEROUS SIDE

If all the facts were known, a volume might be written concerning the generous side of Mr. Wolcott's nature. Many instances of his broad charity and gentle kindness are related. No one knew so much about the details of his deeds of this character as his long-time secretary, Mr. Chisholm, and he writes:

Of his great, tender heart, his broad charity, and instant, unfailing sympathy, too much cannot be said. In the long years of my association with him I cannot recall a case when a story of misfortune, illness, or an empty cupboard, did not meet with prompt and generous response. His weakness was known and occasionally preyed upon. Of ingratitude he had some experience; but nothing soured or embittered, and the next appeal found him as sympathetic and susceptible as ever: he could not turn a deaf ear to misery or want. The very last commission entrusted to me before he left Denver in November, 1904, was to pay off a mortgage on the home of an old friend. "I want to do it," he said; "it will bring such peace of mind to one who was kind to me in the early days." And in another direction his sympathy and desire to help found expression: many a man in Colorado and elsewhere could speak of school and college expenses paid; of advances made to start in business, or of a helping hand extended at a critical time. In such

cases, however, he held that the advance should be regarded as a loan, to be repaid at the borrower's convenience, not that he gave grudgingly or coveted the return, but because he believed that such aid given or accepted on any other conditions would fail of its purpose and would undermine the recipient's self-reliance and self-respect.

There was nothing of ostentation in his aid or charity; indeed he shrank from publicity, from even the thanks of beneficiaries: cheerfully and freely he gave, content to feel that he had helped to comfort or relieve.

I speak as one, perhaps the only one, who knows, and it can be truly said of him that his left hand knew not what his right hand did—his profit-and-loss account alone bearing silent testimony year after year to his tenderness and charity.

When he was just beginning to get on his feet financially at Georgetown, Wolcott confided to a member of his family his horror of the spirit of avarice which came over some men as they acquired money, and he expressed the hope that he should never develop such a propensity. His subsequent tendency was so strongly in the opposite direction that it seems almost as though he adopted as a deliberate philosophy of life the theory that the way to prosper was to spend. Be that as it may, he seemed never to attach any value to money as such. He not only spent his money lavishly, but gave it away freely—if not always wisely.

He found great pleasure in his acts of generosity, and while generally he shrank from any reference to them, occasionally he would speak of his course to friends, but only to defend it against their remonstrances. "It makes me feel good to help a poor devil," he would say. "If I did only one good deed in the course of a year, I would feel the better for it, and the more I do the better I feel. Reward? Return? The reward is in the doing." Frequently at the end of a day there would be a brief period of moralizing, and he would say: "Well, I've got through the day without consciously doing harm to any one, while I know I have done some good."

A minute afterward he might deny some applicant's request for a political office or engage in a game of cards with fellow Senators in which he would exert himself to the ut-

most to win. But that was a different kind of a game—not the "giving" game.

In more than one of his early letters from Georgetown, Mr. Wolcott spoke of the great kindness done him by the Central City banker, Mr. T. H. Potter, who had assisted him in locating in Georgetown in the practice of law, and he evidenced the most sincere gratitude to that gentleman for his aid. That Mr. Potter did not think so much of what he had done and that he did appreciate Mr. Wolcott's tendencies in the same direction, the following from him, under date of June 7, 1909, shows:

"My help to him at that time was of small consequence. In a very short time he was on his own resources and always thereafter was eminently capable of taking care of himself and helping many impecunious friends. His fun and jollity cheered up many a poor tramp, who afterward borrowed from him."

Governor Thomas relates this instance of public spirit which illustrates the man's immensely magnanimous nature:

When in September, 1899, the first regiment of Colorado volunteers returned to San Francisco from the Philippines, it became my duty as Governor to meet and welcome them at the Golden Gate. It was then proposed to pay their fare from San Francisco to Denver by public subscription, and I hastened back to Denver to raise, if possible, the funds needed for that purpose. Thirty thousand dollars was required. I at once saw Senator Wolcott and obtained his endorsement of the plan. On asking him for his subscription he said: "I will be one of thirty to give a thousand dollars, or fifteen to give two thousand dollars, or of six to give five thousand dollars, or of three to give ten thousand dollars, and, if necessary, I will be one of two to subscribe fifteen thousand dollars each." I implored him not to let his suggestions be known, since they might result in compelling him to pay half of the entire expense of the proposed plan. In this he acquiesced, but requested me to do the best I could and let him know how much remained to be paid in after my efforts were exhausted. I did this and received his check, as I now remember, for three thousand dollars, with the assurance that if the estimated amount were insufficient, to draw on him for the excess. At the same time he requested me to

say as little about the matter as possible. Such action was characteristic of the Senator.

Wolcott's qualities as a generous political contributor were the amazement of his political friends. In one campaign a committee called on another public man soliciting contributions and received a check for a considerable sum. The committee started for Wolcott's office, commenting on the prospect. They agreed that Mr. Wolcott probably would be liberal, but they were not prepared for such a sum as they were promised.

"How much do you want, gentlemen?" asked Wolcott, when the committee called.

"Whatever you feel like giving," was the reply.

Wolcott took his check-book and wrote a check for $2500 without another word.

Mr. Nathan S. Hurd, an old-time Georgetown friend, also bears testimony to Mr. Wolcott's prodigal generosity. Writing to the author, Mr. Hurd says:

He was big-hearted and kind, and would give his last dollar to a friend in need, and then borrow from the next friend he met the amount he had given. He never forgot an obligation, and if you were his friend he would go any length to assist you. There never was a man in Colorado who was such a friend to me for six years as he was. He helped to keep me in the Insurance Department of the State against the strongest adverse influence.

Hon. Thomas Cornish, another Georgetown friend, not only testifies to Wolcott's delicate tenderness of heart, but supplies instances of it. He says:

They talk of Wolcott becoming big-headed and exclusive after he went to the Senate. They forget that he had simply broadened out, that he had become a man among men; that which had formerly satisfied him became utterly distasteful.

I talked to him about it once. "Ed," I said, "come back and mix with the crowd. Walk up Sixteenth Street and shake your friends by the hand. Go up to Georgetown and sit on a box in Spooner's store, as you used to, and eat cheese and tell jokes. You can get back all of this popularity if you will. The

old fellows are still with you, and you will find all the young ones behind them. Why, I was talking to So-and-So the other day. You know the votes he controls. He said he would like to be with you, but you were too uppish. What he wanted was a man who would go across the street to shake hands with a man, while you would saunter past him, never even turning your head to nod."

"Oh, yes, I remember that fellow," answered Wolcott. "He came to me two years ago and told how a chattel mortgage on his furniture was to be foreclosed and that his sick wife and children would be thrown into the street if he did not raise $250. I gave it to him, and he promised to give it back in ten days. He has not paid it yet, and I hate to talk to the fellow much or see him any oftener than I can help; I'm afraid he will think I want to dun him. I don't want the money. I was only chary of his feelings."

That's the kind of a man Wolcott was. When the great artist Herkimer died in New York a few years ago, Mr. Wolcott happened to be there. He saw the artist's easel. It is probably the finest in the world. And he promptly bought it and shipped it to me. I have it now; and I value it more highly than anything else I have.

Mr. Wolcott was always doing things like that; always trying to help a friend or to make life easier for him. He would go out of his way and to the greatest trouble to please a man he liked.

Innumerable instances of his generosity to persons in distress could be related. One of the first cases occurred when he was studying law in Boston on an allowance of $10 a week, when, if he had had the money, he easily could have spent $10 a day on himself. Giving his father an account of his Christmas expenditures, he told him that he had given fifty cents to a woman begging in the street. He realized that because of his limited allowance he had been over-generous, and, apologizing to his father, said: "I knew *you* would have done it."

Once D. C. Bailey went to him with a request for help for a man who had suffered adversity, and asked the Senator if he would give him twenty dollars. "Of course I will," responded Mr. Wolcott; "I'd give any man twenty dollars."

He had his "ups and downs" in politics. The friend of yesterday was the enemy of to-day, but when such an enemy fell into misfortune Mr. Wolcott forgot the conditions of the present, and remembered only past favors. One notable case is recalled, and the name of the beneficiary might be given but for the possibility of wounding the sensibilities of surviving relatives. The man had stood with him at the beginning of his political career, but had been alienated in later years, antagonizing rather than supporting him. In the early days he had been a man of affluence, but latterly had lost his fortune. He was entirely bankrupt when he became ill and died. Wolcott paid all the expenses of his last illness and of his funeral, squared up his club dues, amounting to $1100, and then gave the widow $1000.

Once a lawyer of opposite political faith, who had settled in Denver after financial reverses in a Southern State, went to him for help.

"I have got to have some money," he told his more prosperous brother of the legal profession.

"How much do you need?" asked Wolcott.

"Four hundred dollars," was the response, with the added explanation that the time of repayment was uncertain and political support out of the question.

He got the money and died without repaying it. Mr. Wolcott cancelled the note, and turned it over to the debtor's executor with the especial request that the family of the man whom he had assisted should not be told of the obligation.

On another occasion a poor man with a large family went to Washington while Mr. Wolcott was Senator, in the hope of finding employment. Without succeeding, he fell ill and died. Wolcott scarcely knew him, but when the circumstances were explained he ordered that the burial expenses be paid, and that the family be temporarily taken care of and aided at his expense in getting to friends.

During the early years of his practice in Denver, Mr. Wolcott became interested in a promising young man who had become a cripple through disease. One day he met the young fellow on the street and, after inquiring solicitously about his condition, asked if there was any hope for the restoration of normal conditions. He replied that he feared

not. Mr. Wolcott thereupon expressed the opinion that aid could be found in surgery. "I am sure some of those eminent surgeons in New York could relieve the condition," he said. "Take my advice and see them. Give them a thorough trial. Do not hesitate on account of the lack of means; it will afford me sincere pleasure to supply any deficiency that may occur in that respect." The advice was followed, and, notwithstanding there was no occasion to accept the pecuniary aid, the gentleman to whom the proffer was made spoke of the incident a quarter of a century afterward in terms of tender gratitude.

His attention was once called to a fine landscape just finished by a Colorado artist, who, like so many of his craft, found it difficult to make both ends meet. Mr. Wolcott handed $400, the price of the picture, to a friend who was just fitting up some rooms, and said: "You go and buy the picture as for yourself, and keep it in your room until I find some way to dispose of it. If I go to buy it, he will know that I do it solely for the purpose of helping him." The young man did as requested, and reported, after a while, that some one wanted the picture for what it had cost. He was told to sell it and to order another one painted to take its place. Mr. Wolcott finally gave the second picture to another friend.

A stage driver of the early days frequently carried Mr. Wolcott from Georgetown to Denver and back again. Wolcott took a fancy to the driver. Years after the stage line had been supplanted by the Colorado Central Railroad, Mr. Wolcott heard that his driver had lost a leg and was living in a distant part of the State in destitute circumstances. He made him a regular monthly allowance afterward as long as he lived.

Another instance was his remembrance of a boyhood acquaintance. While the Wolcott family were in Providence and Ed was from five to twelve years old, Henry and Ed spent several summers in Belchertown, on the farm of the father of a boy who lived at home and helped with the farming and always was "good" to them. So far as is known Ed had no communication with him during the intervening years, but while he was in the Senate he regularly

sent him many valuable publications, and once, when in Longmeadow, he took a two days' drive to Belchertown, and after hunting up the old-time friend gave him $100.

When as a boy at Cleveland he had charge of the family cow, he gave her a double allowance on Thanksgiving. The exceptional feed made the animal sick,—but that is not a part of the story.

The farm at Wolhurst was stocked with the best horses and cattle. Some time after Mr. Wolcott located there, Henry Brady, a political supporter and personal friend, bought a farm near him. One day Wolcott took him through the stables and barnyard. Among his horses was a fine coach stallion. He insisted upon Brady's accepting the animal as a present, and, when he declined, seemed to think that his refusal was based upon the belief that the horse was of little value. To remove this objection, he entered upon a long explanation of the pedigree of the animal. Brady still refusing, he then tried to compel him to accept a blooded cow. "She is all right," he said over and again, "and you might as well have her as not."

Some Congressmen sell their quota of government publications and seeds to the junk dealers instead of sending them to their constituents, but Mr. Wolcott always was in the market for these and constantly flooded Colorado with them, every postmaster in the State sending him lists of names. So much did he buy that he practically put the dealers out of business. Some to whom the books and seeds were sent replied, thanking him for them. One wrote a letter criticising Wolcott and concluding with: "You don't need to think that you can buy my vote with an agricultural report three years old." Mr. Wolcott at once sent him a couple of sacks of the choicest books, but no further reply came from the disgruntled one.

While Mr. Wolcott was earnest in his political controversies and always fought to win, he was not personally vindictive toward his opponents. On one occasion when there seemed especial reason to feel resentful toward an elderly man who was opposing him, one of the Senator's followers remarked, "Ah, well, he will not be in the way

very long." Mr. Wolcott responded: "Possibly that is true, but it never pays to count on death as an ally; it may be inclined to favor the other fellow."

If he opposed a man for office he generally did so because of other than mere personal reasons. His intimates recall only one instance in which he was evidently actuated by resentment. In this case the applicant for office was an Ohio man, who asked for a consular appointment. He had made what Mr. Wolcott considered an unprovoked attack on him during the first McKinley campaign. He had politicians of Ohio and Colorado behind him, and his friends thought this influence would insure him the position. But Mr. Wolcott opposed him, and a Wolcott man received the appointment.

We have seen how Mr. Wolcott and Professor Hill, at first staunch friends, became estranged, and how, while Mr. Hill still was well and strong, Mr. Wolcott belabored him, and how when he became critically ill, all was forgotten. Speaking of Mr. Hill before the State convention at Denver in 1900, while the ex-Senator lay on his death-bed, Mr. Wolcott said:

I desire to voice what I know will be the unanimous feeling of this convention, when I express, on your behalf, our deep and genuine sympathy with that distinguished ex-Senator from Colorado, Nathaniel P. Hill, who is now suffering a serious illness. He represented our State as a member of the Republican party for six years. He rendered it distinguished and able and patriotic service. When he retired into private life, he differed with many of us and he differed with our party on many questions. It might be that he would yet, if he recovered; but he rendered us brave service, and whenever he differed with us, or found ground for criticism, he founded it upon what he believed to be a sense of public duty; and I know you join me in hoping that he may have a speedy and sure recovery.

The same generous spirit prompted him to select former Senator Tabor for the Denver postmastership. Tabor had always fought Wolcott politically, and there never had been any social, personal, or business friendship between them. How-

ever, Tabor had done much for Colorado mining, for Denver, where he had erected the first big buildings, and for the Republican party by his campaign contributions. He had lost his money and was poor again, and Wolcott gave him the postmastership, with its fat salary, only insisting on the selection of competent assistants that the service might be properly conducted. The tender was made on Mr. Wolcott's own motion. Mr. Tabor had not sought the place, nor had any of his friends for him. When the thought of giving him the position came to Mr. Wolcott it so commended itself to him that he went ahead with it without any inquiries as to how it would be regarded in Denver.

Captain Howland, Colorado's wild-animal painter, relates an instance of Mr. Wolcott's loyalty to his political friends. It was during the trying times succeeding the fight of 1896, when Wolcott had complete control of the Colorado patronage. He had given a responsible place to a veteran Republican partisan whose name is not essential to the story. The appointment was severely criticised. He told Howland his critics were demanding that he should get rid of the man in question. "But I can't do it," he said. "He stood by me and I've got to stick to him." "He did stick to the man," says Howland. The consequence was that the opposing element opened war on him, and within less than three months had with them the very man the trouble was all about. "Even then," adds Howland, "Wolcott was not vindictive."

As going to show the real manliness of the man, the following, also related by Captain Howland, goes a long way:

> He never went under false colors. There was nothing of the hypocrite in him. For example, it isn't usually known that he was a soldier of the Civil War. He was only a boy when he joined the 150th Ohio volunteers in 1864, and was sent to Washington. He was kept there, and that was one great sorrow of his life. Time and again I've tried to get him to join the G. A. R., but he would always say: "No, Jack, I can't do it. I was never under fire, and such an organization as that should be sacred to the men who suffered for their country."

A pretty story is told of Mr. Wolcott while he lived in

Blackhawk. One evening in the early fall of 1871, a little half-orphan girl, at whose home there was not an overabundance of this world's goods and to whom actual money in her own right was an unknown quantity, discovered lying in the gutter in front of a store a new fifty-cent shinplaster of the kind in use during and for several years after the Civil War. It lay open and flat, but it had fallen in a shallow pool of water and a thin film of ice had formed over it. The girl was old enough to know that the piece of paper was money, and she wanted it. Her mind was filled with doubt, however. Would the money be hers if she could get it? Would her mother believe she had found it if she took it home? If not, would she punish her for bringing it? Above all, seeing that the valuable paper was covered with ice, how could she get it? It was when she was pondering these momentous problems that a young giant hove in sight —a Good Giant, of the kind that always help little fairy girls out of real difficulties. She did n't say anything, but she looked her perplexities.

"What is the trouble, little girl?" the Giant asked in sympathetic tones which lent assurance.

She told him all.

"Certainly it is yours; certainly your mother will believe you, and certainly we will get it," said the Giant. "You stay here and stand guard until I return."

The Giant disappeared into a nearby factory, but soon came back bearing a tin can full of boiling water. To thaw the ice was the work of only a few moments. He then picked up the limp and wet, but highly valued, piece of paper, and handed it to its new owner.

"Take it home to your mother and tell her that I said it was yours," said the Giant, as he went away smiling— smiling notwithstanding that in those days the shinplaster would have been as welcome to him as it was to the little girl.

The Giant was Ed Wolcott. The mother received his assurance regarding the possession of the money, and the girl was allowed to go unpunished.

There also is another "little girl" story, which is quite as characteristic as the foregoing. After he had become a United States Senator, Mr. Wolcott found a child on Pennsyl-

vania Avenue in Washington, crying. At the same time he observed another small member of the sex scurrying around the corner. His heart was touched by the apparent utter desolation and despair of the nearby girl. He asked the cause of her grief. "Mamie" had taken her doll. That was enough for the Senator. He rushed off to the nearest shop, and returning, emptied a dozen dolls into the disconsolate child's lap, to her astonishment and delight.

Commenting on Mr. Wolcott's disposition to relieve distress, a Denver newspaper published the following the day after the Senator's death:

> One instance was related around the lobby of the Brown Palace Hotel yesterday. It had to do with the succor of a newsboy and the discomfiture of an officious policeman. It happened on Seventeenth Street, near the Equitable Building.
>
> The "newsie" was weeping bitterly when Wolcott stepped out of the entrance of the building.
>
> "What 's the matter, my boy," asked the big man. "Stuck?"
>
> "Ye-e-s," whimpered the newsboy.
>
> Just then a policeman loomed large around the corner. He saw the snivelling boy and smacked him sharply on the bare legs with his nightstick.
>
> "Here, you, hustle out o' here," ordered the policeman.
>
> "If you do that again I 'll punch your face," said the Senator, hotly, to the policeman. Then he turned to the newsboy, dropped a big silver dollar in his hand and strode off up the street.

Yet he was not all smiles to any person, nor did he smile at all to some. He could be severe and unyielding if the occasion seemed to demand that course. He could get an undesirable caller out of his office with much tact, and he did not permit any one to remain if he did not have the time or the inclination to hear what the visitor had to say. On such occasions he would himself gradually move toward the door, taking the other person with him, until, well arrived at the portal, he would bow him out, and, whether ready to go or not, the caller found that the adieus had been said and either the door was closed upon him or Mr. Wolcott was already so deeply engrossed in other

matters as to render it quite impossible to again get his attention.

Tedious or uncongenial people were an abomination to him and were avoided. He would not even receive a disagreeable message if he could find a way out of doing so.

When the excitement over the A. P. A. (The American Protective Association) was at its height, the Denver branch of that organization appointed a committee to visit the Senator and remonstrate with him over the retention in his employ of two adherents of the Catholic faith. The two men heard in advance of the prospective visit. It was a time of political excitement, when all votes were needed and the A. P. A. was very potent. The intended victims were not so much concerned about their own fate as they were regarding the situation and the possible effect of such a presentation of the issue as was contemplated. They did not desire that at that time their chief should be required to take a positive position.

"They 'll never mention it, boys," he said to the two men, when they carried to him the information of the coming call. "Rest easy," he repeated; "they will not get to it." And they did not. When the committee arrived he took the direction of the conversation in his own hands, and, before any of the members of the delegation could find an opening to bring up the object of the call, had bowed all of them out of his office.

Soon after he first went to Washington as a Senator, he encountered a Colorado lady who was seeking an official position. She was very tedious, and, as she could not pass the examination required to enter the government service, there was nothing he could do for her except to listen to her complainings. He had no disposition to give up his time to such a course, and, taking in the situation at a glance, he did not permit her to even state her case. She had no sooner addressed him than he broke in upon her.

I can do nothing for you, Mrs. Blank [he said in a torrent of words]. I know all about your case; you need not tell me. You cannot expect an appointment unless you fit yourself for it, and you can claim nothing because of residence in Colorado.

Most of your relatives have held office almost ever since they entered the State, and all obligation is from you to the State and not from the State to you. You should prepare yourself for the Civil Service Examination. I cannot aid you, and knowing I can do nothing, I shall not make pretence of trying to do something.

Certainly the lecture the woman received was most abrupt. But he was right in that he was powerless to help her. And he saved her the time and himself the annoyance of frequent interviews, which otherwise would have been inevitable.

FRANKNESS ABOUT FAULTS

Reference has been made both to Mr. Wolcott's use of intoxicants and to his frankness. On account of his candor concerning the drink habit he attained a reputation which he did not deserve. An instance is related by early Georgetown friends.

He had just returned from a camping out excursion with some congenial friends, in Middle Park, when his campaign for District Attorney, his first campaign, was in its incipiency. The details of the tour are not at hand, but the members of the party were young and many of them convivial. It may be imagined that the mountain trout did not get all of all kinds of the "fish bait." Rumors to this effect preceded the party to Georgetown, so that when Mr. Wolcott returned he was met by a sober-minded, elderly citizen who seemed to feel called upon to remonstrate with the young man. Meeting Mr. Wolcott on the street a day or so after his return from the outing, he recounted to him the report concerning the party's conduct in the park. "And," he added, "I was surprised to hear that *you* were among those who were tipsy." In his reply Wolcott doubtless exaggerated the condition, but under such circumstances he would not hesitate to do so, even at his own expense. He said that all had been more than tipsy, and declared that he had been "the worst of the lot."

If the good man regretted the moral delinquency of his

young acquaintance, he must have received a lesson in candor which was not otherwise than beneficial.

A still more striking instance was his conduct during his first campaign for the United States Senate. It was just previous to this contest that Mr. Wolcott made his grand plunge at Daly's club-room at Long Branch, where he lost a large sum of money. His political friends and advisers were fearful that the episode might hurt his chances, and begged him to deny the story. He smiled at their fears, and said:

> Whose business is it but mine? I am an unmarried man, and there is no one but myself upon whom any disgrace can fall. While it is true that I lost large sums of money at faro, it also is true that I had won a large sum during the day previous on the races. It would do no good to deny it if I were disposed to do so, and I am not.

What could be more candid than the following letter from Ed Wolcott to his father? It was written from Georgetown, January 17, 1875, and runs:

DEAR FATHER:

I guess you are right in most of the good advice you give me. I know you have always practised self-denial to some extent, but did you ever realize how much harder it is to follow good counsel than to give it? In regard to asking assistance from others, you don't quite understand my position. If I was not looking forward very anxiously to something definite in the future, and was not afraid that my debts would be the one thing in the way, I should rest perfectly easy, whether they were ever paid or not. My debts don't worry me, but the fear that they may stand in the way of success does.

You are exactly right, too, when you say that I have been too much in the habit of relying upon others, that it has been easier to borrow than to earn. Your telling me so did n't make the truth any more evident to me. A man always knows his weaknesses and wickedness better than anybody, even his father, can tell him. I am always interested, though, in tracing the causes of such proclivities. I lay it first to laziness, next to the fact that I was brought up in a minister's family where we were always looking forward to a donation party, or a Thanks-

giving turkey, or Mrs. Piper's five dollars: and lastly, because by persistent cultivation of the habit it has become almost a second nature with me, I fear.

But, after all, I hope it will all come out right, and some day after I have repaid my friends and relatives we can afford to smile at the number of the victimized.

Teach Bertie while he is yet young that beautiful hymn beginning, "I 'll Never Use Tobacco, No," and when he gets older he 'll not find it as hard work to stop chewing as I do.

Ed.

There was a generous reply from the parent; but more of the same good advice, with the result that on the following February 10th Ed again wrote his father. The second letter was quite as frank as the first. It follows:

Your remarks are timely and true, and, moreover, are kind, and evince, as your letters and life always have, a sympathy and kindness which my conduct has never justified. Even if I were so disposed I could n't take the least exception to your letter. But did it ever occur to you that writing me good advice is like pouring water on a duck's back? I always see my faults very plainly, and moralize over them beautifully. Ministers always like to talk to me. It encourages them in their work. I always agree with them, and they leave me feeling that there is good in me, and that they have succeeded in arousing me to the necessity of bringing it out. But somehow the matter always ends right there, until they call again.

There is nothing new. I am behaving myself; am doing a fair business; have no ambition and much laziness. I lead, somehow, a dreamy sort of life. I don't remember much of it; my past, which I recall, is the past of several years ago, and I dream, always, like one who has eaten opium, of a future, gorgeous, happy, and impossible.

If he tried to quit the use of tobacco his conduct was halting as he himself testifies. Writing to his father from Georgetown again in February, 1875, he says:

"I did rather make up my mind to begin giving up tobacco, and have n't chewed any for a fortnight. There is no saving so far as expense goes, for I find I smoke all the more. I am going to try refraining altogether from its use, but don't anticipate much success."

He also battled manfully against his smoking habit. He was always "swearing off" and he wrote many letters home regarding his experience in this respect.

In December, 1883, he tells his father that he has "gone thirty-three days without tobacco in any form." "I am experimenting with myself carefully in regard to the effects of tobacco on my system," he said. Three weeks afterward he reported the result of the experiment. Apparently it was satisfactory. "So far," he said, "my experience is that I am better with tobacco than without it." He was inclined, however, to moralize a little, for he added: "Even if this be so, it only shows us how potent the devil is." He then asked, "Who runs the anti-tobacco tract business since Brother Trask died?" adding that he could use "a few." He was still getting on without the tobacco notwithstanding his conviction that he was better off with than without it. "Grandfather's heart would be made glad these days if he could see me eat my simple dish of oatmeal in the morning and spend the day without tobacco," he said.

How long this period of abstinence continued there is no record to show, but certain it is that he smoked vigorously most of the remainder of his life. He also was, as a rule, a liberal patron of the table, but occasionally in his later years he would order a simple bowl of bread and milk, and frequently he would pass long intervals without drinking.

His father appears to have been anxious lest he should let his use of intoxicants interfere with his work during the campaign of 1880, the first in which he participated outside his own county. Replying to evident solicitude on this point, he wrote from Denver on September 26th of that year, as follows:

> I appreciate both mother's anxiety and yours respecting the necessity of keeping good hours, and taking care of one's health on the stump: but there is n't the least occasion for worry so far as I am concerned. I am living a perfectly regular life these days, and am indulging in no excesses either in the matter of late hours or appetite.

He went East shortly after he had begun his connection

with the railroads, and was elated over the fact that one road had retained him as counsel at $15,000 a year. A younger brother remarked that that was just twenty-five times the salary of $600 which he then was receiving. Ed replied: "I 'd like to bet that you come nearer paying your bills at the end of the year than I mine."

Once he expressed his contriteness regarding certain of his habits under circumstances which brought out a witticism from his friend, Speaker Reed, at the expense of another friend, the lawyer and diplomat, Joseph H. Choate. The three men were dining together, Reed being the host. When the wine was served, Choate declined. He did the same when the cigars were handed around.

"I neither drink nor smoke," observed the New Yorker in explanation.

"I wish I could say that," remarked Wolcott, half apologetically.

"Why don't you?" asked Reed; "Choate said it."

"Did I tell you?" he wrote to his father from Georgetown, in 1875, "that I received a letter from —— the other day? I told Kittie a few years ago that I would write him, and I have done so. The Wolcotts always keep their word—sometimes."

And again in the same letter: "In a letter Mr. J. Huntington Wolcott mentions having seen Henry, and adds, 'he does credit to his ancestry.' If he had said if of me, and I had found it out, I should, probably, at once have negotiated a small loan from him."

That he was not overawed by the greatness of deceased forebears may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to his father dated December 2, 1884:

"I bought of a New York autograph collector the other day a letter of Roger Wolcott's. I had Bert decipher it. I send you a copy, thinking that it might be of interest to you, although Roger is long since dead."

In the course of a letter in 1884, he gave an account of his finances, and added: "I cannot and would not keep an account of my personal expenses. I would probably unconsciously begin 'doctoring' the account, and cheating myself."

In another letter to his father he speaks of a magazine article which had been sent him, doubtless for his edification. Acknowledging the receipt of the paper, he commended the writing, saying it was true, "every word of it, and more too." Then he added, referring to a part of the moral story: "The account of the little boy who paid his debts is touching; I wish he'd pay mine." But while he spoke lightly of his debts and did not lose sleep over them, he never failed to meet them squarely. Indeed, no man was more punctilious in this respect. But it was not like him to fret over a situation so long as it could not be relieved.

Mr. Morrison relates some characteristic incidents illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's character. He recalls that on one occasion after the return to Georgetown from a visit to an Eastern State, he said to Ed, "I always come back with a last dollar still in my pocket." "I never come back but that I leave the last dollar in some other man's pocket," responded Ed.

What fools these merchants are [said Ed one day to Mr. Morrison]. Why do they print their cards on the outside of their envelopes? Whenever I receive a letter from one of them, I know immediately that it is a bill. What do I do then but throw it aside and, after opening it at my leisure, reply to them with the statement that my delay is due to the tardiness of the mails! If they were not so kind as to apprize me of their identity I should have no such excuse.

Thomas Cornish gives this instance of Wolcott's open-mindedness in regard to his own faults:

I remember once, while a crowd of us were playing billiards in the Denver Club, a politician came in to see Mr. Wolcott. They whispered together at the end of the hall, but we could hear every word. Somebody, the politician said, had raked up an old scandal which was to be published. It was a bitter thing, and probably would have done harm.

Wolcott left the politician and came back to make his shot. Then he rejoined him and said, "What does the fellow want?" "Well, I think we can buy him off for $1000," hesitatingly answered the politician. "You go back and tell him," replied Mr. Wolcott, "that I know so many worse things about myself

that I would not pay a cent to suppress what he has." And that was the last we ever heard about it.

THE GAME

As has been said, Mr. Wolcott had an innate love of speculation, and when engaged in any game of chance, he played it to the limit. A friend relates an instance of his early tendency in this direction. While engaged in the practice of the law in Georgetown, Wolcott frequently visited Denver. In those days his income was very limited, but this fact did not prevent his chancing all that he had when the impulse came upon him. At the time mentioned, he was on a brief visit to Denver, and he made a call at one of the well-known gaming-houses, of which at that time there were many in Denver. The dealer was a personal acquaintance and a strong admirer of the young lawyer. Ed soon lost all of the little stock of ready money that he carried, but when this was gone he importuned the dealer to let him have twenty dollars worth of chips on the watch he carried. At first the dealer refused to take the watch, saying that he could have the chips without any security. Mr. Wolcott declined these terms, and pleaded so persistently that ultimately the chips were handed to him and the watch accepted as collateral for the loan. The play proceeded furiously for a brief time, and, of course, terminated in the loss of the $20. With this result, Mr. Wolcott disappeared from the establishment. Within half an hour, however, he broke into the room, rushed up to the dealer and asked to be allowed to take the watch. By way of explanation, he said, "It 's Hen's," meaning that it was his brother Henry's. In his zeal he had pledged even his brother's watch, but the cool air outside the gambling-room had soon brought him to his senses. He then returned and, leaving his own word as security, carried the brother's watch away with him.

But we must go still farther back in tracing Mr. Wolcott's fondness for games of chance.

The first of his exploits as a plunger took place when he was a Freshman in Yale. There was an intercollegiate boat-race which was rowed on Lake Quinsigamond, a small

body of water near Worcester, Massachusetts. Eight or ten colleges, among them Yale, had crews entered. Two or three had exceptionally good crews, but Yale's was considered a wretched one and no one believed that it had any possible chance of winning. Ed became stakeholder for several students of other colleges who were betting on their respective teams. The boys from the other colleges taunted Ed a good deal about the Yale crew. When he could endure it no longer, he finally put up at proper odds on the Yale force, in addition to the few dollars he had of his own, the big sum which he was holding as a stake for others. Yale won, and Ed had so much money that he went to New York to spend it.

On his first visit to New York after he had become a citizen of Colorado, Mr. Wolcott made a visit to Wall Street and immediately became infatuated with that great centre of speculation. He said to a friend soon after his introduction there:

> This is the place for me. I like the game. In ordinary gambling you take chances on losing your standing in society. Some of your best friends show an inclination to "cut" you after a night at poker; but here—why, here, here on Wall Street, a man can gamble to his heart's content and still be respectable. But it 's gambling all the same. Wall Street for me hereafter.

He never lost his interest in the Street. He was at times a large dealer in stocks, and while not always successful, he dealt with such a knowledge of conditions that generally he kept "ahead of the game." He came later to regard Wall Street as more than a gambling centre, and he frequently defended its operators as among the most worthy specimens of American citizenship.

But whether in Wall Street, on the race track, or in the card-room, he played zealously. The excitement of the game appealed to his temperament. He loved to take the chances, and he did take them in everything. When anything became a certainty, it seemed to lose much of its charm for him. He always played to win, but never was there a more cheerful loser. He accepted adverse results as among the fortunes of war, and made no long faces over them.

Mr. J. H. P. Voorhies, of Denver, relates an experience with Mr. Wolcott at Long Branch. In addition to throwing much light on Mr. Wolcott's chance-taking propensities, the narrative supplies a fine glimpse of the Wolcott view of things in general. This is Mr. Voorhies's story:

In the summer of '88, Wolcott and I went to the Monmouth Park races for the opening day, stopping at the Elberon Hotel. The evening before, with E. A. Buck, then editor of *The Spirit of the Times*, we arranged a card to bet on the next day's races. Buck had considerable knowledge of past performances, and I, of a little of blood lines, pedigrees, and Kentucky owners and trainers. As it happened, of the seven events we guessed the first five winners, and had a "show" on the others. Ed was always a plunger on every game or sport,—that's what he loved. Buck's betting and mine was very modest in comparison, but the day was a great harvest. Ed and I drove out in an open victoria. The day was beautiful, the rig fine, the driver skilful and polite, and the way crowded with thousands.

From the moment the "books" were ready he was busy, and by the time the third race had been won, with the multiplied capital on hand, Ed had several "bookies" well-nigh exclusively working in taking and placing his bets. Each time, however, the gong would sound—"horses at the post"—the books would close, with Buck and I rushing for the stand or clubhouse porch to see the race, and leaving Ed behind in the betting ring. He would say to me: "Go ahead; I don't like that mad throng; I will stay here and see what is doing on the *next* race."

When the day was over and he and I, again in our victoria (the driver also a winner on our tips), slowly returning, I became enthused over our winning, the marvellous performance of the horses and the jockeys we had chosen, the wonderful scene of crowd and landscape. Indeed, everything was glorious to me, and I said so to Ed several times. As we neared the hotel, he said: "Jack, there was only one thing which marred my day's pleasure, and that was those d——d horse-races, when you and Buck left me alone."

Following Mr. Wolcott's successful attendance upon the Monmouth races, he made a visit to Daly's gambling establishment at Long Branch, where he lost his track earnings and a large sum in addition. His course on this occasion was characteristic. Putting in his hat the entire amount

of his winnings on the races, he insisted upon betting the lump sum on "the high." When remonstrated with by his friends, he declared that he did not want to keep the money, because it was "dirty."

The incident found its way into the newspapers, and gave Mr. Wolcott a reputation from which he did not soon recover. Many good people obtained an entirely wrong impression of him. He did not play any game for the love of money, but played all games for the love of sport. But, money getting aside, no one could be more daring than he. He would bet on anything on which there could be a difference of opinion. At Monte Carlo, only the day before he went to bed for the last time, he won over $30,000 at a sitting. On this occasion he played with utter abandon, but everything ran his way. So remarkable was his success that most other players suspended operations on their own account to observe and assist in his game. Everybody wanted to help him in some way, lords and ladies being among those who were willing to fetch and carry for him. The day before, he had lost heavily, and after he left the gaming-hall, he said: "I wanted to show them that they could not win all the time; I am more than even now, and I won't go there any more."

Speaking of his proclivities for gaming, Mr. Stealey says: "Mr. Wolcott was a dead-game sport, and would stack up the blue chips on a poker lay-out as high as the ceiling, if the dealer would permit."

Once Mr. Wolcott visited Jackson City, which in his time was a gambling resort in Virginia, across the Potomac from Washington. The place figured much in the newspapers of the day, and he wanted to see for himself what it was. Being on the ground, he must play, and he had been so engaged for only a short time when he found that he was operating against a "brace" game—a game in which the dealer stacked the cards to his own satisfaction. After he had lost a considerable sum, Wolcott pulled the last note out of his pocket, and, throwing it on the table before the dealer, said: "What 's the use of working so hard? I understand your system, but not so well as you do. I know you 'll win the money in the end; but I hate to see you

labor. I therefore turn the money over without requiring you to go through the rigorous rôle of dealing so often." With the speech, he left the place, disdaining to pick up the note. Afterward he said he thought the house "needed the money."

He despised ordinary card "sharps" as few other men could. Illustrative of this disdain is the circumstance of his compelling one of them to desist from his operations during an entire voyage across the Atlantic. The fellow was a Denver gambler who had been run out of the Colorado metropolis on account of dishonest practices. Wolcott found him aboard a ship on which he was crossing to England. When discovered, the "sport" was engaged in a game with a party of respectable men. At the first opportunity Mr. Wolcott called him aside.

"How much have you won?" he asked.

The gambler admitted having pocketed $3000.

"You 'll contribute that amount to the Seaman's Fund and refrain from playing all the way across," said the Colorado Senator.

He knew so much of the man's record that the fellow could not refuse to obey. The Seaman's Fund received an unexpectedly large contribution the next morning, and doubtless many of the passengers were protected from a humiliating fleecing.

PRACTICAL JOKES

Not only was our subject given to verbal jest, but also to "practical jokes," in which action as well as speech was required. The miners of Georgetown tell many yarns of his funny performances.

Once he noticed a wagon-load of cordwood climbing the steepest hill of the little camp. He jumped up behind the pile, which hid him from the driver, and rolled off log by log until the cart was nearly empty. Those were days when men were shot for less offences. But the owner was pacified by double the price of his load,—and it was just like Wolcott, in his generous impulse, to leave the cords for the use of the poor of the wayside.

When Wolcott went to Yale he was made the subject of a hazing experience which was not to his liking. He immediately set out to get "even." He organized the Freshmen, and a few nights afterward the hazers found their leader securely chained to a tombstone in a far-away cemetery—the result of Wolcott's planning. Ever afterward he was a defender of the practice of hazing. He had found it a game that both parties could play at—fine sport.

"Laughing gas" was a new discovery in Mr. Wolcott's high-school days, and members of his chemistry class decided upon a demonstration of its properties before the school. Edward was chosen as the first one to experiment on; but he did not feel any effect from his supposed inhalation. However, he had no thought of disappointing his schoolmates, and he gave them a fine demonstration of what the gas should, if it did not, do. The incident occurred in the days of his minstrel enthusiasm, and he gave a "walk around" after the most approved fashion, accompanied by a song and ending with a dance, to the edification of the entire school. Temporarily the study of chemistry in Mr. Wolcott's room was much stimulated by the experiment, and the joke was not discovered until another "subject" was experimented upon. He failed to get results, and investigation developed the fact that all the gas had leaked out before the experiments began.

In a letter to his father of March, 1871, he tells the following relative to an experience with the gentleman at whose house he was staying:

> I do not see the *Congregationalist*. It is a Republican sheet, and that damns it in ——'s sight. He is a tremendously bigoted old gentleman. The strongest kind of a Democrat— thinks slavery was a divine institution, and swallows the Bible bodily. I have had him tremendously worked up lately by suggesting that the passage in Job should read "for though after my skin worms destroy this body," etc., and giving him learned and valuable descriptions of the skinworm. He has been consulting innumerable Concordances, Notes, etc., to prove me in the wrong.

One phase of the man's disposition is illustrated by the following incident:

General Hamill took Mr. Wolcott riding one day in Denver, when both were comparatively young men. From Hamill's manner Wolcott conceived the idea that his friend was timid and said to him:

"Why, Bill, I think you are afraid of those horses."

"I am not afraid," replied Hamill.

"Well, we 'll see whether you are or not." With these words Wolcott seized the lines, and throwing them on the backs of the horses laid on the whip.

The horses ran away and the two occupants of the carriage were thrown to the earth, but Wolcott seemed to think it a great joke when he proved that Hamill was not exactly afraid of the horses.

Once when Mr. Wolcott was dining with some friends at Delmonico's in New York, a Colorado man, who was noted at home for his vanity, entered the dining-hall and took a seat without observing the Wolcott party.

"Watch me have some fun," he said to his companions.

Sending for the manager, he pointed out the Coloradoan, and, taking him into his confidence, told him that he wanted to pay the visitor's bill.

When the gentleman had completed his meal and volunteered to make settlement, the manager intervened. "There is no charge, Colonel," he said. "Your reputation has preceded you, and the house feels so flattered at having you dine here that it desires you to accept its hospitality."

The deception was not suspected, and the air assumed by the visitor as he left the hall was fully enjoyed by the Senator and his friends. "It was worth the price," Wolcott said afterward.

As has been told, Mr. Wolcott was a sleep-walker. The habit came near getting him into trouble once when crossing the Atlantic; but his readiness of thought and quickness of speech saved him. It appears that after getting out of his berth and possibly trying in vain to find the door or to determine where he was, he shouted excitedly, "Where? Where?" To the ship's crew the cry sounded like "Fire! Fire!" and soon the fire department of the vessel was thundering so vigorously at his door that he became wide-awake. He took in the situation immediately, but he did

not want to attract disagreeable attention to himself by making an explanation. To be sure he had heard the sound; but he was certain it had come from the steerage. So he told the firemen, and they left him undisturbed while they proceeded in their unavailing search for the "fire."

While very quick in some matters, Senator Wolcott was slow in others. He did not always give attention to details. Once when, during the Harrison Administration, he found it desirable to obtain an official position for a retainer in Colorado, he sought the advice of Senator Teller, who then, like Mr. Wolcott, was acting with the Republican party. One of Wolcott's clerks entered his office while he and Teller were in close conference on the subject. They had the Blue Book open before them. This is an official publication giving the names of Government employees together with their salaries, and evidently they were scanning it in the hope of discovering a place to their liking. At last they raised their heads, but seemed to have obtained very little information as the result of their research. As Mr. Wolcott looked up he saw the clerk and asked him, "Do you know of some place we can get for this man?" explaining the circumstances which made it necessary to give him a position. After some conversation the employee reminded him that Congress had only recently passed what was known as the "Meat Inspection Bill," which provided for the appointment of several hundred inspectors at good salaries.

"When did that bill pass?" asked the junior Senator from Colorado.

"Oh," replied the secretary, "within the last two or three weeks, and both of you voted for it."

They then recalled the measure and each laughed heartily at the expense of the other as they walked off arm in arm, bent upon a visit to the Secretary of Agriculture in the hope of obtaining from him the coveted appointment, in which it may be stated, for the satisfaction of the curious, they were successful.

Generally preoccupied, Mr. Wolcott did not always recognize acquaintances on the street. This trait of character made many enemies, and it made some that were not de-

served. Remonstrated with frequently by his brother Henry for the failing, he would just as often promise to reform, and he made the effort every time. In one such attempt he made himself the subject of general jest on the part of the Denver Club. Meeting on the street one day a familiar figure, he recalled his promise to Henry and hailed the man with a hearty greeting that must have surprised him. The man was going in the direction of the Club building, and as the Club was Mr. Wolcott's destination he joined him and walked with him up to and into the building. When he separated from his companion he was told by his amused intimates that his new friend was the Club barber! The incident had in it no feature of annoyance for Mr. Wolcott, but the joke is still told with zest over the Club tables.

One of a number of artists whom Mr. Wolcott was entertaining at dinner toward the close of his Senatorial service engaged the Senator in serious conversation, naively asking him in the course of the interview whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. The inquiry greatly amused the host, and he often quoted it to illustrate a favorite contention that comparatively few people give heed to public affairs or care much about public men.

The fact of Ed's frequent confinement in the guard-house, while as a sixteen-year-old boy he served in the Army during the Civil War, has been detailed elsewhere. There is a good story going with one of these incarcerations. He was very fond of a spirited horse, and his captain was the owner of an animal which appealed to Ed's taste. One day he prevailed upon the hostler to let him ride the horse for a canter down the road. The road led to Washington, some five miles distant, and, well mounted as he was, young Wolcott decided to pay his first visit to the Capital of his country. He did so, and in style. Unfortunately, however, he met the owner of the horse face to face on Pennsylvania Avenue. Result: A dreary trudge back to Fort Saratoga, and an unusual term in the lock-up.

JESTING WITH THE FAMILY

That Mr. Wolcott did not spare his family in the per-

petration of his jokes is the best possible evidence that he really loved fun for fun's sake and that he did not employ his wit merely for the sake of being disagreeable.

Mr. Wolcott's father was the object of many of his sallies. He never tired of getting off jokes at the expense of his elder, and many of his best thrusts were made at him. That this tendency was due to a lack neither of affection nor respect, his many utterances and acts to the contrary demonstrate. The explanation comes along more agreeable channels. It is found primarily in the fact that the younger Wolcott enjoyed badinage more than most men do, and, like all men capable of saying a good thing, he did not like to speak without eliciting a response. The father was as capable in this line as the son; he gave as good as was sent; he was a foeman worthy of Edward's steel. Moreover, he was quick to appreciate an exhibition of intellect even at his own expense. Edward had full knowledge of all these facts. The witticisms directed at the father bear internal evidence of their inoffensiveness, and are fine examples of their author's capacity to say a bright thing without being bitter.

Already we have told of his suggestion that the father as a hymn-writer and a gentleman who was a composer should get together, with the result, as he put it, that in such event "they could make a great deal of money, *and on very little capital!*"

While a student he wrote his father on one occasion that being somewhat out of sorts he had been drinking "vichy" with beneficial result. His father replied that he could not recall any beverage by that name as being necessary when he himself was seeking his education, and he hoped it was not an intoxicant. His father, who was author of many church hymns, liked to submit them for his son's criticism, and in the same letter he enclosed his latest production. The reply he sent his father was short and characteristic. "Don't be alarmed," he wrote. "Vichy is wide from being an intoxicant—as wide as the lines you sent are from being worthy of publication."

And here, in a letter dated March 5, 1881, is an example of his forcible manner of calling his father's attention to the fact that he was growing negligent in letter-writing:

"I was very glad to get your letter, and to ascertain definitely that there was nothing wrong with your right arm. I had begun to be somewhat anxious as I had n't seen a line from you since last December."

We have heard of the piety and of the necessarily modest habits of life of Mr. Wolcott's father and mother, and we know that he came of a long line of Puritan ancestry on both sides. Hence, the point of the following: At a time when Wolcott was suffering from a severe attack of gout, one of his friends called upon him and was sympathizing with him. "It seems strange to me," said the Senator, "why I should be afflicted as I am. I have done everything I could think of to relieve the pain; my life has n't been such that I am entitled to suffer so; I have thought it all over, and the only conclusion that I can come to is that it must be hereditary."

While probably he would not agree that Mr. Wolcott's ills were due to any hereditary taint, Hon. Charles Page Bryan comes near finding a kindred explanation for his penchant for mischief. "I have," he says, "often thought that the exuberance of clergymen's sons is largely due to the pent-up animalism of a self-denying life finding vent in the children who possess, with virtues of the mind, excessive weakness of the flesh."

It was at about the Hudson school attendance period that one evening at a church sociable the elder Wolcott strolled into a room where several persons were standing and where his third son was leaning against the mantelpiece in what struck his father as a lounging attitude.

"Edward," said he, "could you not find anything else in the room to support you?"

The reply came at once, "Not in your absence, father."

Dr. Wolcott visited Cambridge while Ed was there and stayed at the son's boarding-place. Ed behaved himself circumspectly and kept regular hours for several days. But finally something detained him one night, and he did not reach the house until ever-so-much o'clock. He let himself in quietly, and was trying to creep noiselessly to his room, when, as he was passing his father's door, he heard the striking of a match, and he was called in. After his wont,

he made a frank avowal of the circumstances that had detained him, and then his father spoke. He also had the floor-walking habit, and he moved back and forward as he reviewed the various opportunities that his son had failed to improve, and deplored the present revelation of his way of life. Ed sat in silence until the complaint had been fully poured out, but in the pause that followed it seemed incumbent on him to make response.

"Father," said he, "can you tell what is the difference between the Prodigal Son and myself?"

"No," said the elder man, in nervous vexation; "I don't believe there is any difference."

"I will tell you," said Ed. "The Prodigal rose and went to his father; *my father rose and went for me.*"

"Edward," said Dr. Wolcott, "go to bed."

In 1868, when only twenty years old, we find him writing to his sire from his place of business in New York: "It isn't quite three weeks since I have heard from home, but it is pretty near it. I conclude you are locating Lot's wife or some other mythological landmark, and are too busy to write."

Writing to his mother in 1875 he said:

> Father used to like to tell me how he had never given his father a moment's anxiety, and what a splendid feeling it was; I now appreciate it, and realize it in my parents. Father is travelling from Birmingham to Cow Corners, but I never retire at night without the happy consciousness that he is doing his duty, although, as an M. C. said the other day, it is a bad year for ministers.

Again, three years later, from school at Cambridge to his father:

"Your sermon in the *Christian Advance* was not one of your best. But I can give it the recommendation that fathers can introduce it into the bosom of their families without fear."

Writing to his mother in 1872, of his lack of funds, his extravagant habits, etc., he tells her of his friend Potter, who assisted him in getting started in Georgetown. "He has," says Ed, "attended father's preaching, which evidently

accounts for his good heart, etc." In this letter he speaks of his birthday, 26th of March, and draws conclusions from the fact that it came so near the 1st of April, April Fools' day. "I never thought of it before," he says, "but it certainly is not my fault."

That his disposition did not change with age and honors is evident from the following:

In 1881, after his term as a State Senator had expired, he received a letter from his father enclosing an obituary. The father had written of a neighbor who in life had not been highly esteemed. "By the way, as an Irishman would say," wrote Ed in acknowledgment of the letter, "we never know how many good qualities we possess until after we are dead—do we?"

That he took the same liberty with other ministers that he did with his father is evidenced by the following from a letter to the father dated June 13, 1875:

"Those Presbyterian ministers came out, some forty of them, to Georgetown. I did n't have the pleasure of meeting any of them, but they said here in town that when the yellow-legged chickens saw them coming they commenced climbing the mountains."

When at school Ed's allowance was quite inadequate to meet his wants. He would earn extra money if he could find a way to do so, and he would borrow—if he could find a way to do so. Once when his brother Henry called upon him while he was pursuing his studies, he "struck" that gentleman, not better supplied, but more economical, for a loan of ten dollars. At first declaring that he could not spare so much from his funds, Henry at last yielded on the promise that the money would be refunded through a letter when Ed should receive his next allowance at the end of the month. With the new month came the promised letter from Ed. "Dear Henry," it ran, "find enclosed ten dollars —if you can."

For reasons of his own, Mr. Wolcott was not an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Blaine when he made his campaign for the Presidency in 1884, but he gave him his vote. He wrote his pious mother about his attitude, and referring to Mr. Cleveland's election, without expressing regret, added:

"Fortunately partisanship did not warp our judgment sufficiently to prevent Henry and me from betting a little on the winning side. This is wicked, Mother, but after all it 's a sort of balm."

These two extracts from letters are at the mother's expense:

From "Cambridge, 1871":

I mean sometime to read some commentary writings, after reading the writings themselves, for since once in Providence mother and I started to read the Bible through in a year, and got as far as Leviticus, I have sadly neglected the Scriptures; I hope mother has n't.

From Georgetown, 1872, referring to one of his sisters who was then visiting Colorado:

One thing more would make her about perfect, and that is a little spice of the D—v—l. But I don't mean to reproach you, Mother, for her early education, for that is not responsible for it, and inheriting your disposition, as she does, how could it appear in her?

Mr. Wolcott has himself told us how his Grandfather Pope helped him out of pecuniary difficulties on more than one occasion, but he did not always do so when importuned. Following is one of Ed's hints to him through a letter to his father from Blackhawk, in 1872:

"I may have to ask you for funds as you offered in your letter, but I hope I won't have to. I feel as if I could scrape through somehow. I know it is vain, but I can't help hoping that Grandfather will do as Jesus told Zacchæus to do when he (Z.) was 'up a tree,' *i. e.*, 'Come down.'"

That Mr. Wolcott was the life of the household when he was a boy there is little doubt, in view of the testimony of his brothers and sisters on this point. He generally was in a romp with some member of the family, and was a great tease. On one occasion, his father wrote to an absent member of the family: "It seems like Sunday; Ed is gone."

Mr. Carroll tells us that Ed and his friend Ed Selden once drove thirty miles to the Connecticut River to watch

the fishermen haul for shad. "I well remember a trip with him, six miles to a pond in the country, to bob through the ice for pickerel," says Mr. Carroll. "It was a severely cold day, the ice thick and holes difficult to make. Axes proving too slow, from the neighboring farmers two crowbars were secured, and both lost through the ice, that we had to settle roundly for. Not a fish was caught, but he inserted so much fun into every bitter experience that it was a day of rare enjoyment."

AS ORATOR, LAWYER, AND LEGISLATOR

BEGINNING with his career in the Colorado State Senate, Mr. Wolcott's reputation as an orator soon travelled beyond the bounds of the State. His first call to outside effort came from the New England Society of New York, in 1887, and the address then delivered gave him immediate rank as one of the great orators of the country. It is published in the volume of *Modern Eloquence* which is devoted to "after-dinner" speeches, and together with the address delivered before the same Society ten years later, constitutes a splendid addition to English literature as expressed in American oratory. After the New England Society speech came many invitations to attend dinners, and to make political speeches; but comparatively few of them were accepted. The reputation as a national orator made at New York was enhanced by his Yale Alumni speech, by his speech nominating James G. Blaine for the Presidency in 1892, by his speech at Philadelphia in commemoration of Mr. Blaine's virtues after his death, and by campaign speeches in New York, Iowa, and other States.

Of all his speeches the most noteworthy was his address as Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1900. He labored over this speech for weeks, and the result was an address that won general commendation not only because of its diction, but on account of its subject-matter. This may fittingly be given the first place in all of the Colorado orator's forensic efforts, and it is safe to say that it long will hold front rank as a keynote convention effort. His Venezuela speech in the Senate is an honorable second, and his Denver speech of 1896 does not trail far behind the other two, if at all.

The Colorado campaign speeches are full of "local color," but interspersed with matter of this character is much of high patriotism and many gems of eloquence that will long attract favorable remark from those who read the collection. Beginning with the first of the speeches, that of 1880, and running to the last, the notable address at the Coliseum Hall in Denver, in 1904, almost a quarter of a century afterward, the collection is interesting throughout. The contest of 1896 was the most trying of all his campaigns, and the three speeches made in Colorado that year are among the most unique in modern political history. For variety of expression; for the blending of sarcasm and persuasion; for fairmindedness and high ideals, as also for pugnacity and banter, the Denver speech of that year has few equals among campaign efforts. He had on his fighting clothes in those days, and his most effective speeches were always made when the enemy was in the field and when the odds were against him.

With but few exceptions, his speeches in the Senate were the most carefully prepared of his oratorical efforts, and many of them are models of expression. He thought more of his speech on the Monroe Doctrine as involved in the Venezuela boundary dispute than any other, but his preference probably was based on the circumstance that, with sentiment running strongly against his pro-English utterance, the delivery of the speech required a higher degree of moral courage than most of his addresses. For the same reason, his speech in opposition to the Force Bill commended itself to him. But those two speeches contained other excellences than daring. He knew that he was right, and to dare for the right was an enjoyment to him. The fact that he was making a righteous fight in both cases called out the best of all qualities in the man, and they are fine specimens of all-around oratory. All of Mr. Wolcott's speeches in defence of the Spanish War, as well as those on the subject of silver coinage, are worth reading as the most succinct and the clearest presentation of the reasons which actuated him in taking sides on these two important subjects. Probably he gave more care to the preparation of his review of the operations of the work of the International Bimetallic

Commission of 1897, of which he was Chairman, than to any other speech made by him in the Senate, and it was everywhere pronounced a wonderfully lucid explanation of the Commission's work and of the reasons which brought it into existence. Indeed, he proved equal to all the oratorical tests of the Senate, and well sustained there the splendid reputation he had made before entering that body.

Mr. Wolcott's first speech in the Senate, made after he had been a member for only a little more than a year, was in defence of the cause of silver, but it also had in view the exposure of the attitude of the Harrison Administration, and this was so skilfully and effectively accomplished that the Colorado Senator immediately was given front rank not only as a Senatorial orator but as a man who was to be reckoned with in shaping national affairs.

STRUGGLES AGAINST ODDS

Probably to Mr. Wolcott's admirers the most surprising revelation of this memoir will be the fact that he was not an orator in his early professional life. He spoke so readily, so fluently, and so forcibly, and with so much apparent self-confidence, that it is difficult to believe that he ever had any difficulty in facing an audience or expressing his views —that, indeed, there ever was a time when he was not an orator. But we already have seen that he was very backward in speaking, and we shall discover that his trouble was more pronounced than yet has been stated. And, while the timidity was largely overcome, there were times in the heyday of his career that it would assert itself. A Washington newspaper man relates that on the day in 1898 when Senator Allen of Nebraska made his attack in the Senate on the Bimetallic Commission, he found Senator Wolcott walking up and down one of the corridors of the Senate wing of the Capitol confessedly much perturbed and greatly embarrassed over the necessity of replying.

Nor was the trouble confined to the delivery of his speeches. He distrusted himself also in the preparation of the substance matter, especially in the earlier days of his career. Declaring himself deficient in information and ideas, we

find him appealing to his father for assistance even after he was well started upon his public life. This distrust was not due to the neglect of early training, but existed despite it. Indeed, there would appear to have been a sufficiency of confidence when at school and when preparing for his career as a lawyer. But be this as it may, the early days of practice in Colorado were characterized by a timidity which came near terminating his career almost before it was begun.

Fortunately we have abundant testimony from men still living regarding Mr. Wolcott's first oratorical efforts, and in view of the fact that his great reputation was based upon his success as a speaker it has been thought well to present the facts fully. Senator Teller has told us of Mr. Wolcott's lack of confidence in himself in his first appearance in a civil suit, and Hon. Clinton Reed, of his difficulties in the first criminal case he conducted as Prosecuting Attorney. While he won the civil suit, it was in the criminal proceeding that he lifted himself into fame. In addition to the statement of Mr. Reed, we have the testimony of two eminent witnesses relating to this event, which occurred in Boulder, the county seat of Boulder County, which was one of the six counties constituting the First Colorado Judicial District, in which he was public prosecutor from 1877 to 1879. One of these witnesses is Hon. Charles S. Thomas, former Governor of Colorado, and the other Mr. R. S. Morrison of Denver, a personal friend and a former resident of Georgetown, where Mr. Wolcott resided. Of him at this time Mr. Morrison says:

> Employed in important cases he shirked no labor imposed upon him except the defence or attack by oral delivery, placing the burden of this entirely upon his associates and thus necessarily relegating himself to the less conspicuous portion of a lawyer's varied duties and neglecting the one item which more than all others combined advertises the talent of the attorney and brings him success, remuneration, and fame.

Mr. Thomas bases his statement on Mr. Wolcott's own impartations to him. In a paper prepared for this work, he tells of his first acquaintance with Mr. Wolcott while

the latter was practising law at Georgetown. "The estimate then entertained of Mr. Wolcott by the bar was somewhat unusual," he says, and then proceeds:

His abilities, although actual and evident, seemed to be entirely neutralized and rendered worthless by a reluctance to appear in court, which seemed to be the outgrowth of an almost unmanly lack of confidence in himself. He could not summon to his aid sufficient resolution to stand upon his feet in the court-room and address either court or jury. So patent was this condition that Wolcott almost became an object of contempt among his associates, who could not reconcile his strong and dominating personality in the ordinary affairs of life with such apparent pusillanimity in connection with the most useful and vigorous relations of the profession to the world at large. This peculiarity, I think, seriously affected Mr. Wolcott's standing at the bar, and unquestionably interfered with the attainment of that success which afterward became so great.

There were two men, however, who had the most abundant faith in Mr. Wolcott's capacity as an attorney, and who determined that he should not fail if they could prevent. One was his elder brother, the Hon. Henry R. Wolcott, then of Gilpin County, whose fraternal affection was at all times steadfast and unwavering, and whose devotion to his brother in my judgment proved the one great and enduring foundation for all that Edward O. Wolcott afterward accomplished. The other was the late Senator Nathaniel P. Hill, then of Blackhawk, a firm friend of the Wolcott family, and a great admirer of both the brothers.

These two gentlemen procured from the Republican District Convention in 1876 the nomination of Edward O. Wolcott for the office of District Attorney, to which he was elected in October of that year. He immediately qualified and began his discharge of the duties of that office. In order to compel Mr. Wolcott to appear in court and conduct prosecutions in person, Messrs. Hill and H. R. Wolcott quietly secured a promise from all the attorneys of the district that each and all of them would refuse to act for or in place of the District Attorney. He was therefore compelled by stress of these conditions either to meet and pass the ordeal or to resign his position and thereby confess himself a failure. The latter alternative he was not only too high spirited to consider for a moment, but the moral support of his brother and Mr. Hill made it absolutely impossible.

His first term of court as District Attorney was at Boulder,

and his first case an indictment for some unimportant offence, the nature of which I do not now recall. He tried the case, addressed the jury, and obtained a conviction. Several times in after years, in conversations with myself, he referred to this case as the turning point in his life, and I do not for a moment doubt that this was so. He said that when he arose to begin his speech the room swam before him, everything was virtually blotted from his vision, and he saw neither the jury nor the partitions forming the enclosure of the court-room; what he said, if he said anything, he did not know; he only remembered his statement in closing that, if the jury believed the witnesses for the prosecution, they must convict the defendant. He took his seat and was recalled to the consciousness of practical affairs by the warm congratulations of some of the attorneys, one of whom was the late Hon. Willard Teller. After the case ended, the court took a recess, whereupon Judge Beck left the bench, and, taking him by the hand, spoke a few simple but fitting words of approbation.

His next case was, of course, a little easier, and when the term ended he had permanently overcome his great professional deficiency. Those who in after years were permitted to listen to his public speeches will find it difficult to believe that during his first five or six years at the bar he was unable to summon sufficient courage to argue the simplest motion in the simplest controversies. Indeed, he once expressed astonishment that he ever should have labored under such a difficulty in view of its total absence after that term of the Boulder County District Court.

Apparently Mr. Thomas labored under the impression that there had been no preparation for the speech, as he tells us that its author informed him afterward that when he ceased speaking he did not know what he had said. But, while after a lapse of years it probably was Mr. Wolcott's impression that he had been unable to recall his words, we have his own testimony to the contrary, showing that soon after its delivery he could have repeated at least a portion of the speech. This testimony is found in a letter to Mr. Wolcott's father, of date September 1, 1877. It is evident from the text that he had made request for suggestions in framing the speech. Here is an extract from the letter:

I had a crowded court-room to hear me, and many pleasant

things said to me afterward. A speech or any part of it never sounds as well on paper as when spoken. I was able to use some of the thoughts you gave me. If it were not too long I would like to repeat from memory a part of the close.

Probably the speech had not been written, but evidently it had been carefully thought out. Indeed, it was characteristic of Wolcott to have prepared himself for the ordeal which he knew must come. He never spoke without preparation if he could avoid so doing.

Of the same event, Mr. Morrison says:

The case of The People *vs.* Thomas Kerwin was called. The jury were sworn and the opening statement made. The examination and cross-examination of the witnesses brought out his powers of analysis and the overcrowded court-room began to appreciate the fact that there had been no mistake in the selection of a lawyer without trial experience to present the pleas of the people. But when the concluding speech for the prosecution at last brought to the surface the latent capacity of Mr. Wolcott to move the heart and control the judgment of his hearers, making him, notwithstanding he was only in his first case, the greatest orator at the bar of this young State, the surprise, astonishment, and enthusiasm produced a scene of applause and victory which that court-house had never seen before.

The only instance in history conspicuously like it in all its circumstances is that of Patrick Henry when he tried his first case and made his first speech before the Board of Burgesses.

Speaking of the immediate as well as of the after effects of the speech, Mr. Morrison tells us that "the greater part of the strength of Mr. Wolcott lay in those elements which cannot be reproduced upon paper." But he also tells us, in continuation of the narrative, that

the influence upon the crowd that heard it was so great that carrying, as they did, their report to their homes and neighbors, repeating, as is the instinct of human nature to do, the impressions made upon them to their fellows as they met them, the news of the wonderful effect of this speech within a day was carried to every part of the county, speedily spread throughout the State, and within the compass of a narrow lifetime, the name of Edward O. Wolcott became familiar in every part of the Union

as that of one of the few men who pass the bounds that distinguish the orator from the speaker, and his fame became so broad as even to cause him to be mentioned as a possible candidate for the highest office within the gift of the American people.

The civil case told of by Senator Teller is that of Edward Eddy *vs.* The Western Union Telegraph Company, and antedates the Kerwin prosecution. Mr. Wolcott was not required to speak on this occasion. Referring to the incident, Mr. Teller said:

> While I was attending court at Georgetown on one occasion in the territorial days, Wolcott came to me and said he had a case for trial the next day. He added that it was his first suit, and saying that he felt a little insecure, asked me if I would not sit beside him during the trial. I said I would with pleasure, and did so. He got a verdict for all he sued for, about $150, I think, and while the amount was small, I doubt whether he ever afterward obtained a verdict that gave him as much pleasure as did that one.

The record of another very interesting civil case of those early days in the First District, the conduct of which serves to throw light upon the character of our young lawyer and rising orator, has been supplied by Mr. Morrison. This was the civil suit of Stoll *vs.* Lee, involving title to the Lone Tree or Argentine mine. The trial took place in Georgetown. Says Mr. Morrison:

> The plaintiff kept a saloon with all the appurtenances—dance-hall and singing girls; roulette, faro, and poker. Chips then were current coin of the realm. Gorgeously lighted, Stoll's place had more attractions than any resort of the kind in the mountains. It was the place of congregation for all sorts of sporting men, where they fattened on the miners, who went in with pockets full and came out with pockets empty.
>
> Jerry Lee, the defendant, who was Mr. Wolcott's client, was a negro of marked force of character. Born a slave, he had purchased with his earnings his own and his wife's freedom, after which they came as pioneers to Central City, and strange as it may seem, Lee was almost the first man to project and build a smelter for the reduction of ores, which was located at

the base of the mountain where his Argentine lode lay. Of course, he was a hero among the people of his own color, and he was known and respected by every citizen in the community.

The case involved the construction of mining patents and apex rights and the law was against Lee. His surveyors, Franklin R. Carpenter, afterward a scientific man of international reputation, and E. Le Neve Foster, who became State Geologist, informed Wolcott that they could see no line of development favorable to Lee. Wolcott said: "I am not going to the jury on the law or the facts, but on the theory that no man with a record like Jerry Lee's ought to lose what he honestly thinks is his." I recollect his speech to that jury. He had the groundwork on which to paint the shades and colors of the artist. He pictured Lee as a slave toiling on the plantation under the overlook and lash of the driver, and told of his conception of the thought of freedom, of his bargain for the purchase of his own and his wife's liberty by his own labor, and of his migration to regions thousands of miles removed from his birthplace, to a country, new, savage, and unknown, where, in spite of the odds in favor of a dominant race, he became the acknowledged leader of his own people.

Against this picture Wolcott drew the contrasting scene: the leadership in vice of a man who held out to the young, to the inexperienced, to the hard-working laboring class, all the temptations which allure to the taste of evil pleasures in the bowl, the dance, the dice, the card-table, and the smiles of painted women.

The jury found for the negro.

Letters to and from his father reveal the fact that he not only gave thoughtful attention to the preparation of each individual address, but that the general subject of speech preparation and speech delivery was much in his mind. We have seen that from the beginning of his career his father and his grandfather regarded him as different from the ordinary person, and he early was destined for the profession of the law. Not only was he to be a lawyer, but in the father's dreams for him he was to attain to eminence. Generally young Wolcott either fell in with this thought or suffered it to be entertained without protest. But not so always. He had not concluded his first State campaign in 1880 when he became tired of the fuss and fury of the life

of the stump speaker, and we find him writing to his father and protesting against being regarded as "a Man of Destiny." "It involves too much of sham and pretence," he said. He appeared at that time to think that he had reached the zenith of his career, when, poor fellow, he was only at its threshold!

FIRST LISPINGS

Great as was Mr. Wolcott's fame as a lawyer and brilliant as was his career, both were of most modest beginning. Timid as he was at Georgetown and Boulder, he was not entirely without experience as a public speaker. He had been the talker for a picture show! But no! The beginning antedated that experience. It came when a youth of probably not more than eighteen years of age and while he was a student at the Norwich Academy. Then his speech was written—evidently a carefully prepared argument. At least one must so judge from the only account of it that has come down to us. The authority is no less than Ed's sister Kate,—Mrs. Katherine W. Toll,—who in 1870 wrote her brother a letter on that and other subjects, when she had reached the mature age of sixteen. The paper on which the letter is written is yellow with age, but the document tells its story. It not only supplies a key to the early inclination of the brother, but it shows that even in that far-away day he gave attention to the important fact of preparation. This is the pertinent portion of the letter:

> Mr. Jewett asked me the other day if I heard from you, and how you were getting along. He said he remembered your taking him to Grandfather's and reading him that speech, or whatever you call it, in favor of Jeff. Davis. It was a debate you entered into; was n't it with Mr. Lyon? He said he remembered it very distinctly, and I told him that I did, too, because you made me sit and watch the clock to see how long it took you to go through with it. It began, "From the time when the Constitution was first drawn up," etc.

Unfortunately for the purposes of history this important manuscript has not been preserved, and similarly unfortunate is it that the verdict of the jury, or the judge, has been

lost to the world. If only we could know whether Mr. Wolcott saved his client! Some of the other letters bearing on this period speak of his participation in a joint debate which was a part of the closing exercises of the school, and it is probable that the paper here referred to was the speech prepared for that event.

That, however, the success of the young orator even at that remote period was not left to chance we may further infer from the testimony of his teacher in elocution at the Norwich Academy. This teacher was Prof. Roswell N. Parish. Prof. Parish's letter was elicited by a request from A. P. Carroll to him in the interest of this work. Mr. Carroll wrote Mr. Parish, May 8, 1909:

> The last time I visited the Senator, after listening to one of his magnetic speeches in the Senate, before crowded galleries (as was invariably the case whenever it was known that he was to speak), our conversation on our way from dinner to the Club turned to the scene of that afternoon, when, taking me by the arm and stopping me in the park we were crossing, he said: "Whatever ability I possess as a public speaker I owe to the training that Parish gave me in the Norwich Academy"—a tribute to your teaching which ever since I heard it I have thought you should know.

Writing in reply from Brookline, Massachusetts, on the 16th of the same month, Prof. Parish said:

> I remember the boy "Ed" Wolcott as a big, hearty, manly fellow whom to teach was a pleasure, whose companionship was a delight. I was young then myself, you know. Among my treasures is a letter from him dated "Senate Chamber, January 2, 1891," in which, after a statement almost identical with that of your note, he refers to our declamation work together "in the library downstairs in that blessed old Academy," and he adds, "The recollection of it all is more vivid than any other of my school or college experiences."
>
> Here is the key to his success as an orator, my share in which was very small indeed: Like all boys who can "speak pieces" he was ambitious to excel; but an intense desire to find adequate expression to thought and feeling and a real pleasure in so doing were the potent factors determining his schoolboy efforts. "The recollection of it all" so "vivid" is thus accounted for. So

quick was he to appreciate the force of a criticism or the value of a suggestion that he seemed to wait almost impatiently for the last word of instruction, eager to attack the passage again from the new point of view. It was too easy for him to "let himself go,"—he might readily have been made a ranter. My office was simply to hold the reins over his enthusiasm,—to emphasize,—to secure an indication of power in reserve.

But proficiency in declamation was only a small part of Wolcott's equipment as an orator. I cannot but believe that, whatever his training in this respect might have been, the ability, vigor, sincerity, and sense of propriety that so strongly characterized the boy would still have carried him to the front among public speakers in later years.

I remember distinctly that last "prize speaking" at the Academy when Wolcott gave us the "Irish Aliens." He seemed no Ed Wolcott then, but the original speaker, his soul on fire with indignation, his voice quivering with rage. "Thrilling" was the word I heard from an auditor when he left the platform. That was no schoolboy declamation, but real eloquence, the promise and foretaste of the future.

I would gladly give you incidents if they had not vanished with years. But the impressions made by a strong personality remain. I can see the Senator take you by the arm and stop you in the park for that remark. Evidently he was still the boy, alert, impulsive. A charming, lovable fellow, was he not?

Another instance of his success in speaking while still a youth is given. One day while he was at Yale he and some other boys started to attend the circus, but they first determined to see the wonderful mysteries of a certain side-show. The ticket-seller had had poor luck, and the Yale boys began to banter him. They told him that Ed Wolcott could soon get the crowd inside for him, and, much to the delight of the Yale crowd, Ed mounted the box and began selling tickets. He soon had most of the people listening to him and in a short time filled the side-show tent with an eager crowd, so intensely had he aroused the interest of his out-of-door audience.

Mr. Wolcott has left a brief account of his participation in the proceedings of a debating society while in the law school at Cambridge. Writing to his father under date of December 8, 1870, he says:

I am very much interested at present over the question of Free Trade and Protection, though as yet I have not read up much on the question. I don't know whether I told you that we have at the Law School besides smaller societies one to which almost every member belongs called "Parliament," conducted very correctly and according to the Manual, and there we settle conclusively some of the great questions which seem to bother other statesmen. We have settled almost everything but the Free-Trade question.

In other portions of this work, Mr. Wolcott's connection with a travelling panorama has been detailed. It will be recalled that while studying law in Boston he took this work to piece out his income. The experience was beneficial to him in more ways than one. Undoubtedly the deviation from his duties unsettled him somewhat in his studies. "But it has," he tells in a letter of the time, "given me confidence before an audience; it has shown me that I am very deficient in extempore speaking, and that I must cultivate it, and it has also shown me, although I don't mean to speak of it egotistically, that I have an unusually fine voice for public speaking, though pitched in a high key. I had taken on a severe cold, but my voice has not failed in the least."

COLORADO BEGINNINGS

From the stereopticon experience in New England in 1870, to the courts in Colorado in 1877, was a long distance both in point of longitude and time, but what he must have gained in experience he apparently lost in courage. He still had the voice, but he lacked the confidence to face an audience.

Nor, if we may judge from his appeals to his father, was his confidence in his capacity for preparation complete. We have seen how, soon after his election as District Attorney, the young man applied to the elder for help, and how he acknowledged the aid thus obtained. Mr. Wolcott was accustomed to consult his father at almost every turn in the early days of his District Attorneyship. In one case, where he expected that the defence would try to awaken

sympathy for a man accused of murder, on the ground of his advanced age, the young official expressed thankfulness for a Scriptural quotation, the last clause of which he said he could use effectively. The quotation ran: "The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness." This was not the first time that the father's suggestions were invited; nor was it by any means the last. The requests went forward as long as Dr. Wolcott lived. Not only did Ed ask assistance in the preparation of his addresses, but often when completed they were forwarded for the careful inspection and trained censorship and criticism of the father.

One of the best examples we have of his pleas for help is contained in a letter dated at Denver, September 30, 1880. In it he also mentions past favors. "E. O." then had just come from his triumph at the Leadville State convention, the first State political meeting in which he ever had figured conspicuously, if at all. He had been mentioned for Congress and had made a generally good impression. Let him continue the story:

> I have promised Governor Routt, Chairman of the State Committee, to stump the State this fall. I shrink from it as I never did from anything, and fear I shall make a complete failure of it; and my fear is augmented from the fact that everybody seems to expect me to do so well. But I suppose I shall have to make the attempt somehow.
>
> I have no knowledge whatever of the political history of my country and the vaguest ideas of what I can talk about; I suppose my speeches will be reported more or less fully, and I 've got to vary them somewhat.
>
> When I was a youngster at school, you used to help me out with my declamations. When I was to graduate at Norwich, it is my recollection that you composed most if not all of my address (and by the way, I remember it was very well spoken of), and when I had my first murder case, and was entering upon my first prosecution as District Attorney, I relied materially upon you, and was greatly assisted by you. In fact, whenever I get into a tight place, I find (and I say it not the least disrespectfully) that I turn involuntarily to the "Old Man." Won't you help me out again, Father? I have got one or two beginnings and ends. I want some more. I can

never, even in a law case, do anything good unless I can commence and "taper" intelligently. I want also any good speeches you can lay hold on, and would feel obliged if you can find at any bookstore any hand-books or compendiums of any kind that will inform me as to the past of the party and the country, with dates, details, and statistics, and send me the bills (for the books I mean; the other, the help you render me, will have to go into the old account which nothing I could do would ever repay).

Business is not good, and my time is pretty much my own; but I feel a disinclination even to attempt any preparation. Did you ever feel this in the face of necessity for work, and the more pressing the necessity, the greater the aversion?

The response came promptly and was full of points evidently to the liking of the young orator. Acknowledging its receipt, he said:

Your letter and one of the books came last night, and I am obliged for your suggestions and Will's. I have the matter of my speeches now in my mind, and have material for several. What I was after in my letter to you, were the little turns which save a speech from dulness, some figures or similes, and some ideas as to commencings and endings. You are very apt with these, and I distrust myself.

In this letter Edward Wolcott made an important promise to his father. "I shall certainly follow your suggestion in respect to standing always on high ground," he said, and he added, "I have done this uniformly in my jury cases."

In certain of his moods, Mr. Wolcott was given to self-depreciation, and he was in the habit of acquainting his father with his state of mind. A few specimens will suffice.

On October 13th, after the campaign had begun, we find him analyzing and picking flaws in his own methods. He had found, he said, that he could not make a speech of more than thirty or forty minutes' duration.

My material gives out, and I am unwilling to talk statistics. I speak altogether too fast, something over 200 words a minute, and I lack self-possession. I shall be able to improve these defects somewhat, but I need more experience than this season

will give me before I shall become a particularly good talker. It is in me to a certain extent, but I can see the limit to my powers in that direction.

He found too, according to this introspective letter, that his speeches were "always the same." He was not conscious at the time of having committed a speech to memory.

And yet [he says] two thirds of it is in precisely the same language, word for word, each evening. My mind runs in just that groove and will not leave it. I could not, to save me, change that speech, unless, possibly, I had to—that is, had to deliver two speeches in the same place to the same audience. So I am accepting the inevitable, and giving them the same speech.

He acknowledged in this letter that he had been "particularly successful in his stump speaking," and yet he declared he was "heartily sick of it," and he wanted to cancel most of his engagements. "But Henry and my other friends won't listen to it. I have shown," he added, "that I can do that sort of thing, and have satisfied myself of it, and that seems enough."

On the 25th of October, he had concluded his campaign and he sent home a copy of the *Denver Tribune* of that date containing the first full report of a speech by him that ever found its way into print. After speaking of the effort he takes his father into his confidence concerning his recent and new experiences.

I am [he says] so glad it 's over. I 've had some thirty invitations for this week, and have declined them all. I shall not speak again except perhaps for half an hour with Belford, the night before election. The only pride I have had in the whole matter was that I might gratify you and Henry, and might justify the good things my friends have said of me. I was glad to get your appreciative letter, but your hope as to my future is founded on an exaggerated belief in my abilities, and this in turn comes only from your fondness for me, which blinds your judgment. It is very pleasant to believe that I could do almost anything, but if it is all the same, Father, I 'd rather not be a "Man of Destiny," as you suggest.

A somewhat awkward contretemps occurred in connec-

tion with one of Mr. Wolcott's early speeches. He was booked for an address on Forefathers' Day in Denver in 1881, and he was told in advance that he would be expected to respond to the toast "Connecticut." When, however, the dinner came on, he was asked to speak on the subject of "Massachusetts." Necessarily, having prepared his speech, he was somewhat disconcerted. But he was equal to the occasion, and the speech is still remembered as one of the brightest and wittiest of his earlier efforts. It was in this address he said jestingly that, while, in Heaven, New Englanders would sing the solos, people of other sections of the country would be permitted to join in the chorus.

This address, like many others of the period, was the subject of correspondence with his father. It was at this time that the *Wolcott Family Memorial* was published, and acknowledging a copy of it under date of December 9th, he said: "I have n't had even time to read the *Memorial.* I have promised to respond to the toast of Connecticut at a dinner on Forefathers' Day, at which Governor Pitkin, Governor Evans, and others are to speak, and I am glad the book is here, for I know I can crib something good from it. I don't for the life of me know what to say about Connecticut."

Presumably, he got along better with Massachusetts than he would have done with Connecticut. No adequate report of the speech was printed in the papers of the day, but the *Denver Republican* tells us that he "referred briefly to the triumphs of the Old Bay State in the Revolution and Rebellion and spoke of the influence she had exerted on literature and politics." A somewhat more extended reference was made by the *Rocky Mountain News,* which undertook, but evidently in the reporter's own language, to supply an extract. Following is the quotation from the *News:*

> I see that we are not alone here, but that we are surrounded by others who are so unfortunate as not to have been born in New England. But I am willing to admit that these are human beings and that when they die they will undoubtedly go somewhere, and though they may not range so high, they will undoubtedly get a harp that they can play on, after a fashion.

They call this a New England dinner, but I don't think the New Englanders have ever sat down together to so good a dinner as this since the days when they used to steal corn from the Indians.

There is much in Puritanism that will survive forever. It was a protest against formalism, against the union of Church and State. The Puritan spirit bred a race of statesmen whose learning and patriotism shed a lustre over the whole nation, and they did one thing which we Western States would have done well to imitate: they annihilated all the marauding Indians of the border. I am proud of my New England ancestors; and this leads me to say that I was originally asked to respond for Connecticut, as some of my ancestors came from that State, but as Connecticut is known as the land of steady habits I thought I was not hardly the man to reply for it.

March 5, 1881, about the time his term as a State Senator closed, he wrote his father saying he was out of politics and indicating indifference to the law as a profession. Evidently he was in one of his "blue" moods. Referring to his future, he said: "My business is good, but I am not very fond of my profession. I hate the jar and contact of it. I want to be 'let alone.' If some morning I could wake up and find myself rich, I could do nothing, and be happy. Not a very honorable ambition, is it?"

In October of the same year, he wrote: "I am far from being a good lawyer. I lack depth, and I constantly find myself getting beyond my depth."

It would appear from Mr. Wolcott's correspondence that up to 1884 he never actually put a speech on paper. He made prompt report to his father on this first written preparation of an address. At that time he did not believe the practice would prove beneficial to him, and was inclined against it because he thought it made him too dependent. Part of the written speech was delivered in Denver on July 15th of that year. It was the subject not only of a letter to the father, but of one from him, and as both letters bear on the general subject of the younger man's oratory they are given entire. July 13th of that year, Mr. Wolcott wrote:

A year ago the Press Association elected me their orator for

this year. I was so busy that I had but a few days to prepare. The thing was a fizzle and the address never delivered. I was glad of it, but glad also that I prepared the address. It is the first time that I ever wrote a speech or address. It is not a good thing for me. When the written words are before me, my imagination and my memory both refuse to act, and I am confined to the written words. I venture to send it to you. Will you please read it? Give me your candid opinion of it, and return it to me. I know of no critic whose opinion I would accept as soon as your own. It seems to me to be true, dignified, and very commonplace. Unless a man can rise above the level, he had better not attempt to teach. Some of it I shall use in a political speech which I am to make next Wednesday evening. I do not expect to do much in the canvass, but shall probably have to make a few speeches.

Ten days later, July 23d, Dr. Wolcott replied:

Your favor, 13th instant, was duly received, and I return the enclosed with thanks, after reading it carefully. The first impression which I receive from the address is, that it is a very different thing from what they were expecting when they invited you. They looked for a brilliant and witty effusion; instead of which they received a sober talk, a solid lecture. This, however, does not condemn it. Wit should be unpremeditated and irrepressible: it is apt to become stale if it is bottled up for an occasion. When you put your thoughts on paper you should be as practical and sensible as you can be. This was your successful aim; and it is better than to have tried to be witty. If you do not enhance your reputation for wit, you do for good judgment and sound sense, which is better.

The sarcasm of exempting the youthful press of Colorado from the sweep of the criticism is perhaps a little too keen. I hardly think that some of the men before you could have helped feeling that you were dissecting them, which strikes me as an undesirable process for such an occasion. Another impression not wholly desirable is that there is a little too much of apparent self-vindication in it. It is an elaborate justification of your bolt of last year. It will come with more effect from you, if deferred for a year, and after you have supported the regular ticket by a few speeches.

You spoke of using it in part in a campaign speech; and I did not see how it could be done. But the speech has just

come to hand, and I see that you have used a portion of it very effectively. The self-vindication does not seem to me here to be out of place, but rather to be called for—yet not to be repeated. This speech strikes me as in every respect admirable and I am glad that you have made it.

REASONS FOR SUCCESS

To Mr. Wolcott's distrust of himself may be attributed his success as an orator. It caused him to prepare his speeches with exceptional care, and this preparation resulted in a system which in the hands of a person of his taste, judgment, and general capability must insure success. Anxious ever to excel; humiliated by failure in any undertaking; confident of his own ability but distrustful of himself before a crowd, he took no chances in his speeches because of unpreparedness. Not only did he give thorough consideration in advance to his speeches, but he put the most important of them on paper. He appreciated the many disadvantages of the written speech, but far greater than these, in his mind, was the possibility of failure or of a poor effort. When typewritten, the speech was committed to memory and delivered as if extemporaneous. The result was an oration prepared in the quiet of the study and finished in every detail of thought and diction, and delivered with all the charm of voice and manner of which he was capable.

He possessed the impulse of public speech. He told Clinton Reed before he began his oratorical career that he had an infinite longing to appear before an audience. His abilities were known to his friends. They pressed him to endeavor, and their demand corresponding with his own desire must in the end necessarily bear fruit. Mr. Thomas has told us that he was placed in a position where he could not avoid talking. If, then, he must speak, he must speak to the best advantage. He did nothing in an ordinary way, and his appearances before the public should be no exception. This was his line of reasoning, and it resulted in a masterful success.

Not always was the speech reduced to writing, but if circumstances permitted, it was. But even when there was

no writing, the facts always were well in hand and the course of the discussion plainly marked out in his mind.

It is not intended to convey the impression that Mr. Wolcott was not capable of extemporaneous speech. Many of his most telling points were made without especial preparation. But offhand speaking never was entered upon except under stress of circumstances, such as a running debate in the Senate, in an ordinary campaign, or on some other unforeseen occasion.

In general discussion in the Senate, as in a set speech, Mr. Wolcott had few equals; but he did not enjoy this kind of speechmaking, and, if he could have done so, he would have avoided it altogether. He prepared for these occasions by acquainting himself with his subject, but he could not present his matter in the perfect manner that he liked. The inference should not be drawn that he spoke merely for the purpose of arousing momentary attention or that he courted promiscuous applause. He liked the approval of the discriminating, but, above all, his purpose was ever the accomplishment of results. He did not believe illy-chosen language and illogical utterance capable of influencing sentiment or changing opinion. He considered himself unjustified in speaking unless he had something worthy of presentation, or unless his ideas were dressed in proper garb. Believing that such material came only by and through painstaking research and such dress as the result only of much care, he gave time and attention equally to the collection of his facts and to their presentation, and then to the delivery of the speech. The result was a completeness and polish that could not have been obtained in a less studied manner.

These are some of the explanations of his success as a public speaker. But they are by no means all—nor the principal ones. If others are to be sought one must take into account his superior intellect, his sincerity, his logical, forceful, and clean-cut presentation of a subject; his marvellous memory, which rendered at all times available his wide and careful reading; a courage of conviction which permitted him so to speak the truth as to touch the hearts of men; his deep insight into human nature; his sympathetic

appreciation of the mood of his audience, and his capacity to go to the heart of things. Add to these a discreet sense of humor, an equal capacity for sarcasm and for pathos, a love of order, and an artistic temperament, and you have some idea of Wolcott the orator.

There was no apparent effort at oratory in Mr. Wolcott's speeches. He did not employ a wide range of language, but his words were select. He never indulged in platitudes; few figures of speech are to be found in his public utterances; he quoted poetry sparingly, though most aptly; he did not permit himself to engage in long dissertations; there was little of mere word painting. He told a friend that his vocabulary did not comprise more than five hundred words, but this of course is an underestimate. When he had concluded on a point, he left it with the audience and then proceeded without loss of time or unnecessary circumlocution to take up another portion of his subject, which in turn was similarly disposed of.

While he intimated to his father that he desired suggestions for introductions and perorations, he did not resort to any great extent to the ordinary "approaches," but, on the contrary, generally plunged immediately into his subject. From the start he was direct and spoke to the point. He studied how not to tire his audiences, and as a consequence held them to the end. He would not speak unless he had something to say, and when there was no longer anything to say he stopped. He never discussed dead issues; he did not hesitate to call names; he was acquainted with the world; he knew how to entertain, and he knew that he must entertain in order to convince. Moreover, in his speeches, he held aloft a high standard of morals, and, let its practices be what they may, the world wants its preaching to be of a high order.

But, beyond and above all other traits contributing to Mr. Wolcott's success as a popular speaker, was his capacity to grasp a situation and measure the inclination of his audience. This faculty was due to his broad sympathy with, and his complete understanding of, human nature. Intuitive in high degree, he read the minds of people almost as easily as he read their books. He seemed to know

instinctively just how any given situation would affect any especial community or particular assemblage. He knew how to play upon the interests and the feelings, how to touch the sentiment and appeal to the ideals of men; he appreciated the full effect of words and of circumstances. He knew where to use reason, where to play his sarcasm, and where to resort to humor and cajolery. Of vast experience, of broad interest in many affairs, and acquainted with all sorts and conditions of men, he could place himself in sympathetic touch with almost any audience.

Not strange was it, then, that the man had magnetism. Honesty, earnestness, sympathy, capacity, high ideals, dash, courage, intellect, genius, superiority, are ever magnetic.

Not Mr. Wolcott's material alone was choice; his manner was most attractive. He possessed a commanding figure, his dress was tasteful, and his voice was nothing less than fascinating. All these complements of the orator he knew how to make the most of. His voice was particularly helpful. It was full of music and it was capable of withstanding almost any strain. Apparently without effort, his words reached the remotest corners of the largest halls, and even when he spoke for the benefit of persons at a distance he did not produce a disagreeable effect upon those nearby, as do so many orators who strive for volume of sound. He did not permit the fact that he prepared his speeches in advance to mar their delivery. As he eliminated prosy details in their substance, so he avoided humdrum in their presentation. His written addresses always were so well memorized that the ordinary auditor did not know that they were not extemporaneous.

In a word, Mr. Wolcott made a business of speechmaking. He never talked except for a purpose; when he spoke, he had an end in view beyond mere talk. His success was the reward of unremitting labor for each effort, and of previous general preparation.

SENATORIAL AND CAMPAIGN SPEECHES

The announcement that Senator Wolcott would address the Senate never failed to draw a crowded gallery, and he always reciprocated by giving the best that was in him.

While he made many notable addresses on the outside, his fame would be secure if it rested only on his Senate addresses. He preferred to prepare his speeches, but he was a close observer of all that transpired, and frequently joined in the running discussion. Some thought him most effective in this line of oratory, but he did not think so, and the verdict of posterity will sustain his judgment. When a subject was of sufficient importance to merit any unusual effort, he followed the custom established by him of giving notice of his intention to speak. In these speeches he always omitted what to him seemed to be trifling details, and, to use the common parlance, "hit only the high places." He spoke with great effect and commanded the absolute attention of his colleagues as well as that of the crowded galleries.

He treated every Senate speech seriously. For days and nights preceding the delivery of an address, he worked laboriously upon the mass of data which he would assemble before him, and when he had prepared himself he proceeded to dictate to his stenographer. Sometimes, reading over what was written, he would be wholly dissatisfied with it. Then the matter was rewritten, and frequently, still unsatisfied, he would make numerous revisions. So careful was he in his preparation that there never was anything to add to or subtract from his prepared speeches.

The manner of delivery was not left to chance. The speech completed, he would enter upon the stupendous labor of committing it to memory. He memorized with ease, but often the task was laborious because of the length of the prepared address. Holding in his hand his manuscript, for hours he would pace up and down his library or bedroom, repeating aloud the words, and even then he would throw into them all the dramatic effect which to him seemed so essential to render them impressive. No more notable demonstration of his virile mentality ever was given than when he addressed the Senate upon the results of the work of the Bimetallic Commission. This was a long speech, and yet every word was memorized by him, and he delivered it in a superb fashion. Upon its conclusion, notwithstanding the subject was dry and there was a rare amount of de-

tail, the usual passiveness of the Senate was broken and Senators crowded about him and extended profuse congratulations. A newspaper man who "held copy on him" while this speech was being delivered, reported afterward that he had not skipped or misplaced a word.

One of his Senatorial secretaries has supplied the following brief but graphic pen-picture of his chief in the preparation and delivery of his speeches:

> When Wolcott was preparing a speech it was his habit to lock the door, light a cigar, and begin pacing the room just like one of the wild animals at the zoo. After a long time thus spent, he would begin dictating, between puffs. He was a good dictator, his thoughts coming smoothly and his grammar nearly faultless. Even for his unwritten speeches he made exhaustive preparation by careful investigation. Notes were made and elaborated upon, but his memory and his ready wit were depended upon to meet the exigencies of any given occasion. When he got into action in the Senate on an extemporaneous speech he kept to his notes for a time; but as interruptions came and he lost his temper (which was no trouble at all, as Senators delighted to work him up by prodding), he threw his notes away or could n't find the place again, and just let himself go. It was at this period that the real speech began and he was generally allowed to finish, for oratory had broken loose.

In preparing for a political campaign, he pursued the plan of making a careful study of the entire range of subjects liable to be under discussion, and of mentally outlining his views on each of them, if he did not actually commit them to writing. He thus had a stock prepared to draw from as occasion might demand. There always was more than was needed at any one place, and he would select from the store as seemed best to meet the requirements of his audience. It necessarily happened, as with all campaign orators, that often his political speeches "lapped over," and that there was more or less repetition; but no two of them were wholly alike. There was as much variety as the particular circumstances demanded and as general conditions would permit. In these speeches, as a rule, there was a full discussion of national questions, which always were presented in such a lucid way as to render them easily

comprehended by the ordinary mind. Local and state issues were handled "without gloves"; and abuses were attacked fearlessly, regardless of the ownership of the ox that might be gored. Fellow-partymen felt his lash quite as frequently as did his political opponents, and he did not hesitate to mention individuals if necessary to make his point or render his speech effective. The opposition press of whatever party never failed to receive its share of attention, and frequently the castigation administered was most severe. He could be as sarcastic and caustic as any public man who ever lived, and he seemed to delight in speaking at the expense of the press, knowing of course that the press had at least an equal opportunity to reply in kind. He was not afraid of newspaper opposition, and did not let the prospect of it deter him from carrying out any given policy. The "yellow" press was his especial aversion.

ESTIMATES OF CONTEMPORARIES

Justice Brewer has told how intrepid Mr. Wolcott was when it would have been more politic to be conciliatory, and Mr. Thomas tells us that he has known but few men who excelled him as a public speaker. When asked for an estimate of the Colorado statesman, Senator Warren, of Wyoming, replied without hesitation: "He was the most eloquent man of his day."

Mr. David S. Barry, head of the *New York Sun* Washington Bureau during Mr. Wolcott's twelve years of service in the Senate, says of his power as an orator:

> Senator Wolcott was admitted to be the most graceful and eloquent public speaker in either House of Congress in his day, and it is not, perhaps, going too far to say that his place as an orator was unique. At least it has never been filled. Physically he was a most attractive personality, and his rich, full, far-reaching voice was tuneful and most pleasing to hear. His impetuous style was peculiar to himself and his habit of memorizing his speeches and delivering them as though improvised on the spur of the moment, enabled him to round out his sentences, adhere to his style, and keep his rhetoric clear.

Writing of Mr. Wolcott a few weeks after he had been

elected to the Senate in 1889, Hon. Charles Page Bryan, afterward Minister to Brazil and also to Portugal, and who formerly had been a neighbor of Mr. Wolcott's in Clear Creek County, said:

In addition to the prestige of family, he is gifted with remarkable persuasiveness of speech. The magnetism of a Blaine and the domineering determination of a Conkling are likewise his. No young man has entered on a Senatorial career with finer chances. His personality is unique. Wolcott's originality is not eccentricity, but is rather akin to genius. From his great chest words flow like a torrent from the mountains, or a sermon from Phillips Brooks's inexhaustible fountain. The two speakers belong to the same school of oratory. Earnestness of tone is Wolcott's peculiar forte. He persuades his hearers that he is himself imbued with the belief that dire consequences must follow disregard of his exhortations. The reformatory spirit seems to possess him at times, and contrasts curiously with the buoyant, devil-may-care nature of the man.

Governor Thomas supplies a general estimate of Mr. Wolcott as a speaker and legislator, as follows:

I have known of but few men during my lifetime who excelled Senator Wolcott as a public speaker. His was the outward form of an orator. He was a man of splendid presence, with a clear and attractive voice, with beautiful and perfect enunciation, with few but very expressive gestures, and with a diction couched in the choicest and purest English, and yet in words of simple import and easily understood by every one. I have heard him on the platform, at the forum, in the Senate of the United States, and on miscellaneous occasions. I have heard him speak with the deliberation of the drawing-room, with the fervor of partisanship, and in the fury of passionate denunciation. No man of his time was more expressive, more eloquent, more sarcastic, more pathetic, or more convincing as a public speaker; and while serious personal and political differences unfortunately marred the tenor of our intercourse during the last years of his life, I venture to affirm that of all the public men of Colorado Edward O. Wolcott is easily first in prominence, capacity, eloquence, and influence. As a Senator he gave the State a prominence and influence in national affairs that it never had before and never has had since. I did not agree with

many of his views, or, except one, with any of his policies; but I never questioned his great genius, his tremendous ability, and the potent influence which he wielded in State and national affairs from the day of his entrance into public life up to the hour of his death.

IN THE COURT-ROOM

Governor Thomas also kindly furnishes a glimpse of Mr. Wolcott as a member of the bar, as follows:

From the time of Senator Wolcott's advent as a member of the Denver bar until 1896, I was intimately acquainted with him, and at times enjoyed his personal friendship and confidence. During that time we were associated in the prosecution and defence of many important controversies, and were quite as frequently opposed to each other. I was, therefore, able to judge fairly well of his strength and weakness as a practising attorney.

He was extremely impatient of details. It was difficult for him to investigate a complicated mass of facts, consider them one by one, analyze their characteristics, and either combine or separate them for purposes of trial. His highly nervous organization made it almost impossible for him to utilize the time and exercise the patience which such a task requires. He could do so, if absolutely necessary, but he almost invariably left such work to others. He fortunately in time secured the services and co-operation of Mr. Joel F. Vaile, whose capacity for intricacies of detail was quite as remarkable as Mr. Wolcott's capacity for other things, and together they formed an almost perfect combination.

On the other hand, I never knew a man with a greater talent for seizing upon the vital points of a controversy. This Mr. Wolcott could do almost by instinct. I have frequently been in conference with him concerning matters of detail, of which he heard for the first time, and I have been amazed at his facility for quickly sifting the vital features of a transaction from its less important ones, and pointing out the necessity of establishing or overthrowing these conditions if our client expected to be successful.

On one occasion he came into the court-room to assist in the trial of a case, of which he knew practically nothing beyond its title. He listened to the opening statements of counsel for

the plaintiff and defence, and then seizing a tablet he outlined the important issues involved as rapidly as his hand could trace the sentences upon the blank paper. This, too, was a case which consumed fully ten days in its trial.

He was most generous and courteous to associate counsel. He always welcomed them into his cases, and made them feel, as far as he could do so, that he, as well as his clients, depended upon them quite as much as, if not more than himself. There were exceptions to this practice, but they were observed only when the action of co-counsel justified them.

Mr. Wolcott never liked the drudgery and confinement of long trials; he participated in them as a matter of course, but he withdrew more and more as the years passed from these hotly contested and bitter controversies, preferring the work of his office, but always having strong representation in court whenever the interests of his clients required it.

Speaking of Mr. Wolcott as a lawyer in the early Colorado days, Hon. Jacob Fillius, who knew him intimately, says:

"I well remember the magnetic influence that he had in those days before a jury. He was practically irresistible. His method of conducting a prosecution was eminently fair. He was, however, most resourceful, his mentality acute, and his instant grasp of a legal proposition was little short of genius."

In another connection will be found a letter from John G. Milburn, Esq., of New York, in which he presents a view of the Colorado attorney as he appeared when the two were law partners in Denver in 1882. His analysis of Mr. Wolcott's characteristics as a lawyer is so true to nature and so pertinent to this portion of the memoir that the following extract is repeated:

To estimate his gifts and qualities as a lawyer is not easy in the case of such a complex, varied, and impulsive personability. He was not a quiet, methodical, or plodding worker, or a continuous student by nature or habit. He was so overrunning with nervous force and energy that every hour took its own line and often a different one. I do not mean by this that he was not capable of long stretches of work on the same subject, because he was, and sometimes almost to an abnormal

extent. He did his work according to the ways of the impulsive, flashing, intuitive mind, moving rapidly over a subject and yet seeing into the heart of it and grasping its essential features, and always with luminous and suggestive results. The mechanical work of the profession was irksome to him. His strength was in advocacy, that being a domain in which he could avail himself of patient, painstaking, and diligent assistants. His gifts and powers were natural rather than acquired. He had a distinctly legal mind; a voice of rare charm and power; a manner and personality that arrested and held the attention of men; high spirits, humor, distinction, and a passionate seriousness when aroused, and the gift of pure and genuine eloquence. He was an able and effective lawyer, and if he had given his energies and devotion entirely to the law he would have been one of the commanding advocates of his time.

That judges as well as juries had respect for the ability of Mr. Wolcott to take care of himself is attested by many. One instance will suffice. It is related by Judge Morton S. Bailey, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Colorado:

In the fall of 1880 I was a law student at Denver, Colorado, in the office of Messrs. Markham, Patterson & Thomas. At that time the District court-room was over the old post-office at the corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets. It was my custom to attend the sessions of this court on motion mornings, as they were called, which occurred regularly, by fixed appointment, and were the occasions of bringing together practically all of the members of the bar. On one of these mornings I recall the fact that an unusually bright and apparently capable young lawyer, attractive in dress, manner, face, and style of speech, argued a motion for a continuance in a case in which the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company was defendant, and for which company he appeared. He was noticeably modest and retiring, and indeed to me seemed quite embarrassed in urging his application, as if new to and unacquainted with the work. Still he made a showing, by affidavits and clear-cut, well-stated argument, which then seemed to me unanswerable.

I was captivated by the young man and his manner of presenting his cause; not so, however, the trial judge, for scarcely had the young advocate resumed his seat when the Hon. Victor A. Elliott, then upon the bench, announced that the motion for

a continuance was overruled and denied. I was filled with resentment against the Judge, and with sympathy for the young lawyer, at what I conceived to be an unnecessarily abrupt and erroneous ruling.

In a talk that evening with Judge Elliott at whose house I was then stopping, his attention was called to this incident of the morning court session, the recollection of which had remained with me all day, and with the outcome of which I was so thoroughly dissatisfied. I ventured the opinion to the Judge that he had made a mistake in his action on the motion, which seemed to me to have merit, and at the same time expressed deep sympathy for the young man who had shown such embarrassment, and so much diffidence and courtesy in the presentation of his application. Thereupon the Judge, evidently amused by my deep concern, made inquiry as to whether I knew the young man, and upon being told that I had never before seen or heard of him, he replied: "Well, my young friend, there is little need for you to waste sympathy in this matter. That young lawyer was Ed Wolcott, and he is not only entirely capable of protecting the rights of his client in this or any other case, but he is equally well able to take care of himself, in any controversy, legal, political, or otherwise, in which he may hereafter become engaged."

Thus it was that I first saw and knew Senator Wolcott, and the favorable impression then formed grew with the years and the pleasant personal acquaintance which came later.

On another occasion Judge Elliott said that Wolcott could come nearer making a jury cry over a railroad's side of a case than any other lawyer he ever had heard.

Elsewhere account has been given of Mr. Wolcott's rapid reading and quick apprehension of the essential points presented by any problem, and his brother Herbert has supplied a word showing how this faculty was utilized in the courtroom. He says:

I was in Ed's office for a year and he often gave me legal questions to look up. When I would start to tell him what I had found, he would listen for the first few words and then, seeing what I was starting to say, he would stop me before I had finished the first sentence. This same quickness of understanding what a person was starting to say he carried into the trial of lawsuits, and, however unexpected the answer,

Ed was never disturbed by it, but always had his next question ready; and by his rapid questions, asked in a natural manner as though about mere formal matters, he would lead witnesses into places from which they could not readily extricate themselves. Ed always kept his good nature when trying a lawsuit. He would speak in a clear voice and by his bright remarks and funny turns he kept the close attention of the court and jury.

Mr. Herbert Wolcott also has kindly supplied an account of his brother's conduct of the Bonnybel mining case, involving the Bonnybel property at Aspen, Colorado, then worth millions of dollars. This was one of the most important pieces of mining litigation ever conducted in the State and attracted much attention at the time. Of this suit Mr. Wolcott says:

Ed was busy during the preparation of the case, so that this had been in the hands of other lawyers who were assisting in the case. Ed's client was clearly and openly very much provoked that Ed had not given the case more attention and even carried his "grouch" into the trial of the case. The trial started, and the men who had prepared the suit called and examined the witnesses for the defendant, who was Ed's client and who still was feeling "sore" that Ed had not given the work more of his personal attention. The plaintiff put on his chief witness, a famous mining expert who had spent months in examining the mine and in preparation for the trial. His direct testimony was overwhelming. Ed then took the witness for his cross-examination; and three or four hours of his masterly questioning won the case for the defendant, who turned up at the office smiling and chuckling and wildly enthusiastic for Ed.

I recall one slight incident of this cross-examination which in a small way shows Ed's methods. The defendant was trying to show that the "Bonnybel" was not taking ore from a vein but from disintegrated rock, and Ed led the witness to say that he had been in different parts of the mine. Pointing out one of the rooms in the mine on a map that was in evidence, he asked the witness how many loose rocks he had seen in that particular room. He answered "One." Ed quickly picked up a rock that was lying on the table and said: "This rock came from that room; can you tell now whether there is another loose rock in that room or whether it is all solid vein?" Every one

in the court-room laughed except the witness, who did not know what to say. Ed started at him again while he was still feeling dazed and annoyed.

Mr. Wolcott's argument in the Bonnybel case was made November 26, 1889, less than a year after he entered the Senate. It was a masterful presentation of the details of a highly complicated piece of litigation. He showed a wonderfully clear knowledge not only of the facts, but of the law involved. The testimony of all the witnesses was analyzed and all the points favorable to the owners of the Bonnybel brought out in strong contrast to the weaknesses of the opposition, at the head of which stood Mr. D. M. Hyman, who, although largely interested in Colorado, was a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio. He was a worthy gentleman. But he was opposed to Wolcott's client. It was expedient that such defects as he possessed be made known. And they were. Mr. Wolcott spared neither opposing litigant nor his counsel or witnesses, while every point in favor of his own client was at finger's end and was made to count. For many years his conduct of the case was cited in Colorado as a model in mining litigation.

With the litigation long since settled satisfactorily to Mr. Wolcott and his client, with the silver that made the mine valuable discredited, and with Aspen no longer the place of importance that it was, it would be unprofitable to repeat the entire speech. He closed as follows:

> With your verdict, whatever it may be, we shall be content. Our hopes, our interests, and our future are with you. You may impoverish and take from us our property, and add another neighbor's scalp to Mr. Hyman's already crowded belt, or you may give us a verdict that will award to us our Bonnybel mine, with the right to follow it wherever it shall go into the earth; and you could never, gentlemen, do a more gracious act, nor one more consistent with justice and with equity, than to give a verdict for the defendants in this case.

Whether in the court-room or on the rostrum Mr. Wolcott was one of the fastest of speakers. He seemed never to hesitate for proper expression, and words followed one another with the celerity of shot from a rapid-fire rifle. But

for the fact that his enunciation was distinct, reporters would have found it almost impossible to follow him, and even with this advantage in their favor, the work was difficult. This was especially true in the examination of witnesses. With him rapid speech was second nature, and he used the faculty both to expedite business and confound opposing witnesses. In the latter effort he was most successful. As a cross-examiner he was a terror to reporters. One instance is recorded where a stenographer conveniently mislaid his notes when called upon for a transcript, for the reason that the Senator's examination had come too swiftly for him.

Mr. Wolcott argued many cases before the Supreme Court of the United States involving railroad, mining, and irrigation interests, and was very successful in that tribunal. That he made a thoroughly favorable impression there is attested by Justices Harlan and Brewer in their estimates printed as a foreword in this work. At the time these testimonials were written, the Justices were in point of service the two oldest and most experienced men on that bench, and their standing as jurists is such as to render their joint testimony conclusive on such a subject.

His last appearance in any court took place in the State District Court of El Paso County in connection with the contest in 1903 over the will of millionaire Myron W. Stratton of that city. He represented Stratton's son, I. Harry Stratton, who was the contestant. The case was compromised, and did not reach the point of adjudication. It was before the court long enough, however, to afford Mr. Wolcott an opportunity to demonstrate that he had lost none of his wonderful powers of penetration and analysis. He showed the same splendid capacity for going to the heart of a subject and for bringing out its salient points as in the earlier days, and, as in the former time, witnesses found it quite impossible to evade his searching questions. There was no evidence of "rustiness" on account of long absence from the trial courts.

SOME SPECIMEN EXPRESSIONS

Mr. Wolcott never made a dull speech. He did not allow

himself to do so. But some of his speeches were naturally better than others, depending of course on the inspiration of subject and occasion, and the care of preparation and delivery. Beginning with his campaign of the State in 1880, he participated in most of the Colorado political contests during the remainder of his life, and in that quarter of a century delivered himself of many notable utterances. So far as it has been possible to collect them, these speeches are printed as a part of this work, and most of them will prove interesting reading for many years to come. He always dealt with current topics, but he seldom failed to treat them in such a way as to give his speeches permanent value. All of his varied powers of persuasion, of analysis, of humor, of sarcasm, and of invective are well illustrated in these speeches, one being notable for one quality and another for a totally different.

Probably the most interesting of his campaigns was that of 1896, when, standing almost alone among men of prominence, he held aloft the banner of Republicanism in Colorado. He made three notable speeches in that campaign, and probably the most noteworthy of these was the one made in Denver just before the close. There, surrounded by a small body of friends whose loyalty would have proved equal to the extremest test, he boldly faced a partially hostile audience as, through an antagonistic press, he did a resentful public. He felt the necessity of winning all the friends he could, and yet his pugnacity was stirred to the utmost. He was armed to the teeth for his foes, and yet he never was more gracious to his friends,—never more patriotic nor more loyal to his State. Many of his sentences on that occasion will bear repetition long hence—some for their aptness and others for their high sentiment. Where, for instance, will one find a clearer or stronger appeal for party loyalty in the face of opposition than the following from this speech?

> I want to say to you that intolerance is the sure symptom of a little soul and a narrow intellect, and wherever you find any blatant man or any blatant newspaper, who declares that you are a traitor to your party, or a traitor to the interests of

your State, and threatens you with what he will do to you, don't pay any heed to him, fellow-citizens, for the friendship of such a man or such a paper is a degradation and a dishonor. My friends, stand up in the open and fight for your party and for your principles. Why, it is all there is in life worth living for. It is the very essence of our liberties. It is that which distinguishes us from the beasts that perish, that we have an honest opinion, and, please God, we will stand for it in the face of the world; and it is that which gives the Saxon race the deathless love of liberty that will not let free institutions perish from the face of the earth.

There is not in this whole State a mining camp so remote and so inaccessible, that there are not in it two or three, or more, people who believe in Republican principles, and I trust they will have the courage to express their opinions.

Fellow-citizens,

> "They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three."

Or where will one find a better or more patriotic vindication of personal conduct in public office than in this sentence from the same speech?

The personal fortunes, fellow-citizens, of none of us are of much value, but it is of vital importance that whoever represents any State in any public capacity should live up to his convictions of public duty; and if after these scenes shall have passed away, when men come to review these exciting days in this crisis of our history, if it shall be said of me that I stood true to the principles of the party whose commission I hold; if it shall be said of me that when others yielded, I stayed; that when the path to popularity and applause was easy, I stood by my party; that when I had only to desert my party and betray and abandon its principles, and I would be beslimed with the praise of former political opponents and a section of my political adherents, I refused to yield to public clamor because I believed it hostile to our welfare; that not only in the day of our victory, but that in the days of adversity and defeat, I still remained true to that party which has ennobled our past and whose policy and whose principles offer us all our hope for the future; that not alone in the triumphant charge, but that on the stricken field, when the deserters were

many and the faithful were few, I still held aloft the banner you gave me in defence of what I believed to be the welfare of our State and the honor of our country, I shall be content.

And for real sublimity of expression or grandeur of sentiment, what better example could be found than the following from his address before the Republican State Convention at Colorado Springs in the same year?

Fellow-citizens, the boundaries of the States which form our Union are imaginary, not real; the mountains yonder, which look down upon us, stand like a serried column; yet just beyond our view they open to the west in gentle undulations, and our fertile orchards merge and blend with those of the commonwealths of the Occident. To the eastward, the plains slope into great prairies, the granaries of the world. The rivers which find their source among our mountain crags wind a tortuous course through many sister States before they fret their way to the sea. From the gray summit of the mighty peak which now casts its shadow over us, on, on to the rocky coast of Maine, there is but one land, fed by the same dews, watered from the same Heaven, and kissed by the same sun. No stockades or bristling forts divide us. We are of one race, one destiny, one common and immortal hope. In the century now dying, we who are the inheritors of the liberties secured us by our forefathers will build no barrier of sectional hate to sunder us from brothers whom we love, or to exclude from our vision the hills and valleys far away, where our childhood was nursed and our dead lie buried.

His speech at Colorado Springs on September 15, 1896, his first appearance on the stump after the split in the National Republican Convention at St. Louis, was full of good things. For the most part, the address was devoted directly to the questions at issue, and there were some real bursts of oratory, the character of which is illustrated by the following extract:

There are forty-five stars in our national flag, representing as many States, each sovereign and each settled by brothers of a common race and language, animated by a like and equal patriotism. The Union of States is indissoluble; for better or for worse we are allied together in the effort to secure and

make permanent a republican form of government, where each man shall be free and equal, recognizing no master but the will of the majority. Until this attempt at self-government, the greatest the world in all its centuries has ever seen, shall go deep in ruin and disaster and failure, this Union of States must continue. Thirty years and more ago, this question was forever settled, and even in these days of poverty and depression, I believe that the vast majority of the honest people of Colorado have no sympathy with these sectional appeals, and that the lurid fires of revolution which are threatened to be kindled among the hills of South Carolina will meet no answering beacon from the mountains of Colorado.

In many respects Mr. Wolcott's last speech, made at the Coliseum in Denver on the night before the close of the campaign in 1904, was different from any other ever made by him. It was a noteworthy effort, and deserves careful perusal because of its close analysis of the motives and careful history of the transactions of the Western Federation of Miners. How strong was his love for law and order may be understood when it is recalled that, antagonistic as Governor Peabody had been to him, he still made an earnest appeal for the Governor's re-election because that official had exerted himself to hold in check this organization, which, with him, Mr. Wolcott believed to be anarchistic. Take a specimen or two. Where can more severe denunciation be found in four lines than in the following, referring to the outrages which he attributed to the Federationists?

"They differ, my friends, only from the crimes of the Apaches and the Sioux in the early days of Colorado and the West, in that the Apaches and the Sioux did not know the use of dynamite."

Or where a better presentation of the point at issue in an important campaign than the following?

It is not a question whether we shall vindicate Governor Peabody, because the results have vindicated him. It is a question of whether the majority of the citizens of Colorado will to-morrow put upon record a notice to the world that the State of Colorado stands for the right to live and the right to labor, without which the republican form of government is a sham and a degradation.

Mr. Wolcott was especially fond of appealing to young voters to align themselves with the Republican party, and many of his best sentences were devoted to such appeals. We cite two instances, the first from a campaign speech at Colorado Springs in 1888, just before his first election to the Senate, and the second from a campaign speech at Denver in 1898, during his second term in the Senate and while he was trying to coax the State back into the Republican ranks after the split of 1896. In both instances, the appeal was used as a peroration to noteworthy speeches. In 1888 he said:

For the first time since the close of the Rebellion the men born since the war will cast their ballot. Soon the control of the affairs of this nation will be turned over to you. It will be left in safe hands. It is for you to guard this treasure as you would the ark of your covenant.

"Of what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

It is for you to choose which party you will serve. On the one side you have the party whose past is radiant with achievement and whose future is bright with glory,—the party which has ever trod the highway of honor, which has nothing to atone and nothing to apologize for,—the party whose mission it has ever been to lift up the down-trodden and the oppressed of every race and plant their feet upon the rock of liberty. On the other hand, you have the party which seeks for the present—offices, which seeks for the past—oblivion, and which can give us no guaranty for the fulfilment of its promises for the future.

How can you falter? You love your country. Ally yourself to the party that saved it. You heard your fathers confess having voted for Lincoln and for Grant and for Garfield. What man did you ever hear confess that he voted for Buchanan or for Breckenridge or for Seymour?

You love your flag. Attach yourself to the party that saved its thirty-eight stars. Come out with us, I beg of you, and stand in the sunlight and join the party upon whose brow the mark of shame was never stamped, whose hands are unsoiled with treason and unstained with their country's blood

And in 1898:

New horizons are opening to us; new duties are devolving upon us, and to-day no man may venture to predict the great future in store for us.

It is a glorious time to be alive and it is a noble duty that devolves upon every citizen of this free country. It may be, my friends, that this is the first year of your vote. Let me beg of you to come out into the sunlight of hope and cast your fortunes with the party which seeks to strengthen the hands of the Administration, to support the Government, and to maintain the honor of the flag wherever it floats. Do not soil yourselves by joining a party which stands for no principle; which teaches hate and bitterness; whose only hope for success lies in creating a disloyal sectionalism and the arraying of class against class, and which is even now trying to climb into power by slandering the Commander-in-Chief of our Army and our Navy, who has guided us so wisely through international breakers and who has led us to an honorable peace.

When you, in your turn, shall look back upon the days of your youth, there could be no more bitter memory in store for you than that you were then helping to erect a wall of hate to divide this commonwealth from the brotherhood of States, and that you were seeking only to snarl and to criticise. When the heroes of San Juan Hill and the survivors of the Colorado regiment who led the charge at the battle of Manila, also grown old, shall recount their stirring memories by flood and field, how would you feel if you recalled the fact that you were then engaged in throwing mud at somebody, in criticising an Administration which at that time you must at heart have honored, in voting with a party which places the question of silver paramount to that of the protection of American labor; paramount to that of the maintenance of our cherished institutions; paramount to cordial and friendly relations with our brothers to the east of us; paramount to the great issues which we are now facing, and above the honor of the flag? Don't do it, boys. Your country needs you. The world is to be made better; the shackles have to be struck from the down-trodden and the oppressed the world over. New areas are to be opened to our commerce, new duties are devolving upon us, and you, who are in the first flush of your manhood, you are needed, never more than now, to stand with us in the front ranks in the open day to fight while life is in you, that this nation shall bear the flaming sword of righteousness wherever we owe that duty to civilization and Christianity.

Come with us; face the truth and the truth shall make you

free. Hundreds of gallant souls have recently died for our country and for the sacred cause of humanity; heroes all, whether they fell by Spanish bullets or wasted by cruel disease.

"On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

It is for you to make secure what they have won; to pay your country the debt you owe her; the debt of chivalrous devotion, of high patriotism, and of unquestioning loyalty to your government and your flag.

We have seen how attached Mr. Wolcott was to his native New England. But, if, on the other hand, we seek evidence of his love for and his pride and confidence in the West, we soon find a surfeit of material. His speeches abound in it, and necessarily only a few specimens can be given. Probably no more characteristic expression on this subject can be found than in his two addresses before the New England Society of New York, delivered ten years apart, the first in 1887, and the second in 1897. Between those two periods much had happened to him. When he made the first speech, he was a private citizen, but a leader; —when he made the second, he was a member of the United States Senate, but he had passed through the trying experiences of 1896, and the political outlook for him was not promising. But, notwithstanding the change in conditions, the second speech was as buoyant as the first, and on both occasions the West was his most inspiring theme. Take the following specimen paragraph from the speech of 1887:

The West is only a larger, and in some respects, a better, New England. I speak not of those rose gardens of culture, Missouri and Arkansas, but otherwise, generally of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, and more particularly, because more advisedly, of Colorado, the youngest and most rugged of the thirty-eight; almost as large in area as all New England and New York combined; "with room about her hearth for all mankind"; with fertile valleys, and with mines so rich and so plentiful that we occasionally, though reluctantly, dispose of

one to our New York friends. We have no very rich, no very poor, and no almshouses; and in the few localities where we are not good enough, New England Home Missionary societies are rapidly bringing us up to the Plymouth Rock standard and making us face the Heavenly music. We take annually from our granite hills wealth enough to pay for the fertilizers your Eastern and Southern soils require to save them from impoverishment. We have added three hundred millions to the coinage of the world; and although you call only for gold, we generously give you silver too. You are not always inclined to appreciate our efforts to swell the circulation, but none the less are we one with you in patriotic desire to see the revenues reformed, provided always that our own peculiar industries are not affected. Our mountains slope toward either sea, and in their shadowy depths we find not only hidden wealth, but inspiration and incentive to high thought and noble living, for Freedom has ever sought the recesses of the mountains for her stronghold, and her spirit hovers there; their snowy summits and the long, rolling plains are lightened all day long by the sunshine, and we are not only Colorado, but Colorado Claro!

And the following from that of 1897:

The West is not decadent; its views are of men virile, industrious, and genuine, and their beliefs are honest. They would scorn any sort of evasion of an obligation. They are patriotic men. There is in the whole Far West hardly a Northerner born who was old enough to go to the war whom you will not see on Decoration Day wearing proudly the badge of his old corps. They are Americans; to a proportion greater, far greater, than in the East, native American citizens. The views they cherish are held with practical unanimity. The beliefs of the clergyman, the lawyer, the farmer, and the storekeeper are alike. You swell their ranks every year from New England colleges. The young fellows graduate and go West, grateful that you have developed their ability to reason, and they rapidly assimilate their views with those of the people among whom they cast their lot. A distinguished New Englander wrote the other day that the differences between the sections of our country are really differences in civilization. No man familiar with the whole country would, in my opinion, share this view. Our people would accept the statement as too complimentary to them, and, if they thought you cherished the same view, would desire

me, in courtesy, to assure you that this very assemblage, in apparent intelligence and general respectability, would compare creditably, if not favorably, with any similar gathering at Creede, Bull Mountain, or Cripple Creek.

There is so much of beauty of expression, so much of State loyalty and of hope for the future of the State, so much of real eloquence in the closing lines of Mr. Wolcott's last speech in Denver, on the night of November 7, 1904, that they are repeated.

He was concluding the speech from which practically he went to his death-bed. It was the closing night of the second Peabody campaign. Toward the end, he undertook to refute the assertions of his own party friends that the defeat of Peabody would be a final disaster to the State. This he declared would not be true, and after asserting that there was a future for the State regardless of the election result, he closed in the following language:

When I think of Colorado I recall the great master Watt's picture of Hope, who sits upon a dim and dark and swirling world, with her eyes bandaged, with but one star shining in the sky, holding a lute in her hands, the strings all broken but one, and leaning over to catch from that one string some note of melody that shall give her courage to go on. So I say in Colorado, my friends, there are enough brave and good men to face whatever in the Providence of God may be in store for us, until the end; to finally make Colorado the home of good men and good women, where they may rear their children, and bury their dead;—to make it the home of a decent, a happy, a prosperous, and a free people.

His idea of the duty of citizenship as expressed in a speech at Denver, September 17, 1894, is worth quoting separately.

He said:

Ladies and gentlemen, when this country was organized, when this Republic was born, its citizens came together in poverty and suffering under oppression. They got together and said: "We vow that all we have we will cast into a common lot; we agree that we are each of us entitled to liberty and to freedom,

but that it shall be just so much liberty and so much freedom as is consistent with the liberty and the freedom of every other person." And they met and they agreed that they would give their lives, their bodies, their minds, and their hearts to the service of their country; they would serve upon juries, they would enlist in the armies, they would obey its laws and, in obedience to law, their lives if necessary were subject to the call of their fellow-citizens. That, my friends, is what citizenship in a Republic means; and it does not mean any less.

Already quotation has been made from the Monroe Doctrine speech, in the Senate, on January 22, 1896, but that was such a remarkable effort from so many points of view that it justifies frequent mention, and certainly this review would not be complete without reference to it. Take, then, the following, pertaining to the relationship between the United States and Great Britain, as a specimen expression, not only of patriotism, but of the higher sentiment of brotherly love:

Mr. President, we will protect our country and our country's interests with our lives, but we wage no wars of conquest or of hate. This Republic stands facing the dawn, secure in its liberties, conscious of its high destiny. Wherever in all the world the hand of the oppressed or the down-trodden is reached out to us, we meet it in friendly clasp. In the Old World, where unspeakable crimes even now darken the skies; in the Orient, where old dynasties have been crumbling for a thousand years and still hang together in the accumulation of infamies; in South America, where as yet the forms of free institutions hold only the spirit of cruelty and oppression; everywhere upon the earth it is our mission to ameliorate, to civilize, to Christianize, to loosen the bonds of captivity, and to point the souls of men to nobler heights. Whatever of advancement and of progress the centuries shall bring us must largely come through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking peoples; and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. Blood is thicker than water, and until some just quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same speech and lineage and traditions stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace and awaiting the coming of the day when, "Nation shall

not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Even on the usually dry subject of the relations of silver to gold as a money metal, he could grow eloquent and pathetic, as witness the appeal to the Democrats in his speech in the Senate on August 31, 1893, while the Repeal Bill was under consideration. Predicting disaster as the result of that proposed legislation, he said:

No sectional horizon obscures our vision. If the contest for the people is to be won, it must be because against the selfish demands of the East are arrayed the united votes of the South and West. The fertile acres of your section wait for the plough of the husbandman; so do ours. You need capital for the development of your great resources; so do we. Both sections alike need fair prices for the produce of the farm, and a stable and sufficient currency.

It is for us, standing together on this great question, to save our common country from greater suffering and impoverishment than even the horrors of war could inflict; and by our united votes to maintain, not alone the standard of both gold and silver contemplated by the Constitution, and consecrated by centuries of usage, but to maintain, as well, the standard of American independence and American manhood.

Another specimen of his power of speech and of appeal in connection with the silver legislation is found in his speech of October 28, 1893, just before the taking of the vote on the Repeal Bill, when, conceding that the bill would be passed, he said in concluding a very brilliant effort:

I know my own people, and I know, as no other member of this Senate except my colleague can know, the import and meaning to Colorado of the vote which shall be had upon this measure. We came into the Union of States in the centennial year, and in the galaxy of commonwealths we are usually known as the Centennial State. We were fitted for Statehood by population and resources. Our people came from all the States in the Union; they found a desert; they have made it a garden. They were encouraged to search for the precious metals, and they poured millions of gold and silver into your treasury. They

built cities, founded schools and colleges, erected churches, and established happy and peaceful and contented homes.

The action you contemplate is as if you should take a vast and fertile area of Eastern land, destroy the structures upon it, and sow the ground with salt, that it might never again yield to the hand of the husbandman. These are indeed grave and sad days for us. Your action drives our miners from their homes in the mountains and compels the abandonment of hamlets and of towns that but yesterday were prosperous and populous. We shall turn our hands to new pursuits and seek other means of livelihood. We shall not eat the bread of idleness, and under the shadow of our eternal hills we breed only good citizens. The wrong, however, which you are inflicting upon us is cruel and unworthy, and the memory of it will return to vex you. Out of the misery of it all, her representatives in this Senate will be always glad to remember that they did their duty as God gave them the vision to see it.

Here is another expression of lofty and patriotic thought in connection with a silver speech, that made in the Senate on April 6, 1892, which is worthy of being separated from its surroundings that it may be admired for its own beauty:

It is a mistake for the representatives of one section to seek financial aggrandizement at the expense of any other. We have a common interest, a common country, and should share a common prosperity. The music of the looms in New England, the song of the field-hand on the cotton plantation, the echo of the woodman's axe in Oregon, and the ring of the prospector's pick on the granite of the Western mountains, all blend in one melodious harmony, and tell the same story of the energy of free men who conquer success because in this country industry and hope are companions. The uniting of all these interests so that no one shall suffer because of the other and so that each shall benefit and bless the other is a mission more glorious than one of conquest—is the noblest task that could be imposed upon man by his brother man.

Of all Mr. Wolcott's public addresses, none received more careful thought in subject-matter or diction than that delivered as Temporary Chairman of the National Convention at Philadelphia in 1900, when Major McKinley was renominated for the Presidency, and it was conceded a master-

piece by all who heard or who read it. It was an exhaustive and calm review of the first McKinley Administration, with especial reference to the conduct of the Spanish-American War, which had been brought to so brilliant a close only a little more than two years before. He was especially chosen by McKinley for this service, and the speech was regarded everywhere as a model campaign keynote.

Let a discriminating admirer who was present give his impressions of the event.

It was my good fortune to be in the Philadelphia Convention [he says]. In that convention were many great orators. Roosevelt, Foraker, Thurston, Knight of California, Depew, Lodge, and many others spoke, but Wolcott made the speech of the convention. His speech had all the argument, the beauty of diction, the scholarly and rhetorical effect of that of Lodge, and in addition it had a brilliance and fervor which compelled attention and enthusiasm. He had a commanding presence and possessed in a high degree that peculiar quality best called "magnetism." When he reached a climax every one cheered because he could not help it. I never shall forget this dramatic period, delivered with wonderful feeling and force at the close of his brilliant argument on the Philippine question:

"Our dead are buried along the sands of Luzon, and on its soil no foreign flag shall ever salute the dawn."

Mr. Wolcott's speech in nomination of Mr. Blaine at the Republican National Convention of 1892 made a deep and lasting impression upon many who never had heard him before. It was not known that this duty was to come to him, and his taking the floor was a surprise to the audience. It is the custom at National Conventions to call the States in alphabetical order for nominations, and Mr. Wolcott was fortunate in that Colorado came so early on the list. Alabama, Arkansas, and California had been named, but had made no response. When Colorado was reached, and Senator Wolcott addressed the Chair, a hush fell over the assembly. Taking advantage of the impression thus produced, he did not leave his hearers to wonder whom he was to present, but brought forward the name of his candidate with startling effect in his opening words:

"The Republicans of the West sometimes differ with the

Republicans of the East as to what is wanted. On this occasion there is remarkable unanimity between genuine Republicans of the West and genuine Republicans of the East as to who is needed, and his name is Blaine."

Then followed in choice epigrammatic phrase an enumeration of Mr. Blaine's achievements and a chivalrous expression of the devotion of his followers, the whole being compact but comprehensive and inspiring. The speaker was taking his seat five minutes from the time that he began.

On a later occasion, when Mr. Blaine had passed away, Wolcott paid a feeling tribute to his memory, the following being one of many passages which might be adduced to show how fittingly he could speak of the worthy dead. It is an extract from his Lincoln Day speech at the dinner of the New York Republican Club in 1893, Mr. Blaine's death having occurred but a short time before. He said:

> And so, my friends, we pledge each other to the memory of our departed leader. Brave, sincere, patriotic, gallant, magnanimous, and intrepid, rarely since men have been born has so lovable and true a soul, a "fairer spirit or more welcome shade" been ferried over the river. The world is better because he was of it; we are better for the inspiration of his presence and the stimulus of his example. He will shine for us, and for those who come after us, as "the star of the unconquered will." When the rancors and political animosities of this generation shall have passed away, patriotic men of all parties will pay their full tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of James Gillespie Blaine.

Sensational journalism received much attention from him in his Colorado campaign speeches, and occasionally was referred to in his general addresses. In his second New England Day oration in New York, he addressed himself to that subject in a few sentences that are almost classic in their force, terseness, and cleverness. He said:

> The continued friction is largely generated both East and West by a certain modern type of newspaper. The plague may have started here, but it has spread and sprouted like the Canada thistle until it is a blight in Colorado, as it is a curse here and wherever it plants itself. Wherever there is a cause

to misrepresent, a hate to be fanned, a slander to utter, a reputation to besmirch, it exhales its foul breath. It knows no party, no honor, and no virtue. It stirs only strife and hatred, and appeals only to the low and the base. It calls itself journalism, but its name is Pander and its color is yellow.

COURSE IN LEGISLATION

Aggressive and radical though he was in speech, Mr. Wolcott was conservative in action. Especially was this true in matters of importance affecting the interests of others. In legislation, his tendency was quite as much toward preventing wrong action as toward promoting right action. He was inclined to think that there was too much lawmaking, and no man was quicker to detect the flaw in a proposed course of legislation.

The critical student of Mr. Wolcott's Senatorial career may point out that he was not "constructive." The "constructive statesman" is the man who outlines policies in laws written by himself. It must be admitted that the Colorado Senator gave comparatively little attention to the drafting of bills. Many reasons may be assigned for this failure. Most legislative policies are dictated either by the Administration or by the Elder Statesmen, "the white-buttoned Mandarins of the Senate and House," as they have been called by a Western Senator of a later time than Mr. Wolcott's. Policies belong to crises, and comparatively few real crises occur in the course of two Senatorial terms.

During Mr. Wolcott's twelve years in the Senate there were scarcely more than half a dozen occurrences demanding the broad exercise of this faculty. The most important of these were the Venezuelan embroglio, the situation caused by the pendency of the Force Bill; the fight for silver, national and international; and the Spanish-American War. All these questions except the war had their origin anterior to Mr. Wolcott's entrance into the Senate, and while he could have done nothing and really did nothing by way of constructiveness in connection with the Force Bill or the Venezuelan matter, he did play an effective part in bringing to naught the policies out of which these questions arose. If it be objected that it is easier to tear down than to build

up, it may be replied that this is not necessarily true when the Administration is behind the policy, as was the case in both these instances. If it requires ability to construct, it requires courage to demolish—and frequently also tact and skill. Often, too, as much patriotism and wisdom are displayed in demolition as in construction; prevention of poor legislation is as essential to good government as the enactment of good legislation.

Much fine generalship was displayed in the attack on the Venezuelan policy of President Cleveland and in the fight on the Force Bill of the Harrison régime. In the strict sense of the term, there was no "constructive" legislation in either case. But the Wolcott speech on Venezuela exercised a vast influence in preventing a growth of sentiment against the Mother Country and was the beginning of a reaction favorable to that country, which has gained momentum from the day the address was delivered until the present time. So potent indeed was its influence that fourteen years after its delivery an Anglo-American League was started to perpetuate the Colorado man's ideas of unity between the United States and Great Britain. So also with the Force Bill. Mr. Wolcott's convictions would not have permitted him to become the author of that measure, but they did impel him to become its destroyer, and thus again he aided, though by a negative course, in establishing a policy.

Judged by these two measures, Mr. Wolcott's faculty lay in the line of destructiveness or obstructiveness rather than in that of constructiveness, but neither his destructiveness nor obstructiveness was the result of thoughtless recklessness. In these, as in other matters, he did much in the way of forming policies and changing thought, but he did not find it necessary to write long and platitudinous laws to accomplish these results. It is possible to shape policies by preventing legislation, and Mr. Wolcott was a master in this art. He believed in natural development unobstructed by artificial means.

The silver legislation was well under way when he entered the Senate. At best it was largely defensive in character, but in connection with it he suggested many useful

ideas; he was the father of the International Commission of 1897. In the Spanish War he stood with the Administration throughout, and while from first to last his advice was sought, the shaping of bills and resolutions was left largely to the Executive officials and to the committees having in hand the various subjects which the War made it necessary for Congress to consider. Three tariff bills were enacted into law while he was in the Senate, but under the Constitution tariff bills must originate in the House, and all three were prepared there.

Confessedly Mr. Wolcott did not enjoy detail, but that he could originate legislation was shown not only in his silver measures, but in his Private Land Court Bill and other general measures introduced by him; and there is every reason to believe that if he had been permitted to "grow gray" in the Senate he would have performed his share of this character of work. Still, his conservatism would have prevented any riot of legislative suggestion. He did not believe in experimental laws.

But Mr. Wolcott never could have served long enough to take on the airs of a "statesman." Never a poser, he abhorred all pretence and assumed no position to which his talents and achievements did not entitle him. He was in no respect a professional office-holder. His ambition was to be a practical lawmaker and a useful legislator, and whatever service fell within the requirements of these offices he was willing to perform. He could draw bills and outline policies when necessary, but, as a rule, his forte lay rather in the direction of shaping up the measures drawn by others and in assisting in getting them through if they appealed to him. In a word, he regarded legislation as a matter of business, and while he enjoyed the life in the Senate, he never allowed himself to assume the airs and take on the attitudes of many men who wear the Senatorial toga. On the other hand, he appreciated the fact that he was capable of rendering more service than he had given to the Senatorship, and a few months before his death he told some of his friends that if ever he should return to the Senate he meant to take up the work more seriously than hitherto he had done. With that re-

solve and with his abilities still undiminished, he undoubtedly would have given the country much splendid service even though he did not pose as a "statesman" or seek to connect his name with statutes.

AS A POLITICIAN

FROM 1886, when he began to lay his plans to go to the Senate, until 1905, the time of his death, Mr. Wolcott was the actual and active leader of the Republican party in Colorado, and in that time there were few who disputed his right to the place. During the first half of the period Senator Teller held high rank as a party adviser; but he did not aspire to active command of the party forces, and was quite content to leave that service to his co-worker, who was younger and more willing to assume the duties and responsibilities of the position. After Mr. Teller left the party in 1896, there was a considerable period when the junior Senator was the sole dispenser of party patronage and the supreme dictator of party policy in the State. For a brief period after the party began to regain its standing, following the disastrous campaigns of 1896, 1898, and 1900, there were efforts by ambitious men within the Republican ranks to displace him, and while these efforts had the effect of preventing his return to the Senate, his position of leadership was disturbed only momentarily, and before his death he had regained complete control.

Necessarily, a large part of this book is a record of Mr. Wolcott's political career, and there is no intention even to summarize that portion of his life here. There are, however, some facts connected with it that can be better presented in a detached way than as a part of the regular narrative, and it has been thought worth while to emphasize some of the qualities to which he owed his success in the political arena.

From the beginning of its history, Colorado has been a

State of politicians. At the head of the old-time list stood Jerome B. Chaffee, who rose to the distinction not only of a seat in the Senate of the United States, but to that of the head of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee during the Blaine campaign in 1884. He was ably flanked by Henry M. Teller, who, while not so demonstrative, was still more successful; by John Evans, N. P. Hill, Thomas M. Bowen, John L. Routt, and William A. Hamill, on the Republican side, and by W. A. H. Loveland, Bela M. Hughes, Thomas M. Patterson, Charles S. Thomas, and Alva Adams, Democrats. A history of these men would be a history of Colorado from early Territorial days until the present time. All were able and astute, and each might have been a leader in any field. But none of them embodied such a virile and happy combination of the qualities of mind and heart that make for a leader as did Edward O. Wolcott. Some of them may have been stronger in certain lines than he, but none possessed so many of the qualifications necessary to success in conducting the affairs of a great party. These were equal to the task of keeping him in the forefront of Colorado political affairs for a quarter of a century. For much of that time he was not alone the leader of the Republican party in the State; he was the party "boss," if you will. He made and unmade men. He controlled the Federal appointments and selected most of the candidates for State offices. The National Committeemen, and a majority of the State Committeemen, also, were generally designated by him.

That Mr. Wolcott won this distinction by sheer force of ability the facts bear ample testimony. He had powerful friends, to be sure. But whence those friends? He did not have any in the beginning. They came to him as the result in part of his engaging personality; but there must have been more than mere address to bring to his aid such men as at first "boosted" and afterward followed him. From the first there was more than mere amiability in the man, and he scarcely had passed from boyhood before his substantial characteristics began to make themselves manifest. He never was a dead weight to his friends; he was a real assistance in any cause which he espoused. He soon de-

veloped such qualities that his services as an adviser and then as a director were in demand, and, once tested, whether in business or politics, they were not soon dispensed with. The qualities which gave him the place of leadership were born in him, and their manifestation waited only upon opportunity. And what were these qualities? His personal friend and political co-worker, Hon. A. M. Stevenson, of Denver, has been asked to answer this question, and he has done so briefly in the following paragraph:

As a party leader, Wolcott was the Sheridan of party politics. He was always aggressive and never on the defensive, but with it all he was not a narrow partisan. He was controlled by the courage of his convictions, and neither party declarations nor the will of the majority could make him abandon what he considered a just position. His aggressiveness was as bold and attractive when leading a forlorn hope as when directing the movements of a majority. He always fought in the open. His weakness as a party leader was his strength as a man. He despised shams and hypocrisy. He was wise in counsel and so quick that he comprehended in a moment the most complex situations. It was often difficult to follow his active brain, and this sometimes made him impatient with friends, but he was deeply grieved when he saw he had offended. He was liberal, often lavish, with his money for every possible legitimate expense of the campaign. He knew human nature well and understood that most men were affected by this environment or that influence, and he used his knowledge for success. There was nothing he despised or denounced more than the use of money for corrupt purposes, and it was hard to make him believe that men would sell themselves for gold.

Probably one of the most accurate as well as one of the most appreciative analyses ever made of Mr. Wolcott's character as a man and as a politician was written by his political and personal friend, Ottomar H. Rothacker, in 1885, before Wolcott had entered the Senate—indeed, before he was regarded as a candidate for a seat in that body, and it was the means of calling out an equally appreciative letter of criticism from Dr. Wolcott, father of the subject of it all.

Rothacker was himself one of the most brilliant young

men of early Colorado. A Kentuckian by rearing, if not by birth, he went to Colorado soon after the admission of the State into the Union. He became editor of the *Denver Tribune*, and it was most natural that he and Wolcott should be attracted to each other. They became very intimate. Later the Hill faction came into control of the *Tribune*, and the direction of the policy of the paper was entrusted largely to Wolcott. Wolcott and Rothacker were in perfect harmony in the management of the sheet, and the latter remained with it until 1884, when he removed to Washington and became correspondent there for the *Denver News*. It was in this latter capacity that he wrote the Wolcott article. His letter was dated October 6, 1885, and was based upon the assumption that Wolcott would be a candidate for Representative in the lower House of Congress in 1886, to succeed Judge Symes.

The letter began abruptly with a declaration of confidence in Wolcott's strength. "I think," said Mr. Rothacker, "that Wolcott is the ablest man in Colorado politics," and he then proceeded:

> I don't mean by this that he is the ablest politician. His disposition is the mortal enemy of expediency. I mean that he has more striking qualities than any man who has puttered in the science of office-holding in the State. In many respects he reminds one of Matt Carpenter. In one point the resemblance is particularly striking. Every one used to speak of the Senator as "Matt." When they spoke *to* him they said Mr. Carpenter.
>
> In Congress Ed Wolcott would be the most striking Republican from the West. He has more ability than any man now on the floor of the House. He would create there much the same kind of effect that Blaine did when his effective personality first began to get recognition. He would make more enemies however. He can be sugar one day and vitriol the next. He would attract attention from the very first and become a national figure, but bitter enmities would be blended with warm friendships. He has a singular capacity in handling men. He has also a fatal facility for driving them away from him. He has the political weakness for discrediting his best friends and of crediting his meanest foes. This blindness all politicians seem to be afflicted with. The best of them are not free from it.
>
> In the main, however, Wolcott is as good as any of them, and

his memory for service is quite as long. Beyond the lower traits of office-getting he has some which are very exceptional. He is a man with a very quick intellect. He has a ready instinct for the broader phases of public questions which are comprised in statesmanship. His impulses are all toward the upper plane. His normal judgment is a high and correct one. On any national question he is pretty sure to be with the best thought of the country. On any question of local supremacy he will not hesitate to use the worst. In politics he is decidely practical.

When Campbell was nominated in the convention of 1882, Wolcott, as everybody knows, bolted the nomination. Never was a bolt better based. The nomination was forced through against party sentiment and party expediency. It was grotesque in its absurdity. At no time was it at all certain that Campbell was even a Republican. Assuredly he had never held any position in the party that justified his nomination. It has been claimed that because Wolcott was a member of the convention he should have supported the nominee. The character of the nominee was a sufficient release from any pledge. It has been said that because Hamill and he made Chaffee chairman they should have upheld him. The nomination of Chaffee as chairman was a broad joke. Hamill, who *did* support the ticket, said of this: "Chaffee steered the cart into the mud; let him drag it out again." The bolt from Campbell was justified by the action of the majority of the Republican voters of the State.

I was led to this digression by a recollection that just before I left the State I heard several able Republicans suggest that "Ed Wolcott ought to make himself right with the party." My dear deluded friends did not know him. It can be better put by saying that the party will have to make itself right with Ed Wolcott. He is rather an imperious person in his way. During the last Presidential campaign it took some urging to get him on the stump, and there was considerable rejoicing at the Republican State Headquarters when this was accomplished. The truth is that Wolcott can get along without his party better than his party can get along without him. He does n't need it for a living, and one of these days it may need him.

The plain fact runs that Ed Wolcott has many of the unusual attributes which belong in the make-up of a national politician. He even has some instincts of statesmanship, and I use the word in its most conservative sense. He has absolute

genius as an orator. His organizing ability is far beyond the ordinary. His mind is marvellously alert. His capacity for absorbing judgment—if such a paradox be allowable—is of the broadest sort. He could never be a commonplace figure in Washington. Indeed it would not astonish one if a first experience there should put him in a position of unusual prominence. He would bear much the same relation to the Rocky Mountain country that Conkling does to New York, that Carpenter did to Wisconsin, that Morton did to Indiana, that Blackburn does to Kentucky. The dead level of the present House would only be a pedestal for him. He would rise above it from the very start. He would be a vastly bigger man in Congress than he has ever been in any Colorado political convention. The atmosphere would be more natural to him, and he would breathe more freely. It would be like jumping from Sophomore to Senior, and he would be quite at home at once. He would have the great advantage of representing a strong and growing section, and this is a powerful foundation for any politician young in national history.

If he really means to strive for a place in the larger arena of national politics it will be easy enough. All he will have to do will be to recognize some of the people whom he has not been in the habit of recognizing, to appreciate disinterested support at its real worth, and forget that he was born with a chip on his shoulder.

The father's letter which the Rothacker article called out probably was the last of the many addressed by him to his son in their long and intimate relationship. He then was suffering from the illness which a few months later terminated fatally, and the letter was dictated. It was, however, signed by its author, although in faltering hand. It ran:

LEXINGTON, MASS., Oct. 22, '85.

The occasion of this letter is the *Denver News* of the 11th instant, sent me by Mr. Vaille who is now in New York, at Henry's request. Rothacker's article is written with admiration and an evident desire to aid you. It is the more valuable for its criticisms. I have little doubt that politics is your destination, and wish in this connection to offer a suggestion or two, kindly, but frankly and plainly.

1. Do not needlessly alienate your friends. "One day sugar, the next day vitriol," is, I fear, a true indictment, and there is

no excuse for it. It is not principle that leads you to offend your friends, but your grim humor, your caustic mood, and for this there is no apology.

You have no right to wound unnecessarily the feelings of any one, and you make a radical mistake, my son, when you thus exasperate your friends. Consider whether the remark which you are tempted to make or your brusque manner will injure the feelings of any one, and if it will, by all means refrain from the infliction. In this respect as in others you have only to carry out the Golden Rule. If you hurt inadvertently, do not hesitate to offer an apology. There is no humiliation in acknowledging a mistake. Begin, if you please, by a letter to Rothacker, thanking him for the handsome terms in which he has spoken of you, and telling him that you will endeavor to profit by his criticisms. One who can make friends and keep them as easily as you can should be on his guard against alienating and losing them in this way.

2. Be imbued with the moral sentiment in all your acts. Rothacker says in substance that in national questions you are influenced by the best considerations, and in local matters by the worst. I want you to be equally scrupulous on all questions. Carry the ethical principle into all. Never appeal to men's prejudices, but only to their reason and conscience. Recognize fully the moral features of every issue, and advocate and pursue the course which you think is right in God's sight. I deem this the very first quality of true statesmanship.

Mr. Wolcott possessed the rare combination of astuteness, courage, and confidence. He was resourceful to an unusual degree, and daring almost to the point of audacity. His political foresight, or perhaps intuition, especially in State elections, was marvellous. In gauging sentiment, estimating party strength, discounting local issues, and measuring the volume and direction of the diverse currents of Colorado politics, he was invariably correct; and, sustained by perennial hope and unfaltering loyalty to a cause which he believed to be just, he fought one campaign after another, and always with zeal and vigor. In all things he was a man of system, and he made thorough preparation for his contests. He had lieutenants in all parts of the State, and he held them to him as with bands of steel. No man knew the State better than he. All portions of it

were familiar to him, and he knew the character of people with whom he had to deal in each county. He was acquainted with the local leaders, and generally understood in advance who would be for him and who against him. He knew the kind of influence to use, knew what would "catch" this man and what would influence the other. When a campaign was on he "went after" men in any legitimate way, and he often was able to bring to bear influences which were unknown even to the men whom he sought to reach.

If funds were necessary in the preparation of the campaign, to get out votes, or for the general conduct of the business of the contest, he used them. No corrupter of private virtue, Mr. Wolcott did not hesitate to use his means in a proper way to promote his own interests or the interests of his friends or of his party in the conduct of a campaign. In order to understand his course in the use of money, it is necessary to look at the subject from his standpoint. He went into politics as he would have gone into a battle. A battle implies war, and war means bloodshed. He knew that, metaphorically speaking, his enemy was trying to kill him and was liable to do so if he did not kill the enemy. He knew that the "other fellow" was paying for printing, for halls, for speakers, and for the time given to his cause by his supporters. If therefore he employed money in a campaign he used it as a weapon of warfare. But if he bought, he never sold. His allegiance once given to cause or man, he never faltered, although certain defeat stared him in the face. Self-reliant, courageous, and well-informed, he went into each conflict weighing well the conditions and always determined to win if possible. But, whether to win or lose, he was "there to stay."

No better fighter ever engaged in the political battle than this same Ed Wolcott. With him politics was a game, and he played no game that he did not play to win. He fought desperately, and he did not often surrender willingly. When, however, the inevitable was forced upon him, and he found himself without resource, he retired gracefully. Under such circumstances his retirement was only temporary, for no sooner had he been beaten in one contest than he began to prepare for another.

It has been asserted that Senator Wolcott was not a good judge of men. His tolerance and forbearance lent some weight to the statement, but in fact he was rarely, if ever, wholly deceived. Time and again, after an interview with this man or that, who protested his interest and loyalty, he remarked: "He is not with us," or "He is against us," or again, "Poor chap, he would like to be with us, but he can't"; and sooner or later the accuracy of his judgment was manifest.

He would read a man at first sight as completely as if he had made him [said Henry Brady, Mr. Wolcott's right-hand in Denver politics]. Many a time I have picked up some fellow for use in the campaign and asked the Senator if I might bring him to see him. Two to one he would know the man, and if he did he would either say "Put him to work," or "We don't want him; he's no good." If he did n't know the fellow, he probably would ask me to bring him to see him; and when I took him he would size him up in a minute or two. If his judgment was adverse he often would yield. "You can try him," he would say, "but you 'll find he 'll fall down on you," or "he 'll betray you," or "he 'll prove worthless." And it always was as he predicted it would be. It was the same way in selecting candidates; he warned us against several men whom we insisted upon nominating, and we always found after a while that we would have done more wisely if we had heeded his warnings. But he was loyal when a candidate was agreed upon, and he gave his earnest support even though he did not believe in the man. Why [added Mr. Brady], he could read a letter from a man he had never seen and tell you all about him.

The reason for his successful predictions lay in his deep knowledge of human nature. He knew that most men had their weak points, and his familiarity with conditions throughout the State was so great that he could foresee where this or that supporter might be attacked and won over to the opposition. He knew, also, that he antagonized some temperaments, and he appreciated that in time such aversion would bear fruit.

Still, with all these qualities, he was not a perfect leader. At times he lacked caution, and he was not always mindful

of popular sentiment. Nor was he at all times amenable to party discipline. His faults were the faults of impetuosity, of self-will, of determination to bring things out his way. He did not compromise. On at least one occasion he bolted the ticket of his party. That occurred in 1882 when his brother failed to obtain the gubernatorial nomination. The provocation was great, but it was a tactical mistake, and a man of less genius could not have forced his own nomination to the highest office in the gift of the State so soon afterward as did Mr. Wolcott.

The truth is that he was mentally superior to most men. In that fact lay the secret of his success. He could be forgiven more in politics than any one else, because, while all knew his failings, all recognized his transcendent ability, his innate integrity, and his high ideals. Colorado was proud of his brilliant qualities, and was pleased to have him represent her in the Senate even though he was somewhat erratic in politics. He was a favorite son, "a spoilt child," if you will, and forgiveness was granted him almost before he asked.

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION

Earl M. Cranston, for many years United States District Attorney for the District of Colorado, relates a series of experiences with Mr. Wolcott which splendidly illustrate the characteristics of the Colorado Senator as a political worker and leader. The first of these portrays his manner of "going after" what he wanted and of beating down opposition when he could do so. The second shows how he could be touched by a frank appeal and how, his resentment giving place to generosity, he could be gracious and magnanimous in the face of antagonism when convinced of its honesty of motive. The third, a fitting sequel, brings reward for his magnanimity. It should be stated that because of his fear of being misunderstood Mr. Cranston supplied the incidents only in response to urgent solicitation. Here is the narrative:

In the campaign preceding the first election of Mr. Wolcott to the United States Senate, it became desirable for him to have as mayor of Denver, a man who should favor

his candidacy. Mr. Wolcott lived in the old Second Ward of Denver, where Cranston had grown up and where he then was making his first entrance into politics. In a general way he knew that Wolcott was a candidate for the Senate, but he did not know that he had any particular candidate for mayor. Nor had the importance of the city convention to him ever suggested itself to the young man's inexperience. The ward delegation consisted of twenty members, of whom Wolcott and Cranston were two, with Wolcott as chairman.

The evening before the convention the delegation met in Cranston's office for a caucus, and there, for the first time, he learned that the mayoralty candidate to whom he had pledged his utmost efforts in the convention was not Mr. Wolcott's candidate, but that, on the contrary, he favored a different man. Cranston was able, however, to hold through all the ballots about a quarter of the delegation for his candidate as against Wolcott's.

Although Cranston had said and done nothing in his presence to indicate his preference, Mr. Wolcott, with that lightning intelligence which always characterized him, knew where the trouble lay, and called his antagonist into a back room alone. "There," says Mr. Cranston, "with his hands in his pockets, walking up and down with the stride we all knew so well, and tossing his head from side to side in the manner peculiar to himself, he began to talk."

"I want you to understand that this nonsense must cease," he said abruptly and savagely.

"Why, Mr. Wolcott," protested Cranston in astonishment, "I don't know what you mean."

The conversation proceeded:

"You can't deceive me, sir; don't deny that you are voting for —— on this secret ballot."

"Why, certainly, Mr. Wolcott, I am voting for him," replied Cranston, surprised at the suggestion of attempted deception on his part.

"More than that, sir, five of your friends are voting for him simply because you tell them to do so, and will stay with him as long as you say, and you need n't deny that either," persisted Wolcott.

The response was another confession. Declaring that he did not understand what was meant about "denial" and "concealment," Cranston said: "Of course, my friends whom I can influence are voting for ——, and I hope you are right in saying that they will continue as long as I ask them to do so."

Wolcott's reply was a demand for the entire delegation. It must, he said, be perfectly apparent by that time who his candidate was. "I promised him the support of this, my home ward, and I am entitled to it," he said, and added: "It is very necessary for me to deliver this support, and you are holding out a quarter of it against me. You must come over right now."

But Mr. Cranston did not yield. "I am very sorry," he said, "but I can't do it, and I wish you would please listen while I tell you why."

The Senatorial aspirant was not in a listening mood. "I don't care to hear you," he said; "it is enough to know that you refuse." Then he delivered an ultimatum, saying: "You might just as well move out of Colorado, because you will never get a thing in this State as long as you stay here. I will make it my business to see that you don't, and every time you poke your head through the fence, I am going to hit it."

Crushing as was this threat, Cranston was not subdued. Without feeling on his part and making due allowance for Mr. Wolcott's interest and excitement, he persisted in being heard. He said:

"Very well, Mr. Wolcott, you are the most powerful man in the State, and I am just beginning business life, so that I suppose you have the strength to do as you say; but before you finally decide, I mean to tell you why it is impossible for me to comply with your request. Then, if you still have the determination you have just expressed, I will have to stand it. Six months ago, not knowing, in my inexperience, that you would have any interest in this campaign for mayor, I promised to deliver all the votes I could in the Second Ward, to ——. I have repeated that promise since. Such an agreement to me seems as binding as a promissory note or any business undertaking which a man

may enter into. You are right in saying that I can deliver the six votes, and I can hold them against anybody, through the entire convention. Now, if, knowing that I could do this, after having made such a promise, I should surrender them at anybody's dictation, I never would respect myself and my friends would never respect me. Furthermore, if ever in the future I should make you a promise about anything, you would n't place an atom of reliance upon it, because you would know that I was not a dependable man, and one of these days, Mr. Wolcott, you may be the man to whom I will make a promise; I can't go back on my word."

The plea captured Wolcott. It scarcely had been concluded "when," says Cranston, "he reached both hands across the table and grasped my own, and with his face fairly illumined by that smile of friendship which I afterward learned to know so well, he said:

"'My boy, your are absolutely right; stick to your man through thick and thin. It won't do you any good, because we are going to nominate —— and you can't stop it. But you and I are friends from now on.'"

Saying that he was pleased to have Mr. Wolcott speak as he had spoken, because he wanted to be his friend, Mr. Cranston told him that at the convention which was to take place the next day, in order to make his support effective, he would be obliged to follow Wolcott about the floor as he was trading the delegation, and trade his quarter against Wolcott's three-quarters.

At that, he threw his head back with a laugh, and said: "Certainly, my boy, certainly, I understand all that,—the tail goes with the hide."

"The next day," says Cranston, "in the midst of a deadlock lasting all afternoon, with repeated ballots and the tension at the very highest, time and time again, dogging at his heels, I would say to some chairman of a delegation: 'Mr. Wolcott has only three-quarters of our vote,—I am trading a quarter against him,' whereupon, he would turn with a laugh, and say: 'Yes, he is right, trade with him for his quarter,' and then would pass on to the next man."

Mr. Cranston continues:

The beautiful part of this story is that after Mr. Wolcott's candidate had been triumphantly nominated and elected, one of my solid half-dozen came to me, as he had a perfect right to do, to ask my help in getting him the best position under the new mayor, that of private secretary.

Knowing that I had no claim upon the mayor, but appreciating, even then, the noble trait of magnanimity which so thoroughly characterized Senator Wolcott, I told my friend that I would do what I could, and went straight to Mr. Wolcott about it.

Never will I forget the place and time, even the hour of day, of our interview. After I had made frank disclosure of my desire and confession that I had no right to ask anything of him, the response came, quick as a flash: "Yes, sir, you have the right to ask of me anything you please, and it will be an exceeding pleasure on my part to grant any request you make that lies within my power. If you are certain that your friend is a good stenographer, understands men, and has the proper address and tact in dealing with people, he can have the place. I do not mention the qualities of character and personal respectability, because the fact that he is your friend makes this unnecessary."

"Yes, Mr. Wolcott, he has all those qualities."

"Very well, sir, he shall have the place."

"But, Mr. Wolcott, in fairness to yourself, one other thing should be said. He was one of those six men that stood with us against you in the convention."

"I don't give a copper about that; I like him all the better, because I tried every way I knew to get each one of those six fellows away from you, and could n't do it. They are stayers, every one of them, and just the sort of chaps I want for my friends. They are good fighters."

Of course, I overwhelmed him with my thanks, and then started to go away, only to hear that ringing laugh of his behind me. "Hold on a minute, here! come back," he called, with a note-book in his hand. "Here we have spent ten minutes talking about your friend and I have agreed that he shall have the place, and he shall have; but how the devil do you suppose I can have him appointed until you give me his name; you seem to have forgotten all about that."

It is gratifying to add that Cranston's friend was appointed the same week, and remained throughout the Ad-

ministration, as one of the most trusted assistants of the mayor. Both Cranston and the private secretary were able afterward to render effective service in the Senator's first election, and it is in that connection that the sequel is found.

In the following State election Mr. Cranston was chosen a member of the Legislature from Arapahoe County. He was unpledged, but by this time his friendship for Mr. Wolcott had come to be of the most ardent character. Shortly after the election, and before the Legislature met, hearing that rumors were abroad as to the loyalty of the delegation from his county, and never having given any promise to Mr. Wolcott, the young member naturally felt that the Senatorial aspirant might perhaps be uneasy as to his attitude, and be annoyed by the reports which were repeated and constant; accordingly, he went to Mr. Wolcott's office, where the following colloquy took place:

MR. WOLCOTT: Well, sir, what can I do for you?

MR. CRANSTON: I merely dropped in to talk with you about the Senatorial election.

"Well, what about it?"

"In view of certain rumors which, of course, you have heard, I think you and I would better have a talk as to my attitude, because, as you know, we never have had an agreement."

"Now, see here, my boy, suppose I should go to Alaska and be gone ten years, do you think that when I came back to Denver, and announced myself as a candidate for the United States Senate, I would ask my brother Henry whether he would support me or not?"

"Why, certainly not. Such a question would, of course, be very needless."

"Just as much need in that case as in yours. I understand you just as well as you understand yourself, and I know what you are going to do with your vote in the Legislature. I don't want any promises from you. It takes enough time to watch the scoundrels without bothering about square men. You go back to your office and attend to your law business, if you have any, and if you have n't any,

hustle around and get some, and don't waste your time and mine in telling me what you will do."

Mr. Cranston's was among the first votes cast for Wolcott, and it is not too much to say that the latter's election was almost as gratifying to his former antagonist as to himself.

A Denver attorney, who had stood with Mr. Wolcott through the trying times of 1896 and until 1900, and had then joined the opposition, was asked at the time of his change why he had made it. His reply probably covers the experience of many. "Because," he said, "I could not think under his leadership. He did the thinking for me. He held me and the rest of the crowd as he willed. He let you think you were doing your share of the thinking, but when it came to a show-down, you thought as he thought or not at all. I wanted to do my own thinking and I broke away. He was too powerful for me."

"Do you mean he was the Czar of the Republican party of Colorado?"

"Not that—but——"

"But what?"

"Oh, blank it, he is such a forcible fellow—he is so magnetic that I felt he would have me in the hollow of his hand if I stayed under his leadership."

It is interesting to know that this same attorney went back to the Wolcott fold and afterward worked night and day in his interest.

Necessarily a man of such pronounced views and of such outspoken expression made enemies. There was a new troop of them after every campaign, and a fresh group after each appointment to office. As a rule these were men who had been disappointed by some preference shown by the Senator for others. Unquestionably, too, he antagonized many by his free manner of handling subjects in his speeches and conversations. A friendly critic, writing of this phase of the Senator's character, took the view that in the main enmity toward him was due to faults in the other person, saying in part:

An objection was once made to a prominent politician that

so many were unfriendly to him. The reply was, "We love him for the enemies he has made." The same thing might be said of Senator Wolcott. One who listens to political gabble in Colorado must expect to hear harsh things about Wolcott. He is blessed with talkative foes. In some instances antagonism is due to narrow-mindedness, in some envy, and in some it is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. It is a great deal safer to judge a man by the foes he has than by the friends. Wolcott is undoubtedly proud of some of the former. The test of greatness is the ability to make enemies.

EARLY POLITICAL PREDILECTIONS

That Mr. Wolcott was not enamored of politics in his early life, his letters to his home people bear witness. As early as August 12, 1878, just before he was nominated for the State Senate, in a letter to his father telling him of his prospect for the nomination, he states it to be his "sincere wish to keep out of politics altogether." He adds: "I am no politician, and I have no aspirations."

And again, October 13, 1878, just after his election:

> The campaign is over, and everybody is trying to get back to business again. My majority was a complete surprise to myself, as it was, I suppose, to everybody else. I had some 300 more votes than anybody, and a majority of 516 in a vote of 2155. It is all over now, and it has n't been worth the expense and trouble. There is no especial honor in the office, and it was won at the cost of a neglected business, considerable money, and a good deal of toadying and dirt-eating, and a general lowering of self-respect. I find I can be considerable of a political worker when I choose, but I hate politics and the arts of the politicians.

On the 23d of October, we find him writing as follows to his parents, evidently in response to a letter from his father:

> Father's letter came to-day. I read it over carefully three times, and mail it to Henry to-night. The advice it contains is capital. It is a splendid letter throughout, and I wish I could follow its teachings as he would wish. I always do take the moral side of every public question; it is the one good habit

that remains as the result of my early training, but the force of such a position is unfortunately sometimes broken by a man's private life. I never expect to be in politics again. I regret to say that I know but little of the history of my country, and am not fitted for any public place.

March 5, 1881, just before the close of his State Senatorial term, he wrote his father, saying: "I am sick of it all, and while I live in Colorado I shall never go into politics."

Again, March 30, 1881, he wrote:

"If I had only followed all the good advice you have given me in the last twenty-five years, what a different man I would be! But if I don't always follow your instructions and suggestions, I 'm none the less glad to receive them. However, I shall stick to my resolution to keep out of politics for good. It is the best thing."

There were more letters to the same effect.

A study of Mr. Wolcott's early career in politics reveals the fact that he never was hide-bound in his allegiance to party leaders or candidates. There is nothing, however, to indicate that he was not loyal at all times to the principles of his party, as certainly he was. Already the fact of his opposition to Campbell as the Republican candiate for Governor in 1882 has been shown, but it probably would not be suspected that ten years previous he had felt friendly toward the candidacy of Horace Greeley for the Presidency; that in 1876, though for party reasons, he favored Tilden in the contest before the Electoral Commission, and that even as late as 1884 he was not without consolation over the defeat of his later favorite Blaine by the latter's Democratic opponent, Grover Cleveland. There is no evidence that he voted for the Democratic candidate in any of these elections, and there is positive refutation of the charge frequently made during his life, that he cast his ballot for Cleveland as against Blaine. The presumption is that he voted for his party's candidates in every instance, notwithstanding his dislike for some of them.

In a letter written to his father dated at Georgetown,

August 12, 1872, just after his return from a campaign of ineffectual effort to obtain the Republican nomination for the District Attorneyship, he wrote:

"Do you wear a Greeley hat? The usual answer out here to the question, 'How is North Carolina?' is, 'I don't care if I do.' My opinion is that old Chappaquack will be elected. What is yours?"

If this indicates a friendly feeling for Mr. Greeley, the fact should be borne in mind that until very recently that gentleman had been one of the foremost of Republican leaders. It also soon will appear that Wolcott was not partial to General Grant, who was Greeley's opponent.

In 1876, the year in which Mr. Wolcott began his public career by being elected District Attorney, Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, occupied a position of some prominence. He was Secretary of War during the last Grant Administration, and became much talked about in connection with the prosecution of the so-called "Whiskey ring" of the day. Wolcott's statement of his attitude toward him and in the same connection toward Blaine is found in a letter to his mother of June 7, 1876. It is brief, but it is definite and comprehensive:

"Is father a Bristow man? I wish he could be nominated, but I see no chance for him unless they can find some place where Blaine has n't covered up his tracks."

The next political declaration we have from him is also in a letter to his mother, dated December 4th, of the same year, after Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, had been nominated over Bristow and Blaine and all other opponents, and after the election between Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, had resulted so perplexingly as to call for the appointment of a commission of fifteen, which ultimately gave the office to Hayes. This letter also is brief, but it covers a wide range of subjects pertaining to the franchise and public policy. It follows:

I take the New York *Tribune*, *World*, and *Graphic*, and am firmly convinced that Tilden is elected and ought to be inaugurated. Two things are certain: If Hayes is declared President, the Republican party is gone without hope of resuscitation,

and the best outlook and the only one for the negro is in joining hands with the Democratic party. It seems apparent, too, that the fatal weakness of this Republic is Universal Suffrage, and that the present form of government won't last very long, say, not another hundred years.

However, after the contest was concluded and after Hayes had been declared elected and had been installed as President, Wolcott gave him support, saying in a letter in 1878, that his sympathy was with the Hayes rather than the Grant faction of the party.

In a letter to his father of May 22, 1880, just previous to the Republican Convention in Chicago, at which James A. Garfield was placed in nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Wolcott found occasion to express his antagonism both to Blaine and Grant. For the first and only time in his long continued and voluminous correspondence with his parents he wrote on this occasion through an amanuensis. After apologizing for the necessity for this resort to assistance, he says:

In respect to the political matters about which you write, I cannot of course express myself as specifically and freely as if I were myself writing, but I feel very much as you do respecting the Presidency. I am intensely opposed to General Grant, whose nomination at the present time seems certain. In our county of Clear Creek, we elected a unanimous anti-Grant delegation. It seems necessary for all opposed to a third term to rally around some name, and that name has been Blaine. I am sorry for it, as I am not a Blaine man, but I have been identified as such in all our political matters here. We made the strongest possible fight against a third term, but we are badly defeated, and the chances are that a solid Grant delegation will represent Colorado in Chicago.

Writing to his mother two weeks after the election in 1884, when Cleveland won over Blaine, Mr. Wolcott says: "I voted for Blaine, but I am really heartily glad of the change. Six hundred Federal office-holders in this State, three hundred of whom are political dead-beats, will have the opportunity of earning an honest living. And, fortunately, our partisanship did n't warp our judgment enough

to prevent Henry and me from betting a little on the winning side."

Again, soon afterward, he tells his father:

"I am very glad Cleveland is elected. I only hope he will turn out the office-holders promptly. Half of them will join the Democratic party."

An analysis of these statements made in the light of then existing circumstances will convince any impartial investigator that Mr. Wolcott's preferences were merely finding expression in the direction of what he believed would be improved conditions. In the contest of 1872, there was much criticism of the Grant Administration, and Greeley was considered by many quite as good a Republican as Grant, if not better. Bristow was regarded by many as a reformer and far above the plane of the ordinary politician. Many good Republicans were doubtful of the result in 1876, when the Electoral Commission gave the votes of some of the Southern States to Hayes, the Republican candidate. Mr. Wolcott did not consider it probable that South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana would have cast their votes for a Republican, and he thought Tilden had been elected. Before becoming personally acquainted with Blaine, Wolcott accepted the current accusations against him, and it is evident that as late as 1884 he had not changed his mind. When, however, he came to know Mr. Blaine, he became his strong admirer, and in 1892, in a speech that betrayed a radical change of heart, placed him in nomination for the Presidency. It should be observed, also, that his attitude toward Blaine in 1884 was due largely to his dislike of many of the Republican office-holders in the State. Most of these had been selected by an opposing Republican faction. Consequently, the condemnation in this instance is not so broad as it might be construed to be. His antagonism to Grant in 1880 was due largely to fundamental opposition to the third-term principle, which found representation in the General's candidacy.

Thus, it will be seen that he opposed what he considered bad conditions, and, so far as he could, stood for the higher ideals. He learned later that all was not "reform" that so labelled itself.

POLITICAL CRITICISM

Many have supposed that Mr. Wolcott was indifferent to newspaper and other criticisms, but that such was not the case his friends testify unanimously. In public he rarely spoke of the calumnies heaped upon him except to hit back, but in the privacy of his personal intercourse he bewailed them bitterly. Hon. A. M. Stevenson, one of Mr. Wolcott's closest friends, tells us that "he did care as few men care." "These attacks," says Mr. Stevenson, "cut him deep to the heart. It was not for office, but for the friends he would not desert that he kept up his Colorado fight. He would not have endured so long for himself alone what he did endure." Mr. Stevenson adds that the nickname "Cousin Ed," as applied by his enemies to indicate their conception of his close relationship to the English and his interest in their country, was especially annoying to him. All this indicated to him that his own people, whom he sought to serve, did not understand him or that they intentionally misrepresented him. The representations of the latter class in his own State, and especially in his own party, hurt him grievously, and it is believed by many hastened his death. No man ever sought more assiduously to serve a people than did Senator Wolcott the people of Colorado. Was it unreasonable that he should ask silence if not recognition? He could not endure abuse where he felt that he had earned praise. Few can.

During the McKinley Administration, and for a short time afterward, Mr. Wolcott was made the subject of much harsh criticism on account of his distribution of the Federal patronage in Colorado, and replying in a statement published in the *Denver Republican* of November 17, 1901, as an interview, he took cognizance of two of the more specific charges. They pertained to the participation of Federal office-holders in politics, and to "boss rule." He explained his reasons for the appointments made by him and also defended the course of some of the appointees in participating in political meetings. In the latter connection he spoke especially of the work of D. C. Bailey and C. D. Ford, both of

whom were chairmen of committees and office-holders. On these points he said:

In my opinion a Federal office-holder should not, because he holds office, cease to interest himself as a citizen and a Republican, in the welfare of his State and the success of his party, and in Colorado the two are synonymous. I do not believe, however, that he should actively participate in the preliminary work of the primaries, or on the floor of a convention. I have been away from home since last November, and am not advised respecting recent occurrences, but I know that up to that time, since the Bryan slide, there had never been any serious controversy or differences of opinion, at either primaries or convention, and the work of every Republican, office-holder or not, was solely to get as full a registration and as large a representation at our conventions and elections as possible.

Some of the men who hold office in Colorado are among its ablest and best party workers. I venture to say that there is not one of them, either at the last election or at those preceding the last, who would n't have infinitely preferred confining his activities to voting the ticket on election day, and who only participated in other work because he was urged to it by the leaders of the party in the several counties. Some of them have been, and are, chairmen of party committees. In every instance with which I am familiar, it has been against both their judgment and their inclinations.

A year ago we had great difficulty in finding for the chairmanship of our State committee a gentleman who knew the leaders of the party throughout the State, and who could put his entire time into the campaign. We had n't as many Republicans then as we have now. I personally urged Mr. Ford to accept the post. He protested on the very ground that he held public office. I insisted, and he yielded with great reluctance, and upon the promise that he should be relieved after the campaign.

I was away during the last campaign, but am told that Mr. Bailey took the difficult post of chairman of this county committee under similar circumstances, and I deeply regret that his efforts in support of an excellent ticket were unsuccessful. Both of these gentlemen deserve only the highest commendation and gratitude from their party associates for their efficient labors.

It is true that, in many States of the Union, the chairmanship of its committee is held by gentlemen holding either Federal

or State office, but this does not make it more palatable for certain members of the party whose views are entitled to recognition.

On the other subject, that of party bosses, I am compelled to be a little personal. Five years ago Colorado had three Republican representatives in Congress. In the upheaval of 1896 I was left the only Republican at Washington, and my position forced me into the nominal leadership of the party in Colorado, a position I neither sought nor coveted. Necessarily every appointment, important or small, throughout this great State, was referred to me. This duty was most unpleasing and embarrassing, but was not to be avoided. In every instance I followed the advice of party friends and sought only good appointees and the strengthening of the party. As I have said, we had at first but twenty per cent. of our party to draw from.

To-day more Federal appointments are held by men who voted for Mr. Bryan in 1896 than by men who voted then for Mr. McKinley, and the differences of '96 are forgotten by every good Republican.

Most of the appointments have justified themselves. There were some mistakes. It is pleasant to state the fact that at Washington the official record of every one of them is clean. But there were twenty applicants, proper applicants, for every vacancy, and nineteen Republicans and their friends disappointed whenever an appointment was made.

With my return to private life my duty as to appointments is ended. I am naturally interested in endeavoring to see to it that fit and proper appointees now in office shall not be unjustly removed, but I shall no longer have to do actively with the naming of men for Federal office, except, as in common with every other citizen, I shall oppose the appointment of unfit men. I know of no good Republican in Colorado, fitted for appointment, at whose success in receiving an official commission I would not cordially rejoice. So far, then, as influencing appointments is concerned, I take my place again in the ranks of the party.

Like many other men engaged in active politics, Mr. Wolcott could and did strike viciously when under the excitement of debate or in the midst of a campaign, but that he did not nurse his enmities we have many illustrations. We have seen how that in the midst of the bitter contest of 1896, when Wolcott's political life was at stake, he went

out of his way to speak in terms of praise of Senator Teller's purity of purpose as a public man. Mr. Wolcott's speeches bear abundant evidence of his temporary resentment toward Senator N. P. Hill, while the latter was conducting a vigorous campaign against him. But when in 1900 it was known that Mr. Hill was on his death-bed, we find Senator Wolcott expressing the deepest concern for his recovery.

In the field of national politics, it was natural that Mr. Wolcott and the Democratic leader, Hon. William J. Bryan, should have clashed, and in many of his speeches, the Colorado Senator pointedly attacked the Nebraskan because of his views—and because he was opposed to him. That, after all, however, he had a wholesome respect for him, he has left record. Asked in 1899 by an interviewer for his estimate of Mr. Bryan, Mr. Wolcott said:

> The people in the East, who do not know Mr. Byran, are apt to underrate the entire integrity of motive which animates him, and which is the great element in his strength. No matter how we may differ from him, and I differ from him in a radical degree, it is idle not to recognize this fact. I believe that there is no sacrifice which Mr. Bryan would not make to further what he believed to be the welfare of this country. This sentiment being prevalent in my own section, I can account for the intensely loyal following which Mr. Bryan enjoys.

MR. WOLCOTT'S FRIENDSHIPS

LIFE without friends would have been a barren waste to Mr. Wolcott. No man had more friends or more loyal friends than he. And, as many befriended him, so he was friend to many. As he bound others to him so he was attached to them. He was the personification of gratitude. But he did not base all his friendships on courtesies to himself. Many of them were a thing apart—a matter of temperament, of affinity, of kindred tastes, of conditions. He was as full of sentiment as an egg is full of meat.

There will, of course, be no effort to enumerate his friends. They were too multitudinous to permit of such a course. Beginning with his army life, and extending down the years through Hudson, Norwich, and Yale; his law-student days in Boston and at Harvard; his early days in Blackhawk, Central, and Georgetown; his experience as a State legislator, as an attorney of extensive practice, as a State politician, and for many years the leader of his party in the State; as a United States Senator and a traveller who covered a wide field; as a clubman, a society man, a *bon vivant*, and a general man of the world, they constitute a formidable list. In all these capacities he met and made friends, and held them.

He did not enjoy the association of all people, nor of any people all the time; but when not engaged in study or reading he wanted company; sometimes one friend, at other times another—not always the same one. He was erratic in this as in many other respects. Much depended on the mood. The man who liked to talk about books and travel

was most welcome until politics or sport or business or horses engaged his thought; at such times others were sought and the book man received scant attention. It was with women as with men. He enjoyed their society only as they fitted the mood. There also were periods when he seemed to prefer to be alone, when not even his intimates were desired in his immediate presence. Such moods generally befell during campaigns or in the course of professional pressure, when, after days given up to strenuous interviews, he would seek retreat at Wolhurst, have the telephone cut off, the door-bell plugged, and give himself wholly to restful quiet and solitude.

These periods were comparatively rare, however, and, while always shutting out more effectively than most men those with whom he did not wish to converse, he liked above all things to gather about him a congenial party and engage in general conversation. So fond was he of companionship that when he was in the army he preferred the guard-house to guard duty, because, forsooth, when locked up friends or acquaintances shared his fate, while when doing the service of sentinel he must tread the weary path alone. This condition was intolerable to him.

He was at his best with his friends around him. On such occasions he was the leader of conversation—the one man to whom all listened. He was even a greater success as a conversationalist than as an orator, and if all his witty remarks in private converse could be recorded there would be little room for other material in an ordinary volume. His private talk, like his public speeches, generally dealt with public questions, but both were enriched by an active imagination, a keen appreciation of occurrences, and an incisive insight into human nature. Add to these natural endowments a wide range in reading and extensive travel and you have a rare companion.

Excitement and variety seemed a requisite of existence, and companionship was little or nothing to him if it did not afford entertainment out of the ordinary.

It would be invidious to mention any number of his Colorado friends, and for this reason no such effort will be made. Indeed, desirable as it might be to extend this

list to the ordinary walks of life, it has been found impracticable to do so, and the discussion here entered upon will be confined to political associations. Thus limited, first mention should be made of Mr. Wolcott's relationship with Senator Teller, which is worthy of consideration from both the political and the personal view-points.

Mr. Teller was a resident of Gilpin County and the leading lawyer of the State when Mr. Wolcott joined his brother Henry in that county. The two then became acquainted, and at Wolcott's request Teller sat with him through his first trial. His earliest mention of Mr. Teller is found in a letter to his mother, written in December, 1876. He speaks of receiving a letter from a friend in the East, and adds:

"I wrote telling him that I had been elected District Attorney, and he answers congratulating me on having been elected Judge. I suppose if I should be chosen constable he would congratulate me on my election to the United States Senate, which reminds me that Mr. Teller, one of our new Senators, is a warm personal friend of mine."

The friendship then formed was never broken, though subjected to exceptionally severe wrenches during Wolcott's adherence to the Hill faction, as it also was through Teller's defection from the Republican party on account of silver.

Wolcott had Teller's support in both his elections, and Teller Wolcott's in his election in 1891. Up to the Republican split in 1896, which led to Teller's withdrawal from the party, they were perfectly united on party policy, and they were much together in the Senate. Temperamentally and in the matter of personal habits, they were as unlike as two men could be. But there is a kinship in intellect and in force of character. In this relationship was found the tie that bound them together. They were alike in their outspoken condemnation of fraud of every kind, in independence of character, and in quickness and comprehensiveness of mental action.

Wolcott found Teller a leader in the silver cause when he entered the Senate, and he gave him the most loyal and unswerving support as long as there was any chance of doing anything to rehabilitate the white metal. On the other hand, Teller was one of the first to boost Wolcott for

the Senate; the first to sound his praises in the Senate, and his most attentive and appreciative auditor when he spoke there.

In a word, Teller "fathered" Wolcott in the Senate. Two instances may be recalled. One occurred when Wolcott entered the body. Four States sent their first Senators at the same time that Mr. Wolcott's first term began. Several of the new men seemed to feel that it was incumbent upon them to exemplify in the Senate the same quality of "hustle" that had given them success at home. Accordingly, some of them began to pull wires to procure favorable committee appointments, and thus made themselves unpleasantly conspicuous in a body where tradition and usage do not readily yield to personal urgency. Mr. Wolcott pursued the opposite course. He disclaimed any choice as to his appointments and allowed no trace of any personal scheming to appear in the friendly relationships which he established with his new associates. When, therefore, Mr. Teller expressed a wish that Mr. Wolcott might have a chairmanship, as such assignment carried with it the use of a committee room, his suggestion was readily adopted, and the new Colorado Senator was placed at the head of the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. Teller afterward aided his colleague in getting committee places generally considered beyond the reach of new Senators. Long regarded as the most important of the Senate committees, membership on the Committee on Finance has ever been assiduously sought by Senators. It was Teller who found a way of getting Wolcott on that committee, where he desired to have him placed, not alone for the honor, but because he felt that in that position Mr. Wolcott could be most helpful to the silver cause, which then was the paramount issue with the Colorado Senators.

Wolcott wanted the place. But it looked for a time as if he would not get it. A much older Senator, an Eastern man, conceived the idea that he was entitled to the position. Both could not be accommodated. Teller was much embarrassed, but he found a way. Invited to the Eastern man's house for dinner, he sought out the wife of that gentleman and said to her:

"Why don't you have your husband try for the vacancy on the Committee on Foreign Relations? He has studied foreign questions; it would give him splendid standing, and he can get it almost without trying."

The wife was socially ambitious. She took the hint, switched her husband, and the way was opened for Wolcott's appointment on the Finance Committee. The fact that he was on the Committee went far toward rendering him available as Chairman of the Bimetallic Commission of 1897.

As going to show the relations between the two Senators the following special despatch from Washington to the *Denver Times* of February 23, 1892, is quoted:

Politicians in Washington who understand the political situation in Colorado have noticed the combination that has been made between Senators Teller and Wolcott by which Teller is to do everything to enhance the chances of Senator Wolcott for re-election when his present term expires. Nearly every bill of any importance to Colorado that has been introduced this session has been presented by Wolcott. Teller has remained in the background and given the younger man every opportunity to draw public attention to him as a statesman who is doing all in his power in the interest of his constituents. The fact is Mr. Teller is a true Fidus Achates to the breezy statesman from Denver. Many of the bills fathered by Mr. Wolcott under ordinary circumstances would have been pushed through the Senatorial channels by Teller had it not been for the fact that there was an understanding between the two men that Wolcott should be given all the benefit of this class of legislative duty. A little investigation in Washington, however, indicates that it is probably unnecessary that this combination should have been made. Very few seem to doubt that Senator Wolcott would have had smooth sailing for a re-election under any circumstances. It is considered that he has ably represented his constituents since his advent into the United States Senate. He has been determined in his fight for the free coinage of silver and has been on the right side of every question that has come up in which his State is deeply interested. Senator Teller can well afford to aid his young colleague in the interest of his re-election at the close of his present term. Senator Teller, it is believed, will have no trouble in retaining his Senatorial seat as long as he desires.

Many warm attachments were contracted in Washington, among the most noteworthy of which were with President McKinley, Secretary Hay, Speaker Reed, and Senators Lodge, Allison, Fairbanks, Hale, Aldrich, Evarts, Chandler, Quay, Carter, Jones of Nevada, Jones of Arkansas, Vest, Ingalls, Plumb, Bryce, Hoar, Berry, and Spooner.

The friendship between Wolcott and McKinley was very marked. It began soon after Wolcott entered the Senate, when McKinley was Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and was immensely strengthened by Wolcott's support of McKinley for the Presidency in 1896, when his Colorado constituency was almost solidly against the Ohio man. He not only sent Mr. Wolcott to Europe as the head of the Bimetallic Commission, but he was greatly pleased with his work in that capacity, and he made him the dictator on all points pertaining to Colorado appointments. More than that, he consulted him extensively in matters of general party policy, offered him a choice of two important European diplomatic posts, and selected him for Temporary Chairman of the Philadelphia Convention in 1900, when he (McKinley) received the second nomination for the Presidency.

Senator, and afterward Vice-President, Fairbanks delivered in the Senate one of the eulogies over President McKinley, and in sending a copy of the address to Mr. Wolcott, he took occasion to allude to the friendship between him and Major McKinley by inscribing it: "To Senator Wolcott, whom McKinley loved and in whom he trusted." Senator Fairbanks was himself a firm admirer of Mr. Wolcott, and never lost an opportunity to manifest his interest.

But while Wolcott loved McKinley, he often found the kind-hearted occupant of the White House too considerate of other people whose feelings Mr. Wolcott did not think should be consulted. He would go to the White House to expostulate with the Chief Executive over some matter of policy or some appointment, but, as he was wont to express it, he would "fall into such a bed of roses" that he could do nothing but say, "Oh, how beautiful!" "He is the best man on earth," he once said of the President; "but he spends most of his time every day studying how he can

get to bed at night without hurting any one." Wolcott did not hesitate to offend people whose conduct was such as to merit rebuke, and he did not think that even a President should so hesitate. Still, he understood McKinley personally, and did not let the different view-point estrange him.

One letter only from McKinley has been preserved. It was written September 5, 1896, during the memorable campaign of that year, and was in response to a note from Mr. Wolcott. The following extract will serve to show McKinley's interest in the Colorado Senator:

> When I would read of the situation in your State, I often thought of you. You are entitled to the sympathy of all loyal Republicans. I am glad to note, however, that all is not dark, politically speaking, even in Colorado. I feel assured that for your steadfastness you will in time be amply compensated. I reciprocate most heartily your warm expression of good wishes.

When, in 1901, McKinley succumbed to the wound inflicted by an irresponsible assassin's bullet, Mr. Wolcott said in an interview:

> The tragic death of President McKinley is too recent, and my feeling of personal grief too great, for me to care at this time to dwell upon it. He was the one man in this country against whom no breast could harbor malice; and his probity and rectitude of purpose and nobility of character will serve as an example to young American manhood for all time. I was abroad at the time of his assassination, and, notwithstanding the jealousies and apprehension which our commercial supremacy has aroused, it was touching to an American to witness how all Europe shared our grief and sympathized in our loss.

Probably the most touching of all of Mr. Wolcott's Eastern friendships was that with genial, talented, lovable John Hay, the poet-diplomat, the most sympathetic of friends, the most perfect of gentlemen, the gentlest of men. The intimacy took root while Mr. Hay was serving as Ambassador to Great Britain, and the attachment continued unabated on both sides until Mr. Wolcott's death, which it is interesting to note occurred just four months, to a day, before Mr. Hay's. There was a constant correspondence between them,

and many of Mr. Hay's letters have been preserved. Some deal with questions too sacred for print so soon after the demise of the two, and others are given in other connections. Extracts from two of these letters, both from Washington, follow. In the first, written in November, 1900, he says:

"I hope to see you here very soon. There are many things I want to talk to you about. I need your counsel and your courage."

And in the second, in November, 1901:

"Next week our summer's work goes to the Senate. I wish I could feel that your sterling good sense, your power of bright incisive speech, and your genial personal influence were there to help us through."

The following letters dealing with the campaigns of 1900 and 1902-3 are worth printing entire:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18, 1900.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

I have your letter of Tuesday from Wolhurst and I have shown it to the President. He is glad to receive your congratulations. Of course we are all extremely sorry that your immense success in Colorado did not bring you back to the Senate. Nevertheless you have made a glorious fight and won a great victory. No such change of votes has ever before been made, and it is due to the courage and the genius you put into the fight.

It must be galling to you to feel that a majority of your people were still beyond the reach of sound reason, and I can understand your momentary depression. But that will not last. You have not only stemmed the tide, you have turned it, and the future belongs to you.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) JOHN HAY.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 1903.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

I know it is none of my business—perhaps it is an impertinence—for me to say anything about your Colorado politics. But I cannot endure sitting forever dumb while you are engaged in such a fight. I cannot but send you a word of sympathy and regard. It is well-nigh incredible that the first result of the victory which you prepared and made possible two years ago should have been the malignant treachery of which you

are now the object. If Colorado wanted to show how immeasurably you are the first man in the State, no better means could have been chosen.

I have no right to say these things even to you, but I must say them. They do you no good, but they acquit my conscience. I want you at least to know how heartily I wish you good luck, not only in this desperate fight, but in all things.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN HAY.

Mr. A. M. Stevenson has supplied the writer with the particulars of an interview at Wolcott's Washington house between Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Hay, which illustrates not only the close intimacy between the two men, but also shows how in time of distress the great diplomat leaned upon and was guided by his practical friend from Colorado. The details of the conference were of so sacred a character that they cannot be revealed even though both the participants are dead, but enough may be related to answer the purposes of this volume.

The interview occurred while the first draft of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, dealing, broadly speaking, with Isthmian Canal rights was under consideration. Mr. Stevenson was a house guest of Mr. Wolcott's. They had sat well through the evening discussing questions of mutual interest, when Mr. Hay was announced, and following close upon the heels of the messenger he came into the room. He seemed embarrassed at finding a third person present. Noticing that the Secretary desired to speak confidentially with the Senator, Mr. Stevenson was about to retire, when at Mr. Wolcott's suggestion Mr. Hay invited him to remain.

Mr. Hay then opened his heart to the two Colorado men. The treaty was undergoing bitter assaults in the Senate and in the columns of the press of the country, and the Secretary of State was greatly annoyed—so much annoyed, indeed, that he had come, not to ask Mr. Wolcott's support for the treaty, which he then had, but to announce his intention of resigning his high office. Walking rapidly up and down the Wolcott sitting-room, he outlined the situation. "I know I am right, and yet I know the country is against me,

and there is no honorable course open but to get out of the way. My continuance in the Cabinet can be only an embarrassment to the President, and I am resolved to send in my resignation." This and much more he said, to all of which Mr. Wolcott listened with patience and in evident distress.

When Mr. Hay concluded, he entered upon the task of dissuading him from his announced purpose. The undertaking was not of easy accomplishment, and the night was far spent before the effort ceased and the conference came to a close. It terminated with a promise on the part of Mr. Hay not to be precipitate, but to await further events before taking any step in the direction of retiring. He did wait; the treaty was modified, but was still left in form acceptable to him, and Mr. McKinley was not deprived of the services of his most trusted lieutenant. This result the President owed entirely to the Colorado Senator, but he probably never knew how deeply he was indebted to him.

Two of Mr. Wolcott's Senate friendships have a romantic quality because they were with men so much older than himself. They are those with George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and William M. Evarts, of New York. Both were men of scholarship and literary taste and of high standing at the bar. They shared the same traditions and devotion to Puritan memories and ideals, although this feeling was stronger in Mr. Hoar because of his residence in New England. They doubtless were both drawn to Mr. Wolcott because his tastes were similar to theirs, and it may also be that in their quieter and more secluded habits they found pleasure in the younger man's breezy manner and fresh outlook on life. Although he opposed both of them in some of their pet measures, they maintained a cordial esteem for him and frequently sought chats on matters outside their Senatorial duties. Mr. Hoar corresponded extensively with the Colorado Senator, and when Mr. Evarts was finishing his days in blindness and retirement, apparently almost forgotten by many of his associates, Mr. Wolcott cheered his loneliness by seeking him out at his home for a long call.

Mr. Hoar found especial satisfaction in the fact that Mr. Wolcott was of New England origin, and he delighted to

discuss his genealogy with him. That he was familar with the antecedents of the mother's as well as the father's side of the family is shown in the following letter:

WORCESTER, MASS., April 12, 1895.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

The people of Worcester are quite anxious that you deliver an address here the coming 4th of July. I hope you will be willing to accept the invitation. Your welcome will be as cordial as possible, and the people are glad to know that on both sides you are of Massachusetts stock, and on the mother's side belong to Worcester County.. There have been no 4th of July orations delivered in Worcester for many years. So the occasion is not common-place, and you will have as large an audience as the place where you speak will hold, which will be, if you come, in one of two places, both of which will hold a very large audience indeed.

It will give me great pleasure personally, if you can accept. I should be glad to have you for my guest, and to show whatever may be worth seeing in this region. Mrs. Hoar and I will also be very glad to welcome Mrs. Wolcott, if she shall come with you.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours.

(Signed) GEO. F. HOAR.

The Honorable
EDWARD O. WOLCOTT.

One letter from Senator Allison has been preserved. It was written in 1904, after Mr. Wolcott had been chosen to head the Colorado delegation to the Chicago National Convention—the last ever attended by him,—and is unusually cordial for the conservative Iowa Senator, who served in the Senate longer than any other man up to this time, and who held the respect of the nation during his entire service. The letter runs:

DUBUQUE, IOWA, May 8th.

MY DEAR WOLCOTT:

Some kind friend has sent me a Denver paper showing proceedings of the convention at Denver. I want to congratulate you and also the party, that you are again in the harness, and that you are to head your delegation at Chicago. I want to see you in the Senate again, and all say you can go, if you will give the matter your personal attention. You ought to be

there now. I hope to take you by the hand soon after your arrival, and renew the pleasant association of a few years ago. Your old colleagues in the Senate will be glad to greet you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. B. ALLISON.

The friendship between Wolcott and Senator Quay was known of all men. They read much together, occasionally played poker together, and they visited very frequently. Like Wolcott, Quay was a lover of books, and Wolcott often took refuge from the cares of the day in the Quay library. Indeed, while on the surface there was little in common between them, there were no two more congenial souls in the Senate.

Senator Wolcott's fine courage and his loyal devotion to his friends were well illustrated by the fight which he, almost alone among Republican Senators, made in defence of Mr. Quay's seat in the Senate at the time he was appointed by Governor Stone. Quay had no case; at least the Senate so decided, but Mr. Wolcott's concern was not entirely because of that fact. Quay was his friend, and he determined to stand by him, although his advocacy created much antagonism in the Senate.

Another instance which illustrates his practical way of manifesting his friendship is found in his course toward Senator Quay in connection with the latter's Senatorial aspirations. The story of his efforts in behalf of the Pennsylvanian's retention of his seat has been told. But the public records do not show that when, afterward, Quay determined upon again standing for election before the Pennsylvania Legislature, Wolcott sent him a check for $5000. The letter was addressed "Dear Mike," and was a mere line expressing interest in Quay's success. "I don't believe he can afford it," said Quay when the letter was received, and the check went back through the first returning mail in a letter which was addressed "Dear Ned." We have seen how Mr. Quay tried to compensate him by having him given second place with McKinley on the Presidential ticket of 1900.

Wolcott was a James G. Blaine man to the end, too.

That he had not been for Blaine originally has been shown, but when he did become a follower of the Maine statesman, he stood with him fast and true. He was one of the real mourners at Blaine's grave. He knew, of course, when he arose in the Minneapolis Convention in 1892 to put Mr. Blaine in nomination, that he appeared as the champion of a lost cause, but that knowledge did not deter him. He had been asked by Mrs. Blaine to nominate her husband, the man who had been the beau ideal of the young Republicans, of whom there was no more enthusiastic and picturesque individual than Mr. Wolcott; and he did his part as ably and as eloquently and as earnestly as if he foresaw a victory instead of a defeat.

Senator Wolcott said at the time and always afterward maintained that but for the fact that the office-holders were organized into a formidable body and the delegates from many States instructed to vote for the renomination of Harrison, the Blaine fight would have been won instead of lost. Plausibility was given to this argument by the fact that while the roll was being called, chairman after chairman cast the votes of their States for Harrison, saying that they did so under instructions, and that otherwise they would vote for Blaine.

When he first entered the Senate Mr. Wolcott said of the Southern Senators: "They 're moss-backs, many of them; they are living in the past, and don't know the war is over; they drink too much whiskey and chew too much tobacco; they 're a cantankerous lot, but, after all, they 're so dead rotten poor you can't help respecting and admiring them."

But the raillery gave place to respect and esteem when he came to know the Southerners better. He formed agreeable relations with many of them, and with none were these relations more pleasing or more cordial than with Senators Jones and Berry of Arkansas, both ex-Confederate soldiers, and Jones the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the two Bryan campaigns. In his speech giving account of the European mission, Wolcott took occasion to praise Jones, and that Jones reciprocated the sentiment there expressed is shown by the following letter to Wolcott:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1899.

HON. E. O. WOLCOTT,
DENVER, COLO.

MY DEAR SENATOR:

Your letter written me from New York reached me all right. Since coming here my doctor has rearranged all the plans I had made without consulting him, and insists on my stopping at Southampton instead of going to Bremen, and suggests that I find some quiet place away from the "crowd's ignoble strife," and spend several weeks in the South of England, and that I then go to the mountains of Scotland and stay for a considerable time, devoting myself absolutely to rest. He says I do not need treatment at all, and that the treatment at Carlsbad would be the very thing I do not want.

I enclose you a clipping which I receive in this mail from Moreton Frewen, showing something of the feeling in financial circles and the probable action of their Commission. I have never had words to express my disgust with the course pursued by our prominent men on this side and the British Government in '97. It seems to me that the suggestion made in some papers here that the Administration has redeemed its promise to the people made by the platform of 1896 by making the effort that was made through you and that we are under no obligations to take any other steps in the direction of bimetallism, shows the real purpose of those in authority. True, in this I may be mistaken. I am a very earnest bimetallist, and will be glad to see bimetallism accomplished by any means, because I believe it would be best for this country and the world at large.

While I am on the other side I may go to Paris for a short stay, but will not stay long, and I may go up the Rhine to Switzerland for a short trip, but I expect now to spend very little time on the Continent. I wish you would write me c/o J. S. Morgan & Co., 22 Old Broad Street, London, when you are likely to come over and where you are likely to be. I want to see you when you come, and hope I may be able to see a good deal of you on that side.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) JAMES K. JONES.

That Mr. Wolcott was true to his friends, Hon. John W. Springer, candidate for Mayor of Denver in 1904, testified at the Memorial meeting in Denver after Mr. Wolcott's death, when he said:

"Tears come unbidden when I recall his last fight for me in the mayoralty contest in Denver less than a year ago. Coming all the way from New York, and rising from a bed of sickness, and leaning heavily on his cane, he appealed to the loyal members of the Grand Army of the Republic to stand by the regular nominees of the Grand Old Party."

READING, ART, EDUCATION

INTENSELY fond of books, Mr. Wolcott could not be said to be an omnivorous reader. He demanded the right to choose. The author must be to his liking and the matter entirely attractive. He must be amused or entertained. There must be a strong picture or a good story or a true and entertaining characterization of human nature to hold him long. Humanity was always interesting to him, and his reading dealt largely with its doings—in history, biography, adventure, commercial achievement, or romance. He especially enjoyed history and biography because they portrayed real men and, for the most part, big men. He, however, found pleasure in any good composition, whether in prose or verse, if along the lines of his choosing, and novels, essays, orations, all, came in for attention. He was fond of telling of his asking John Hay how it was that people did not read poetry as much as formerly, and receiving as a reply this question, "How long is it since you stopped reading it yourself?" He was fond of reminiscences of public and social life, and he owned many books of travel. The leading novelists also found a prominent place on his shelves and the pages of their works bore ample evidence that they were not there as mere ornaments. With the Bible he was familiar, but truth demands that it should be stated that this acquaintance was due to association with those who had come much into close contact with the sacred book rather than to any research of his own. As a boy he had been a church-goer, and he also had absorbed much from his father and mother. His retentive memory and his discriminating appreciation had enabled him to retain many

of the pertinent and beautiful passages in the Book, and they were most useful to him in his public speeches. Many of his most striking quotations and aptest illustrations were drawn from the Scriptures. He enjoyed the artistic, the well-dressed, the attractive, and his author, whether sacred or profane, must supply this demand of his nature.

While he read discriminatingly, Mr. Wolcott scanned many books. Few kept pace with current literature so thoroughly as he, and few were more familiar with the old English writers. Senator Hale, who is such a book lover that he keeps a small library in his committee-room at the Capitol, told the writer that when worn out with the Senate routine or perplexed over any subject, it was a habit of Mr. Wolcott's to betake himself to his (Mr. Hale's) room, where he would rush to the book-shelves, take down the work of a favorite author, and so immerse himself in its pages as to completely forget all his troubles. He liked to talk books, and could quote freely from many authors. His letters to his father and his father's to him reveal the origin of this propensity. There is much exchange of views about books. The son is constantly informing the father what he is doing in the way of reading, and the latter as constantly counselling and guiding him in this respect.

In his sketch of Mr. Wolcott's life at Wolhurst, Justice Kent has told us something of his reading habits there, and Governor Thomas contributes the following:

> At the time of Mr. Wolcott's death, and for many years previous, he was the owner of the finest literary library in the State, and perhaps in the country west of St. Louis. He had standing orders for rare and curious volumes, and for standard works as fast as they were issued from the press. No book of consequence escaped him, unless it were something belonging to another age and concerning topics of obsolete or questionable nature. His books were a ruling passion, and he read them as well. I have seldom met a man better informed upon matters of current importance, or more thoroughly equipped for their discussion.
>
> This love of books extended to law-books as well. As soon as his means would permit he secured full sets of all reports published in the English language, covering not only England

and the United States, but English-speaking provinces and colonies everywhere. Text-books on every possible topic also crowded his library. Nothing escaped him in the bibliographic world which appeared in good binding and in the English language.

He kept a standing order with a Boston book-store for all of its best books.

He also appreciated art and architecture. His residence was supplied with good pictures, and his office was adorned with well-executed portraits of eminent English and American masters of jurisprudence. He was an active participant in all the debates in the Senate dealing with these subjects.

He was a persistent advocate of education, and he believed that young people should be sent to the best institutions of learning, on account both of the scholastic and the social advantages. He was, however, not of the kind that would place books and study above every other consideration in life, as his "home" letters testify. Indeed, if thoughtlessly considered, these letters might create the impression that he was indifferent to the work of the schools. Such certainly was not the case. On the contrary, no one believed more thoroughly in the advantages of a liberal education. To understand his advice to his sisters, the facts regarding his home relations should be taken into consideration. He was the son of a preacher and of a pious mother, and in all matters they were strict with their children. Full of buoyant life, and thoroughly appreciative of the enjoyments of liberal living, Mr. Wolcott felt that his sisters might be too constrained. His advice was therefore intended to influence them toward a more generous course than would have been consonant with the home training. He never lost an opportunity to urge the youth of both sexes to avail themselves of every opportunity for culture, and he frequently aided them to that end.

Moreover, he felt that his sisters were too much inclined to close application, and he felt real concern over the possibility of injury to health by such a course. He would have them mix school duties with lighter pastimes. Writing in 1883 to one of the young ladies then in college, he

urged her to ride and drive and to cultivate a greater love for outdoor life. "Have you," he asked, "ever read any of Burroughs's or of Thoreau's books?" and he added: "They give one a fondness for the open air, and I should imagine would give one an insight into what the birds and the plants and trees and flowers were doing every day, that would be worth knowing."

Mr. Wolcott was fond of the theatre, and while in Boston studying law engaged to take part in an amateur presentation of a play. The entertainment seems not to have taken place, and he treated the matter very lightly. Soon after he went to Denver to live he was elected president of a dramatic club. As in the former case, he did not regard the connection seriously. He explained to a friend that the honor had been conferred upon him "because the actors wanted some one to buy flowers to be presented to them at their performances." He probably bought them, but he would have done so just as readily if they had not given him the office.

RELIGION AND FUTURE LIFE

WHEN very young Mr. Wolcott became a member of the Congregational Church at Norwich, Connecticut. He then was much inclined toward church-going, and he continued to be a constant attendant at religious services until he removed to Colorado. He did not cease altogether at that time, but gradually withdrew until he seldom was found in a church pew. If a reason for the change should be sought beyond the generally irreligious tone of the mining camp in which he spent his first years in the State, it might be found in reaction from the zeal of his earlier years and in the fact that the preaching in his new home was not up to the standard to which he had been accustomed. It also must be conceded that he was not temperamentally religious. In his earlier years he naturally fell into the ways of his family, and, moreover, his father insisted upon systematic church attendance. Later, when he attained to an independent state, he found other sources of entertainment and remained away from the church services.

That in his young manhood he enjoyed a good sermon his letters from Boston testify abundantly. He tells in them of attending as many as three services on a Sunday, and engages in much discussion of church affairs. He rented a pew in Boston. True, he did the same thing in Georgetown, but he joked about the latter transaction, saying it was because the pastor had some pretty daughters. He also speaks, evidently in jest, of his regret over the closing of the Georgetown churches on account of the prevalence of small-pox and tells us how his absence from home has deprived him of "that sweet boon, the privilege of listen-

ing to good preaching." Manifestly these expressions were intended to tantalize the family, but they show a falling off in zeal. That, however, there was a lingering interest is evidenced by a letter to his parents as late as 1873, when he writes complaining of their failure to inform him that some of his sisters recently had become members of the Church. "When I joined," he said, "I thought the act of enough importance to write my relations and notify them."

His Norwich pastor, Rev. M. M. G. Dana, testifies that he was a worthy member of his organization. Writing to Mr. Wolcott in 1866 in connection with the granting to him of a letter of dismissal, he says:

> I cannot part from you without assuring you of my continued interest in your welfare. Your firm and manly Christian course especially endeared you to me, and I cannot tell you how much I regret losing you from my Church. You have been of assistance to me in our social evening meetings, while your readiness to meet the duties of your new life afforded encouragement to me to labor on. In our young people's meetings we shall always think of you, and you may have the satisfaction of knowing that your upright, earnest example has served to keep you in grateful remembrance by those who knew and watched you.

Mr. Wolcott always maintained a friendly attitude toward the churches, and upon appeal they never failed to receive his encouragement and support. He simply fell out of the way of going to service. There was nothing in his mature life to stimulate interest in church attendance, and he was too frank to pretend an interest he did not feel. He did not enjoy prosy sermons any more than he did dull speeches, and, when he could, he remained away from places where he would be compelled to listen to either. His attitude is well summarized in a letter written to his father in 1881. He was speaking of a former schoolmate who had studied for the ministry, and who had been sent to a frontier town to preach. Commiserating the young man's fortune, he exclaimed, "Poor fellow!" and straightway added: "And yet to know as he knows, that there is a heavenly kingdom and a life to come, and to have one half the grip on that heavenly kingdom that he has, I would cheerfully

change places with him, or, harder still, I would sit under his preaching the rest of my days."

Justice Campbell supplied this summary of Mr. Wolcott's religious views at the general Wolcott Memorial Services in 1906:

"Pious cant he abhorred and meaningless generalities avoided. The good things he did he would have us remember, and only those; for, though he never paraded his religious beliefs, his godly father's religion was for him the eternal verity."

THE LIFE TO COME

Aside from eulogies delivered over dead friends in Congress, we find very little in Mr. Wolcott's speeches or writings regarding life beyond the grave. The one definite expression in his letters which has come down to us was written when he was in the law school at Harvard in 1871. He was discussing a sermon by Horace Bushnell which his father had sent him. Writing to that parent regarding the sermon and its author on March 15th, of that year, Mr. Wolcott says:

I know nothing about him, but have a hazy impression that he is not considered orthodox. This sermon should relieve him from any such imputation. It was very able, the only difficulty being that no one ever believed (that I ever heard of) that we should have a chance to live life over again. Many believe that we are purified by suffering and the punishment will not be eternal, which I think is very plausible, reasoned humanly; but after all I can see but one question in regard to here and hereafter. And that is, Do I believe the Bible as it is written and in its entirety? If I do, there is but one course, and the man is a fool who tries to make Jesus Christ less than divine or Hell shorter than eternity and founds his reasoning on the Holy Bible. But the moment you let in a doubt as to the genuineness or inspiration of a single book or the truth of a single miracle or try to account for any unaccountable event in any other way than that it is a miracle, you are filled with perplexities and are in a condition to drift into almost any belief. Am I not right?

Apparently he speculated very little concerning the

future. In the absence of specific knowledge or definite opinions, it was like him to remain mute. When he touched upon the subject in his writings he generally did so in connection with an outburst of moralizing over the lack of compensation in the present existence, as witness the following in a letter to his father, written from Colorado toward the close of the campaign of 1880:

What a lot of clap-trap there is in public life anyway! A man is always compelled to pose before some sort of a constituency. If a man could only live a quiet life passed either with his books (not law-books) or in travel he could lay up for himself treasures for his old age, if he reached one, and could reap genuine enjoyment and happiness. We none of us know anything about the other world; we know a good deal about this—and wherein are the greatest and most famous men who are dead any better or happier than those old Wolcotts whose very existence you can ascertain only by deciphering some dusty parchment or unearthing some old tombstone?

Or the following in 1881, to the same correspondent:

When one is reasonably busy and following the humdrum life that knows no difference between one day and another, there is n't much news to write home. The only variety I have is that one day my time is taken up with an examination into a claim for damages, and another respecting some breach of contract, or the examination of a title. It 's all very fine. You have with you the consciousness of having done your duty and earned your salt, but there is very little spice in it after all. There ought to be a next world for such people; they cannot find much enjoyment in this one.

In his first published speech, delivered at Denver during the campaign of 1880, we find an incidental but interesting reference to the possibilities of a future life. He was speaking especially of the responsibilities of citizenship, when he said:

We can none of us know what awaits us in that hereafter, in that unknown to which we in our turn shall go, as a bird flies from the lighted room out into the darkness and the night.

It may be that we shall realize the Buddhist hope, and spend the illimitable future in calm and passionless contemplation of the worlds below us, without longing and without desire. Perhaps there await us the Heavens of Mohammed, with their barbaric splendors; or it yet may be, as so many of us hope and believe, that, redeemed and sanctified, we shall sit at the feet of the crucified Saviour, the Christ no longer bearing upon His body the marks of the spear that pierced Him, or of the cruel nails or the crown of thorns, but rehabilitated in His majesty and resplendent in the ineffable glory of His divine presence. It is not given us to know of these things; but it is given us to realize and to remember that until we go to join the silent majority, silent to all human ears, we dwell in the living present; that to our times and this generation is confided, in the government of men, the one hope of the world; that to us is entrusted the manhood, the equal manhood, and the liberty, the equal liberty, of mankind. These duties and these trusts are upon us. And the young men of Colorado will highly resolve that to these duties and these trusts they will not prove false. Our eyes are turned upward, our feet press forward. Armed with these resolves, we can never be dislodged, for our feet are planted upon the eternal rocks.

Mr. Wolcott joined in but two of the ceremonies in Congress in eulogy of the dead, and on both occasions spoke in commemoration of the services of personal friends. The first address of this character was delivered March 1, 1893, on the character of Senator Randall Lee Gibson, of Louisiana, a Yale alumnus with whom the Colorado Senator was on terms of close friendship. The only reference to a future life in that address was contained in the following paragraph:

He has travelled the way of all men born of woman, the great souls and the little. "One event happeneth to them all," and from none has yet come a voice our ears can hear. If there be somewhere souls of men who have lived, he sits in goodly company, with the truest and the best. If that which was Gibson now lies in the earth returned to our common mother, he will yet live in the higher and purer thoughts and nobler endeavor of his fellow-men, toward which his blameless life was both the incentive and the example.

The second memorial address was delivered February 18,

1899, and John Simpkins, late a member of the House of Representatives, was its subject. In his remarks on that occasion, Mr. Wolcott said:

The world keeps full enough, as far as numbers are concerned, and in the conduct of the business and affairs of life there is always somebody to take the vacant place. But a lost friend is not so easily replaced. We gather ourselves together and life goes on about as usual; but there is something gone that never comes back. He left us, however, that which neither time nor his death can take from us—the remembrance of an honorable, true-hearted, straightforward man, who brought good alone to those who knew him, and who has left behind him only pleasant and happy memories.

Only a few days before he died we stood together on the heights near Arlington overlooking the Potomac. It was a glorious morning in early spring; the city lay at our feet bathed in mist, and the swelling hills and the broad river stretched far away until they mingled with the horizon. He spoke of the wonderful beauty of the landscape and of the pleasure it gave him. When I was next in his presence, it was as a mourner at the touching burial service of that beautiful religion which he cherished, and great banks and masses of flowers covered all that was left of him. And as my thoughts turned back to that vision of hill and river, closed to him forever, I realized that perhaps his eyes had already opened where no horizon limited his gaze, in pure ether, and, illumined with the "white radiance of eternity," he looked with unclouded vision upon fairer scenes.

When taken to task for alleged inconsistency by Senator Harris on October 9, 1893, in connection with the discussion of the Repeal Bill, Senator Wolcott said:

I may as well say here now that if by act inconsistent with my entire political life, if it be still an act of honor, I would redeem this country from its present peril without a moment's hesitation. As individuals, of what consequence are we? We are here for a day and gone to-morrow, fleeting through time on our way rapidly from one world to another. What matters much the record we make, so we make it for the safety and welfare of the country?

IN BUSINESS

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S success in business is noticed in another connection; and reference is made to his career in that respect in this place only for the purpose of directing especial attention to a trait of his character of which the world took little note.

First and foremost he was a business man, and to his faculty as a man of affairs was largely due his success as an orator, lawyer, and statesman. To many this broad statement must appear contradictory, in view of the fact that his reputation was for achievement in other fields of activity; but it is believed that careful analysis of his character and career will sustain it. Close scrutiny of Mr. Wolcott's speeches will reveal the fact that their convincing force is due to the insight of their author into human affairs. They deal largely with every-day questions; with the business of the world, with which he manifests a knowledge sufficient to convince the reader that he knew more of the subject than most men.

What, after all, is statesmanship but the application of business methods to affairs of State? The best business man ought to be the most capable executive, the most successful diplomat, the wisest legislator. And he would be if only he would study some of the little arts of politics and take the time to master the law applicable to business—the business of nations as well as that of the commercial world. The great trouble with most men of business is that they live in a circle which they permit to become too restricted. With a broader culture added to proper commercial methods most of them would be happier and more useful citizens.

Something of an Admirable Crichton, Mr. Wolcott was a master in many spheres. He easily took on the broader culture of his profession and turned it to use in unravelling the mysteries of finance and commerce, in turn making his natural business instincts promote his success as a lawyer and afford him his best guide as a public speaker. He was a born organizer. Referring to him, one of his admirers has said: "He was a great lawyer. Oratory and business capacity are elements which do not combine under ordinary circumstances, but in the peculiar composition of Mr. Wolcott's mind these elements found complete and harmonious representation."

We have seen how that when a mere youth Mr. Wolcott devoted himself to insurance and merchandizing and how also for one of his age he proved exceptionally successful. In later years we find him filling the highly responsible position of director of the great Denver and Rio Grande Railroad system, promoting important mining enterprises, and becoming a successful operator in Wall Street.

From the time of their first entrance in Colorado, the Wolcotts were interested in mining. Henry gave the business more systematic attention than Edward, because mining was in the line of his employment; but the latter also made a close study of mining conditions and frequently expressed the opinion in his letters to friends that mining opened the most direct and certain avenue to wealth. He did not become a mine owner in Clear Creek County, the place of his first location, but soon after removing to Denver, he acquired an interest in a mine at Leadville and in the Little Annie Mine at Aspen. Later he and his brother Henry were large owners in the Last Chance, one of the big mines at Creede, and out of it they made a great deal of money. They also held other mining interests in various parts of the State and in Montana and Mexico. While mining was uncertain, the profits were large when there were any; therefore it appealed strongly to Mr. Wolcott. No inconsiderable part of his fortune was taken out of the ground.

Ed's first letters from Georgetown indicate not only a careful study of the mineral resources of that rich district,

but a determination to control some of these avenues to wealth and ease. In November, 1872, only a year after his arrival in Colorado, he wrote his father:

> You can have no idea what a fascinating thing mining is. If a man has a good-paying lode, he is wholly independent. In every other business, as a merchant, agent, or professional man, you must toady more or less to some one. But a miner has his wealth and his sustenance down in the rock and is "beholden to nobody," and when a man does make money out of his mine (which happens in about one instance in forty) he always makes it fast. The money in mining, however, and this holds good in all mining countries, is in selling; for you get your money all at once.

Referring to his financial condition he says, writing from Georgetown in 1877: "An economical man could save money and buy a mine." Both of the brothers, however, were accustomed to say in later years that if a man put any money into a mine, he would best charge it to profit and loss, and then regard as clear gain any return he might receive. Ed probably had reference to the Leadville mine when, in January, 1884, he wrote his parents asking whether Henry had "told them anything about a wonderful mine we own," and adding: "If a mine does nothing else for a man, it at least keeps him always hopeful."

Mr. Wolcott became largely interested in lands and irrigation enterprises, and in Denver suburban property; and his ability was nowhere more conspicuous than in the facility, tact, and success with which he brought men together for the exploitation and development of these various interests.

Mr. Wolcott also dealt heavily in stocks, and in this line of business he at times made large sums of money. In stock dealing, he was not so much inclined to be a "plunger," as in gambling. He acted less on impulse, and was far more deliberate and conservative, weighing conditions carefully and listening to advice. In these as in all other business transactions he controlled a wider knowledge of affairs and possessed a mind more capable of analyzing

conditions than do most men. While, therefore, he often appeared reckless in his dealings, such was not necessarily always, nor indeed generally, the case. True, few men ever lived who loved the excitement of risk as did Ed Wolcott, and when bent on mere sport, his abandon was limitless. He "played" everything to the limit. But when engaged in actual business he proceeded with more caution and always with due regard to the probabilities, after careful scrutiny for himself.

While his disposition to take all the chances found vent at the gaming-tables, in stock speculation he used the information derived from his study of business conditions and obtained from men high in business circles, many of whom gave him their confidence.

This statement is in line with the opinion of Mr. Grant B. Schley, the New York banker, through whom Mr. Wolcott conducted most of his stock business and who in a letter to the author says of Mr. Wolcott:

> In many ways Mr. Wolcott was extremely conservative and, I always felt that, if I had a proposition needing careful attention and close insight, there was no better mind to present it to than our friend, as he was never optimistic—as was his reputation—but extremely careful and critical in his examination of any complicated proposition and always extraordinarily clear in placing the debits and credits in their due proportion.

He profited largely through the merging of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad with the Great Northern and probably reached the zenith of his fortune at the time this combination was consummated. Later he lost heavily, but the last year of his life was marked by compensating gains, and he was a wealthy man when he died. In conversation with friends during his last visit to Denver in the fall of 1904 he spoke freely of his losses during the previous year, but he added that latterly there had been a turn in his affairs for the better, and said that business conditions were improving.

As such Mr. Wolcott's sporting proclivities had nothing to do with his business career. And yet in them are found some of the strongest indications of his general character.

While doubtless his devotion to games of chance was due, as has been said, to love of variety and excitement, the indulgence of the propensity brought into play many other mental qualities which were common to his participation in any labor or any pastime. One of these qualities was courage—"nerve." He was as daring in his bets as in his speeches, but probably not always so wise. If, in speaking, his judgment or his instinct told him to risk a bold attack involving personalities or unpopular positions, he did not hesitate to "sail in." The same was true of his speculations, and when under the excitement of "the game," necessarily there was less appeal to reason than when engaged in a purely intellectual exercise. He acted largely from impulse. But even then he won oftener than he lost, so that it can be stated that he was successful in this as in most other respects. Justice Brewer tells us he had an instinct for winning. It should be said of him that he did not covet the mere possession of wealth. He had all of the Western man's love of the game for its own sake, and money was valued only for what it brought.

In his speeches in and out of Congress, Mr. Wolcott dealt courageously and incisively with business questions. He did not hesitate to say a good word for the railroads when convinced that their interests were unfairly attacked, and on more than one occasion Wall Street and Wall Street operators were the subject of his favorable comment. On the other hand, if railroads or speculators were found to be infringing the law or violating good morals, he was as quick to condemn as he had been ready to praise.

On two occasions while in the Senate, in connection with committee investigations, Mr. Wolcott had occasion to speak of his business methods. One of these arose during the silver agitation, when a special House Committee with Hon. Nelson Dingley, of Maine, as Chairman, was appointed to investigate the existence of an alleged silver pool, supposedly formed for the purpose of promoting legislation for the purpose of speculation in silver. Because they were from a silver-producing State, but, without being summoned, Senators Teller and Wolcott appeared before the committee and

made statements. Both said they had had no previous knowledge of such a pool, if any existed, and Mr. Teller added that he neither owned any silver mines nor had any knowledge of speculation of any character. Denying all knowledge of any silver pool or syndicate, Mr. Wolcott stated that not since he had been in the Senate had he speculated in anything. He created a laugh by saying that he wished he was as innocent of all knowledge of speculation as was his colleague.

The other occasion on which he spoke of his business operations occurred during the inquiry into the operations of the Sugar Trust in 1894 in connection with the passage of the Wilson–Gorman Tariff Bill, when it was charged that some Senators had been influenced by business considerations to vote for the sugar schedule that was adopted. All the members of the Senate were called before a Senate Committee, and asked to state whether they had been approached in any way in the interest of the schedule or had speculated in sugar with knowledge of the provision before it was enacted into law. Mr. Wolcott replied emphatically in the negative.

Mr. Wolcott did not see in trusts the dangerous element that some have professed to find in them. He spoke very seldom on the subject, but when it was under consideration he did not hesitate to express himself frankly. Probably the tersest exposition of his views on this subject is given in an interview published in the *Washington Post* of November 16, 1897, in which he is quoted as saying:

> I have always believed that an accumulation of capital could do business to better advantage and with more benefit to the public and the employee, than smaller concerns handicapped by lack of capital. Personally I see no danger in the transaction of business by these combined corporations. I do believe, of course, that they should be called upon to deal with the public with the utmost publicity and that their corporate transactions should be subjected to the most searching scrutiny; but, when this is done, I cannot see that any great danger threatens the country through their existence. It is certain that labor was never so well paid or so contented as at present. The only large combination of capital that has affected us in the West has been

the smelter combine, and it is rather gratifying to note that the steadiness and firmness of the price of silver has been largely caused by the fact that there are not twenty or thirty smelters bidding against each other in the markets for the sale of their silver.

He was in the Senate when the Sherman Anti-trust Bill became a law and he did not oppose it.

RELATIONS TO FAMILY AND HOME

DENVER, COLO.,
January 3, 1899.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

This is the first line I have written since my nomination by the caucus, and I want my first letter to be to you, my dear mother. I feel very happy and very humble. I shall do my best. I know my limitations and my weaknesses, but I trust I shall never bring discredit to the name I bear. If I do well it will be because God gave me the best father and mother anybody ever had. If father were only alive!

I love you very much and dearly,

Your son,

ED.

This letter is a key to one of Mr. Wolcott's strongest characteristics—his love for the members of his family, and especially for his parents. From his earliest days, he was exceptionally fond of his father and mother. He also maintained an affectionate regard for all of his brothers and sisters, and sought in every possible way to assure them of his interest. His letters are full of avowals of attachment, and that his words were not mere empty expressions was evidenced by innumerable acts of tenderness. After his own fortunes improved, he was tireless in his efforts to better conditions for other members of the family.

As he was partial to his family, so also was he fond of home, of locality, and of friends. And his attachment was strongest for his first home—for New England, and especially for Massachusetts, the State of his birth. Man of many contradictions that he was, he loved the East better

than the West, the country better than the city, his home better than his club, although a city man, a man of the world, and a resident of a Western State. Notwithstanding his marked success in Colorado, he was an Easterner in many of his inclinations.

Mr. Wolcott always professed to long for a country life, and he even went to the extent in one or two of his letters of asserting that he wanted to be a farmer. This tendency found expression in the establishment near Denver of his country place, Wolhurst; but it was so closely connected with the city, and the life lived there was so opposed to the ordinary idea of the rural as to almost contradict his verbal expression. Whatever the attraction, there is no doubt that he was extremely fond of the place, and it is true that while he provided himself with city comforts he also enjoyed the beauties of nature which surrounded him in profusion at Wolhurst. English-like in many of his tendencies and modes of life, he possessed the English gentleman's love of land and all that it implies. He liked the quiet and the beauty of the country side. But the other aspect of his nature—the passion for activity—found better expression in the city than it could have found amid rural scenes, and it may well be imagined that he would have been most miserable if condemned to abide by his own professed preference for a continuous residence outside a large city.

The letter to Mr. Wolcott's mother was only one of many showing strong filial affection. In one of these, written in November, 1874, while on his first visit to the parental home from Colorado, he expressed himself strongly. The letter was to his father, who was absent in the performance of his ministerial duties, and it was penned for the sole purpose of telling the parent how sorry he was not to see him. It ran as follows:

Home, Saturday Evening,
7 November, '74.

My Dear Father:

I have been at home two days and have had a very happy time; but I missed you more than I can tell you. I have never visited Cleveland before when you were not here, and when we did not have at least one pleasant talk together. There were

many things I wanted to tell you and advise with you about. Perhaps I can write of them to you.

I am sitting at your table where you have written me many fatherly, encouraging letters. And I hope I shall receive many more "from the old stand," and that although you are continually travelling about doing missionary work, you will not forget you have a son on whom much good advice could be profitably spent, and who, though bad in many things, does love his father and mother.

Ever your affectionate son,

Ed.

As was expressed in another letter, all of the Wolcott sons were fond of their home, and yet, as he says elsewhere, "they had all been away from it more than most boys." As a matter of fact, Ed never was at home after he was sixteen years old except on a visit. His recollections of the home-life were, however, most vivid and as pleasing as vivid. He seemed to revert to the time spent there with more pleasure than to any other period of his varied life.

FONDNESS FOR PARENTS

Ed was his father's boy.

That [said one of his sisters, writing to the author] was always his position in the family—and I never knew of any one's resenting it. Mother told me once, of father's coming home from the funeral of a child in Belchertown and telling her that the child had been the flower of the family, and that its loss meant what it would mean to them "to lose Ed." Mother said it was her first intimation that he did not regard all the children alike. [She adds interestingly:] By the time my remembrance begins, Henry had come to hold the same place with mother that Ed did with father. She said that when they were boys, and there was an errand to be done, while the others were discussing whose turn it was, Henry would go and do it.

But if especial interest was manifested for the son by the father, the attachment between the son and the mother was none the less sincere and touching.

Dr. Wolcott was a man of accurate knowledge of the affairs of the world, and if his education and early inclina-

MRS. HARRIET POPE WOLCOTT,
Mother of Senator Wolcott.

tion had not placed him in the pulpit, he would have found most congenial employment in other walks of life. His son had the opinion that he would have been a superb lawyer. If he entertained ambitions for secular activity, they were subordinate to his clerical calling; but be that as it may, it is certain that from the first he held them for his third son. He never ceased to urge him to the utmost endeavor in preparing himself for high attainment.

If Ed "went wrong" the father was quick to administer rebuke; but he was just as prompt in awarding praise for worthy conduct, and in this watchfulness there was a constant expression of interest and of hope for the future. Many sacrifices were made and much effort exerted in the interest of his ambition for the boy. As from early youth Ed was almost constantly absent from home this interest involved much correspondence, and many long letters of counsel and advice were the necessary product. Occasionally we find Ed's love of fun breaking over all barriers and pricking the armor of the parent, but underneath the surface there ever was a substantial love which failed never in finding vent when there was reason for its expression. Not only did he feel a deep natural affection for his father, but his respect for his parent's superior knowledge and his gratitude for his help were very marked. He relied upon the elder in many matters and never appealed in vain. Of a grateful disposition, he did all in his power to avoid disappointing the parental expectation, and there is no doubt that in his earlier career the spur of the father was quite as important a factor in determining the young man's career as was his own ambition. Indeed, we find him writing home in 1880 and saying that he had been pleased to achieve a reputation as a public speaker only on account of Dr. Wolcott's interest in him, and adding that with that accomplished he desired to quit public life.

Did his father consent to his quitting? By no means. So long as he lived, he did not fail to urge the son to fresh endeavor. Indeed, there never was a time up to the father's death in 1886 that he was not a constant support and encourager of the son. Through their letters they were a help one to the other—the son as critic and censor; the father

as whip and spur and general counsellor. They resembled each other in physical traits and possessed many similar mental characteristics.

It is no small tribute to the strength and loftiness of Dr. Wolcott's character that his son, who had gone out from home at the age of sixteen and who had formed habits and associations that were at variance with his father's manner of life, should yet retain throughout his career, both in public life and in business, an unfaltering loyalty to the high ideals which from his earliest youth the father had held before him.

Many letters on both sides attest the comradeship of father and son, but the following extracts in addition to those already given must suffice in this connection.

October 9, 1876, Ed wrote:

"I cannot bear to have you feel that you are growing old, for to me you have always seemed the same. I could see no difference in you during my last visit home and the old Providence days when we lived on High Street and I first began to know you intelligently."

And in September, 1877, after a visit by Dr. Wolcott to his sons in Colorado:

"Excuse me for not having written before; it has not been for lack of filial affection, for that has been renewed and strengthened a thousand times by your visit and mother's, but solely because I have n't had time."

Again in September, 1880:

"I was more pleased than I can tell you to find your long letter awaiting my return. It is a good many months or years since you 've written me such a letter, and it is a kind you would feel repaid for writing if you knew how much good it does the recipient."

And, more expressive still, the letter to the mother after his selection for the Senate three years after Dr. Wolcott's death. "If father were only alive!" he said.

As the time of young Wolcott's absence from home lengthened there naturally was a falling off in letters, and while he did not himself write as frequently as he might have done, he felt keenly any neglect on the part of the home

DR. SAMUEL WOLCOTT,
Father of Senator Wolcott.

folks. His letters are replete with confessions of his own negligence and equally full of upbraidings of parents and sisters and brothers. The following, to the father, of December 12, 1883, after Ed had established himself and was prosperous in Denver, was one of a series of letters to the family, but is in a strain somewhat different from others:

Since I have been away from home, now nineteen years, there has never been a time, except during one season of my Georgetown life, when you have not written me about once a month. I have received but one letter from you since last April. If there is no reason why you do not write, except that it has happened so, I can feel equably about it; but if there is a reason, or if you have lost any of the interest in me you used to feel, then I shall feel very badly. I know of nothing that could render me more unhappy. Will you please write and tell me before the year ends?

It is a pleasure to record the father's response, which came promptly and which hinted at a tenderness of feeling which was not fully revealed. Writing from Cleveland on the 17th of the same December, Dr. Wolcott explained that his failure to write had been due to his absence from home, and added:

Your favor of the 12th instant reached me this morning; and I regret (and yet do not regret) the delay which has occasioned it. I welcome the proof which it furnishes that you prize so much an occasional letter from home; while I am sorry that you should harbor for a moment the thought that there has been any loss of interest in or affection for you at this end of the line. I am reminded of a Sabbath morning in the country years ago, when I was visiting the churches, and was alone in my study—an experience which I have never spoken of, and will not now revive. I loved you then when I felt anxious for you, and certainly do not love you less now that a kind Providence has lifted my most pressing anxieties.

You have not only done better than I hoped in my anxious moods, but better than I anticipated in my most hopeful moments. You are apt to write depreciatingly of yourself and your performances; but your success appears to us to have been phenomenal. It strikes us that you have the highest possible

incentives to diligence and to faithfulness; I can think of no desirable attainment or position which does not seem to be within your reach.

Mr. Wolcott's love for his mother was especially tender after the father's death, and no opportunity was lost to show the feeling. Frequently during his service in the Senate he would go to Longmeadow on Friday night in order to spend the following Saturday and Sunday with her. Mr. David S. Barry, of Washington, one of Mr. Wolcott's Washington newspaper friends, relates this anecdote illustrative of Mr. Wolcott's interest in his mother:

Down at the bottom Mr. Wolcott was of a gentle as well as of a modest nature, although as a rule these qualifications were very successfully concealed. When he first came to the Senate the correspondent of a Boston newspaper wrote a letter about him which was most flattering. Later the Senator asked a newspaper friend to get a copy of it for him and wrote a note to the author thanking him for his courteous consideration. "There 's not much truth in your article," the Senator said; "but I know it will please my dear old mother up in Massachusetts, and that after all is the important point."

The mother gave constant evidence of her great fondness for her brilliant son, but no expression is more characteristic of her than the following letter to Henry, written November 17, 1888, a few days after the result of the election of that year was made known:

I have not congratulated you by letter, though I have often in my thoughts, on the result of the election in Colorado. I suppose it makes Ed's election comparatively sure, does it not? To be the mother of a United States Senator is an honor, of which I had not dreamed until very recently, and I can hardly believe it possible now. I have not written to him, but have hoped he would find time to write a line to me, though I know he must have much to absorb his time and thoughts.

Not the least interesting fact connected with the letter is that notwithstanding it refers to Ed it is addressed to

Henry. Mrs. Wolcott knew the two sons and knew that the triumph was quite as much Henry's as it was Ed's, as in reality it was. She accomplished a double purpose in writing to Henry.

We have heard something of Mr. Wolcott's tendency to despondency. He recognized it in himself and regarded it as a hereditary trait, varying from time to time in his opinion as to which side of the house it was derived from. The following from a letter to his mother dated at Georgetown, June 7, 1876, is a specimen expression on the point:

> Court is in session. I have but little to do in it this term, but am a steady looker on. Business is not exactly brisk, but I am well and happy in the hope that it will some day be better. The elasticity of spirits with which some of your children are endowed, comes I think from father. I have always had the impression that you were somewhat inclined to be rather despondent. I am, sometimes, but it does n't last long; perhaps it would be better if it lasted longer, but we are what we are, and there are many traits that nothing can change.

Writing to his mother again in December of that year, concerning a matter of mutual interest, he broke off abruptly and remarked: "And this reminds me, mother, that you are a little disposed, and have been ever since I first had the pleasure of knowing you, now some years since, to look somehow on the gloomy side;—don't you think so?"

Quite a contrary view was, however, expressed in a letter to his mother, written from Denver in 1884, in which he said:

"Happiness in this world depends very little on success, but is almost wholly a matter of temperament, and I hope Bert has inherited his mother's disposition, and has not been afflicted, as some of us have, with the gloomy and morbid and misanthropic tendencies which some unhappy old Wolcott bequeathed to his posterity."

OBSERVANCE OF BIRTHDAYS

Birthdays were ever events of moment in the Wolcott family, and there always was trouble for the one who over-

looked Ed's anniversary. But if he expected a recognition of his natal day he did not forget those of others, and he was especially punctilious about his mother's.

As early as 1862, we find Mrs. Wolcott writing to her husband and mentioning the fact that the letter was written on Ed's fourteenth birthday. She seemed then to think that he was getting to be quite old, and appeared disposed to moralize over that fact. A letter from her written to him on his twenty-third anniversary has been preserved. The date was March 26, 1871. Here it is:

These anniversaries always carry me back to the years and scenes of the past. I remember very distinctly the day of your birth (it was the Sabbath), and many occurrences of your infancy and childhood. How full of mother's pride and hope my heart was in those days, and so it still is, only subdued and chastened by time and experience. If my hopes have not all been realized, my Heavenly Father's kindness has been very great to me, and I am, I trust, truly grateful.

Twenty-three years! A large section of our brief lives. And yet it does not seem a long time to look back upon. How soon these passing years will bring us to the close of our lives! Our great concern should be to improve wisely those that remain, and may the number of yours be many, my son, and that the Lord may bless you in them all, and make you a blessing to others is the sincere prayer of your affectionate mother.

Ed appears not to have received this letter as early as he should have, for we find him writing to a sister a few days after its date and complaining that no one had taken notice of his birthday. The letter to the sister shows a sense of light humor, which, if cultivated, would certainly have brought him a reputation in that direction. Here is the letter:

CAMBRIDGE, April 3, 1871.

DEAR SISTER:

When my birthday came a week ago, and nobody said anything about it here, and no letter came to me from anywhere or anybody, and I found that everybody had forgotten all about it, I came to the conclusion that it was because I was so old. You know some people get so old that they and everybody else forget

how old they are, and all anybody knows about them is that they are like

"The Polar Star—
Always thar."

And I thought of going to see an old darkey who lives here in Cambridge, who does n't just remember whether he is *one* hundred and forty or *two* hundred and forty and who remembers all about the flood and how Noah

"Led in the animals three by three,
The elephant and the bumble-bee."

and of asking him if he did n't remember the divine and afterward the poet "which his name was Dr. Wolcott," and how in the year '48, either 1748 or 1848, he became the father of a beautiful infant, and Edward was his name.

But in a day or two your letter came and with it a real pretty present, and then I knew I was n't old enough yet to be-forgotten.

In place of his signature a photograph of himself, of thumb-nail size, was pasted on the end of the sheet.

That he had not been "forgotten" his mother's and his sister's letters, and probably other letters from other members of the family, would, of course, have been sufficient to reassure him, if he had needed reassurance, which he did not.

Two touching letters from the son to the mother, growing out of the birthday observance, are now available. One was written from Denver on June 29, 1884, the mother's sixty-third birthday, and the other from Washington, March 26, 1897, when he was forty-nine and had been eight years in the Senate.

In the first of these letters he says:

I spent an hour at Kittie's. We were talking of home and of you, when Anna reminded me that it was your birthday. I have usually recalled the date, but this year the day would have passed without my remembering it. I write home rarely, and am punished by not having frequent letters. Years ago when we were all little ones, everybody's birthday was celebrated in

a quiet fashion, and yours among the rest, and now that we are all grown older we ought still to keep them in mind. I don't believe you feel as old these days as I do.

Then he dealt with other subjects, but returning to his mother's anniversary, concluded by touchingly saying:

I am glad you are so well this summer. I wish I could be with you to-night. I 'd give you sixty-three pats on the shoulder, but they should all be love pats and very light, and I would kiss you good-night as I used to. I don't have the opportunity often now, but when bedtime comes, after all these years, I frequently think that it is time to "kiss mother good-night." And you think of us all, don't you?

The pertinent portion of the letter of 1897 follows:

It is my forty-ninth birthday. My first thought this morning was of you, and I do not want the day to pass without my writing you of the grateful memories I have always of you. I think as we grow older we dwell more constantly on our youthful days, and as I recall mine, I have no recollection of you that is not a precious one. Somehow it seemed to me from your last letter that you were not quite as well as usual. I trust you are getting all right again. I am coming soon to see you. My own plans are somewhat uncertain. Confidentially, the President wants me to go abroad again on the International Money Question. I am also one of the sub-committee of four members of the Finance Committee having charge of the Tariff Bill, and we are having hearings constantly, and the days are not half long enough to finish each day's work. As soon as I can tell definitely what I shall do, I will write you.

ATTACHMENT FOR HENRY

Of Mr. Wolcott's brothers, Henry unquestionably was the favorite, but his letters abound in expressions of deep affection for all of them. With the eldest brother Samuel he early in life entered into a compact for a constant exchange of letters, and while the agreement appears not to have been very scrupulously observed by either of the parties to it, still there was sufficient communication to show a deep mutual interest. Will, next younger than himself, was

his playmate and companion when the two were at home, and they were warm friends. Later in life he looked to Will as he did to his father as a critic and counsellor in his rhetorical productions. Herbert, who was fifteen years his junior, was the subject of his constant interest and deep concern. His letters contain many expressions of tender solicitude for him, and when he grew to manhood he took him into his law office at Denver. His sisters also were the subjects of his unfeigned affection. From the time that he and Henry became established in Colorado, some of the young ladies were with them almost constantly. Miss Katherine found there a husband in Hon. Charles H. Toll, who was Attorney-General of the State, and afterward, until his untimely death, a successful lawyer there. Miss Harriet was married in Denver to Frederick O. Vaille and after remaining there for a time removed to Massachusetts. Later they returned to Denver and have continued to reside in that city. Miss Anna located in the State and made a place of her own as the head of the popular "Miss Wolcott School" of Denver. Whether in Colorado as visitors or as residents, the presence of the sisters was a source of gratification to both brothers, as Ed's letters abundantly express.

It would be quite impossible to present an adequate biography of Ed Wolcott without multiplied references to his brother Henry. They were constant chums and companions, and the lives of both were full of acts of devotion on the part of each toward the other. As we have seen, Ed was indebted to Henry for encouragement and guidance throughout his entire life. Indeed, it is not too much to say that without Henry his career would have been much more difficult of achievement than it was. Henry loved Ed as few brothers ever have been loved. He found the greatest pleasure of his life in the younger man's success while the latter lived, and after his death his memory became the subject of his constant care.

Sturdy, strong, and immovable, Henry was ever in sharp contrast with his volatile, buoyant, and irrepressible brother. Ed Wolcott always was pugnacious enough and always strong enough, even from his early years, to take care of himself; but if he had needed a defender Henry would have

been found acting in that capacity, and, while not called upon to serve in this way, he did play the part of counsellor and adviser, and always effectively. The more deliberate and conservative of the two, he was more cautious in avoiding "scrapes," and probably wiser in finding a way out of them. But, whatever the call in Ed's interest, Henry was ever ready to respond to it. Nor is it intended to imply that this good-will and this service were not reciprocated. From first to last Ed regarded Henry as a mentor and supporter whose judgment was better and whose aid more to be desired than the judgment and assistance of any other person. When at the front during the war, and afterward while at college, we find the younger brother making constant inquiries concerning the whereabouts and the welfare of his senior. For a boy, he manifested deep concern regarding Henry's first business venture, which was entered upon in Chicago soon after he left the army. So when, later, Henry turned his faculties to the development of the mineral resources of the Rocky Mountains, and sought to establish himself there, as he most effectively did, we again find in Ed his most ardent admirer, as he was the most zealous prophet of his success.

We have seen how Henry assisted Ed when he first went to Colorado, and the constant help of all kinds that he gave afterward constitutes a theme too delicate for detailed narration. It is a well-known fact that Henry was Ed's chief supporter in politics, and that to the brother more than to all others he owed his ultimate elevation to the Senate. Already a letter from Ed to his father has been quoted expressing his gratitude to Henry for his help in 1880, when he first entertained aspiration for a national career. After his election to the Senate in 1889, he gave public expression to the same feeling when in his speech to the Legislature, with moistened eye and voice on the verge of breaking, he said: "Nobody knows as I do what a brother's constancy means." In fact, they demonstrated at all times the truth of Solomon's proverb: "A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." Each ever was to the other the loving friend, the brother in adversity.

As illustrative of the fondness of Henry and Ed for each

other, a Denver friend recalls a characteristic instance. It occurred at the residence of a lady on a New Year's day, probably in the early eighties, when the social practice of making general New Year's calls was in vogue. The two brothers had been together all day, and had called at many places. When they arrived at the residence of this particular lady, they met a number of acquaintances, many of them ladies. These were, of course, properly greeted by the two brothers; but they had not been in the house ten minutes when they were found sitting together in a corner conversing as earnestly and as interestedly as if they had not seen each other for a year. The incident is recalled as a proof that they found in the society of each other more than they did in that of others. They seemed never to tire of the closest association, and they lived together from year to year with ever increasing mutual regard.

As they advanced side by side in Colorado, they were closely connected in many business transactions. Until Ed's membership in the Senate set them somewhat in different grooves, they knew each other's affairs intimately. Each felt free to commit the other to any enterprise, and whenever they were separated, even though it were by the width of the continent, each sent to the other a daily telegram touching on all matters that the day had brought before him. Indeed, there was no time so long as Ed lived that they were not the most intimate friends, the fondest companions, the most affectionate brothers.

INTEREST IN SISTERS

Of all the Wolcott sisters, Miss Clara was most at home, and there are many references to her in Edward's letters. He seemed to remember with especial gratitude that she had been a friend to him when he especially needed friends, when she was six and he eighteen. They were both staying with Grandfather Pope in Norwich. "I imagine the attitude of the household was rather severely critical toward the lively boy and that the presence of the uncritical child was a good deal of a solace," she says, and adds: "I do not remember the time, but my brother referred to it almost

every time I ever saw him." Evidently, the experience appealed strongly to his sense of gratitude, which we have seen was ever strong. When he grew to manhood, he bestowed upon her, as upon all his sisters, every favor that a prosperous and generous older brother could bestow.

When the health of one of the young ladies became impaired, he was most solicitous for her welfare, and urged every reasonable remedy upon her. This occurred while he was in Europe giving attention to the work of the bimetallic campaign in 1897, when, busy as he was, he wrote her an eight-page, closely lined letter, advising her as to the various resorts in America and Europe, closing with an urgent entreaty to try the foreign ones and volunteering to pay all the expenses. The letter was full of detailed information concerning the various "cures," and would be a splendid handbook on this subject. The following extract from the letter, throwing light on a historic period, should interest:

> Personally, I fear I can be of little or no service to you on this side of the water, as my plans are so absolutely uncertain and not under my control. I go from here on Friday to Marseilles to meet some French bimetallists; then to London where I shall await the answer from the English Ministry. Then I shall either go home, or to France or to Germany. My work is engrossing in interest, and far the most important I have ever attempted, and these are anxious days.

He was especially concerned about the health of his sisters while at college, and frequently admonished them against too close application to their studies. To one of them, after he was well established in Denver, he wrote:

"Don't study too hard. If you have a real good time, you will look back upon your college course with a good deal of pleasure, even if you don't know all the Greek and mathematics in the world."

And in similar vein to another:

> Henry has told me how much you enjoy college life. I find that college recollections are about the pleasantest of all. But

I want to suggest one thing to you, and I do it in all seriousness: don't study too hard. You won't remember anything you learn after five years anyway, and, if I were you, I would try to make the time pass as pleasantly as possible, and not spend too much time on my books. It is a splendid thing to stand well in your class, but it has its drawbacks.

PREFERENCE FOR NEW ENGLAND

For one who loved his people as Ed did, he was at home very little. Indeed, never after he enlisted to go to the war in 1864, when he was sixteen, did he see much of the family. After returning from his army service, he spent two years in school, and then went into business. Without returning home to remain any length of time, he began his law studies in 1869, and as soon as he received his degree from the Harvard law school, he transferred his abode to Colorado, where he maintained residence until his death.

A younger sister, writing of him when at home, says:

> Ed was full of life and fun, and I remember his visits home as occasions when everything was stirred up, and we all had a good time. I was very fond of him and very proud of him in those days, but as a younger sister in a very large family I was not on especially intimate terms with him, and it seems to me that within my recollection he never lived at home. . . . The humdrum and matter-of-fact tone of the life at home was always dissipated by Ed's appearance on the scene. He was decidedly a tease, but in a good-natured way, which left no sting.

Yet, long as he was away from the parental roof, he always dreamed of a return to it, and he especially longed to establish himself in New England. It probably will be a surprise to most people to learn that Colorado was not Mr. Wolcott's preferred place of residence. But such is the fact. Proud as he was of the State of his adoption, his strongly sensuous nature found more satisfaction in the verdure of the New England landscape than in the undulating plains and rugged mountains of the far West.

Moreover, he enjoyed the refinement of the New England civilization more than he did the crudities of the then undeveloped West. Quotations are given in support of these statements, but they should not be too seriously considered. In weighing his expressions on the subject, allowance must be made for the conditions under which they were uttered. Engaged as he was in politics, and political leader that he was, there was little repose for him in Colorado, where his activities were exerted. The parental home offered solace and quiet, and naturally all New England, far removed from solicitous follower or hungry constituent, seemed a haven of refuge. It also should be remembered that he was writing to the "home folks," and doubtless his interest in the East was tinged with a longing to see them. But, be the reasons what they may, it is undeniable that his preference was for New England, and especially for Massachusetts, as a place of residence, and he was delighted when in 1884, after an absence of more than a third of a century, and through his brother Henry's generosity, the family again found themselves established at Longmeadow.

From the time of his first location in Colorado, Mr. Wolcott was engaged in expressing longing for the State of his birth. In 1874, this feeling took shape in the following letter to his parents:

> Georgetown is very quiet, but is becoming more prosperous every season. It will never be a large place, but with the exceptions of portions of Nevada, it undoubtedly contains in its vicinity the best and richest silver mines in the country. A man who attends to business here ought to make a comfortable fortune in ten or fifteen years. I hope to do this and then move back to New England, the only civilized section in the United States. I would rather live in Boston, I think, than anywhere else in the world. I wish father would get a call to some Eastern church, even if it is a small one and in some quiet village.

To a sister, Mr. Wolcott wrote from Denver, April 17, 1881:

"For the last month I have been wanting to go East, and have been hoping to get away, but it looks as if it would be impossible. I almost envy you the delightful summer

that is just commencing around Northampton, and the glimpses you have of the broad Connecticut."

And to his mother on November 18, 1884:

"Winter commenced in earnest yesterday. Until then we had had a month of Indian summer. Business is good. I work pretty hard, but don't seem to accomplish much. Our mine looks promising again, but is n't yet paying a profit. I am considering the advisability of saving my money, getting rich, and moving East. Is n't it a good idea?"

Many similar expressions are found. In one letter, he wanted to practise his profession in Boston; in the next his fancy ran to a country home, when for the moment he revelled in the thought of becoming a tiller of the soil; in a third, he would be located in a quiet New England village, where the world would be without excitement, and life beautiful, peaceful, quiet. Vain human hope! Vain at least for a man engaged in Western politics and immersed in the cares of the world. Once in an after-dinner speech, he spoke of Heaven as a place where the New Englanders were to sing the solos and other portions of mankind were to be permitted only to join in the chorus. But that was a speech to New Englanders only and was not without its vein of sarcasm.

FAMILY HOME AT LONGMEADOW

When the family left Longmeadow, as they did soon after Ed's birth in 1848, they were possessed of only moderate means; but now that the two brothers had so prospered in the West, the parents were enabled to live in a way which was much more becoming their station as members of one of the oldest and best of New England connections. A splendid mansion was erected for them by Henry, and he and Ed combined to make it a home indeed for the rapidly-aging parents and for their sisters and younger brothers. It should also be stated that both Dr. and Mrs. Wolcott had inherited property and that, while the two brothers did a great deal to promote the luxury of life, the other members of the family were by no means dependent upon them.

How the establishment of this permanent abode was re-

garded by the parents may be inferred from the following letter from Mrs. Wolcott to her son, written from Cleveland in October, 1883, after the return to Longmeadow was definitely decided upon.

It seems very strange to me [she wrote] that I should be going back to the spot to live where just forty years ago I went, a bride. The sad fact about it is that those who received me so kindly then, and endeared themselves to me, have all passed away. Instead of the fathers are the children. But the place is associated with some of the pleasantest memories of my life, not least of which is the birth and childhood of three of my children. It seems to me a kind Providence that is leading us back to that quiet spot for the evening of our days. God grant that the pleasant anticipations may be realized!

The new home appealed strongly to Edward. In June, 1884, very soon after the removal, he wrote his mother:

"What is father doing? Still planting trees? If he only holds on to his present fancies, Longmeadow will be an elysium for him. The house will be a pleasant one, and if there is no malaria to make Clara miserable, it ought to be a happy home for us all. I am sure that I shall see much more of you than if you continued to live at Cleveland."

On the previous January 2d, before the change had occurred, he had written more at length regarding it. In that letter he gave his fancy wider range concerning his own future. Then he said:

I think this is the first time I have written the number of the New Year. I wish you happiness all through it; and I sincerely believe that the return to New England is going to bring a new lease of years and happiness, and that we who live in Colorado will share in the result, though we can visit home but rarely.

There is no such commonwealth as Massachusetts, unless it be her neighbor Connecticut, and there is surely no pleasanter village than Longmeadow. I had intended to go East this winter, but have been compelled to abandon the trip and have about made up my mind to wait until next summer and then take a good long vacation, and spend it in driving through parts of New England, more especially the towns about Longmeadow.

Wolcott Family Residence after the Return to Longmeadow.

We had a very quiet day yesterday; the girls received, and I think enjoyed the day. I suppose Henry wrote you that we had sold the house. We are going to move into a much more comfortable one. We shall have one or two guest-chambers, and when father wants to give his Pegasus another rest we shall be glad to see him here again, although I hope he won't wait for that time before coming. I hope we shall not have to move again while we live in Denver, which won't be very many years, I trust.

The only people who get the good out of life are the tillers of the soil, and if this quarrelsome profession of mine will only yield me enough to buy a modest farm in Massachusetts, you will see me there.

June 29, 1884, he wrote his mother asking her "what sort of farmer" she thought he would make, and added:

"I often feel as if I would like to go back to New England, and settle down in the country somewhere."

Doubtless his desire for an Eastern country home had been aroused by the example set by his brother-in-law, Frederick Vaille, who for a time lived on a place owned by him in historic Lexington. Writing, half seriously and half jestingly, to his mother, in November, 1884, about Mr. Vaille's venture, Mr. Wolcott said:

Bert showed me yesterday a letter from you written at Lexington. Isn't Fred's place fine? If I were to choose a farm anywhere, and were willing to be away from the sea or from running water, I could select no pleasanter home. I never hear from Fred or Hattie except occasionally through the letters of some of the family who are visiting them; but I 'm not entitled to hear, for I don't write. I still think Fred should follow out the suggestion I made him, of scattering about the place a few old musket balls and skulls. They will be ploughed up in a few years, will be placed among the Revolutionary relics at Lexington, and will add to the value of the estate. Won't you speak to him about it?

WHERE COLORADO "COMES IN"

The words of one who was so much the creature of mood and impulse must not always be taken implicitly at

their face value when he is speaking only to intimates; and it is not surprising if, along with these expressions of admiration and devotion for New England, we find others equally as ardent in favor of Colorado, the home of his adoption. In many of his letters he made boastful reference to the new State, and he delivered few speeches in which there was not some allusion to it. Often, indeed, Colorado was his principal theme. It was his unquestionable intention to reside at Wolhurst as long as he might live, as his letters to Judge Kent and to others testify. His glowing eulogies of the Centennial State in his two New England Day orations are given elsewhere, and bear eloquent testimony to his intense loyalty toward and pride in it. That it was his intention to make his home in Colorado after his retirement from the Senate was announced frequently both publicly and privately. In an interview printed in the *Denver Republican* in 1900, he referred to the necessity of returning to Washington to complete his term in the Senate and added:

> I shall then return to Colorado, where I have lived for thirty years, and which is the only home I have ever known. I shall resume here the practice of my profession. Everything I have or hope for, all my interests, all my associations, are centred in the State; I shall live here until I die.

After such tributes as these, surely no others are necessary, but there are a few so strong that they cannot in justice be withheld, and they are here given.

Of his high hopes for Colorado we find splendid expression even in his Denver speech of October 23, 1880, the first of his published addresses.

> Colorado [he said, in closing that address] is the youngest, the latest-born, the Centennial State. She brings to the Union youthful blood and fresh devotion to liberty. Do you not know that in all ages the mountains have been the haunts and homes of Liberty? Thwarted and defeated on the plains, she has ever sought refuge in mountain fastnesses, and there hurled defiance at her foes. The hill-country of Judea, the highlands of Scotland, and the summits of Switzerland have once and again

borne witness to this scene. Our whole country, hill and valley and plain, consecrated by a fresh baptism of blood, will, we trust, be loyal to those principles which our fathers sealed with their life's blood a hundred years ago. But should there be wavering elsewhere, there must be no faltering here. The heights on which we dwell are consecrated forever to liberty.

"We are watchers of a beacon
Whose lights can never die;
We are guardians of an altar
'Midst the silence of the sky."

At the Republican State Convention at Denver, September 15, 1898, he said:

Colorado, my friends, was settled by the best crowd of people that ever lived. They came out here, and have been coming for the last thirty years, from the New England States, from New York, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—splendid citizens, starting out after the war, prompted by that restlessness which came when so many officers and soldiers were mustered out, and seeking to find some new fields for their industry. It has been followed up by as splendid and fine and intelligent a population as ever settled a State. You go into the mining camps of the State, and you find more college graduates and intelligent men in proportion to the population than you find anywhere else in the United States. We have resources that no other State in the Union has. There is not a single piece of land on the footstool that has more mineral resources than Colorado has, including gold and silver. We have more coal than the State of Pennsylvania. Our oil-fields and our iron deposits, together with other resources, make this the richest land ever kissed by God's sunshine. Everything conspires to make Colorado the most fruitful and the most prosperous and the most splendid State in the Union.

At the Colorado State Republican Convention, May 11, 1900:

Colorado has more at stake in this great question than any of the commonwealths of the Union. There is no area of land of the same size in the whole world of equal richness. The young men before me to-day, before they die, will see the popu-

lation of Colorado counted by millions where it is now counted by hundreds of thousands. Our great plains and valleys will furnish the meat and the food and the grain for mankind. The coal from our inexhaustible mines will feed the furnaces of the world and speed her iron ships. The iron from our mines, rolled out by our great mills, will supply the rails that will open up countries that are yet unexplored and undreamed of. Our mines of gold and silver will furnish a circulating medium for the world and all its nations.

Voicing the same thought he expressed himself thus in an interview in 1901:

The next few years mean so much to Colorado! This Republic has become one of the great world nations, destined to share in the solution of the vast problems of civilization all over the globe. We have reached such a plane of prosperity as the most hopeful of us never dreamed of twenty-five years ago. And we are only at the threshold of our possibilities. Colorado, with her limitless resources, can contribute more to the general sum of prosperity than any commonwealth in the Union.

At the Lincoln celebration of the Colorado Republican Club in 1904, the last speech but one that he made, he said:

I feel myself fitted to respond for Colorado. There is not out of doors, anywhere under the canopy of Heaven, a piece of ground like it, or as rich as it is. Everything that would grow anywhere is within our soil. There is not an acre of land in the State that water can reach that if you would tickle it with the hoe, but would bear the harvest. There is not a cereal or a vegetable that would not grow more to the acre here than elsewhere. We have more coal in Colorado than has ever yet been developed and produced, or in prospect, in the great coal State of Pennsylvania; we have inexhaustible deposits of iron and of all the base metals, and we have the precious metals of every kind, and from one end of the State to the other, waiting for the industry of the prospector. These we have, and, unlike most States, we do not carry all our goods on the counter. We have hidden in the recesses of the mountains for the children yet unborn wealth for them, and in the centuries to come it will be seen that we have but to grub at the surface and there is waiting for the generations that are to follow us wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

HOME OF HIS OWN

Notwithstanding he lived the greater part of his mature life a bachelor and regardless of the fact that he was a man of the world, Mr. Wolcott liked to maintain a house and to live at home. Even while a resident of Georgetown, he kept up an establishment part of the time, and after he and Henry removed to Denver they "kept house" constantly. They set up housekeeping largely at Ed's solicitation. It is related that Henry only consented to the arrangement on condition that Ed would agree to remain at table until the serving of the meals should be concluded. His nervous energy asserted itself at meal-time as at all other times, and it was difficult to hold him to the formalities. Doubtless he promised and probably he broke the promise. Henry and Ed were the prime movers in the organization of the Denver Club, and were fond of it, but Ed did not live in the club-house long at a time. Nor would he accept an office in the Club, although frequently solicited to do so. "My brother Henry is a good housekeeper," he would say; "I am not; he likes it—I don't; give it to him." Henry was the first governor of the Club.

Early letters from young Wolcott in Colorado contain frequent reference to his manner of living. February 1, 1875, he told his mother:

"For the past year I have slept in my office; it has been unpleasant, living in one room, and a little one at that, all the time, and I have furnished a little sleeping-room, and enjoy the change."

By the end of the year 1876, after he had been chosen District Attorney, conditions evidently had improved somewhat, and on December 16th of that year he wrote:

> I am talking of changing my office and taking a nice little house with four rooms, all small, and using two for an office, and the other two for sleeping- and dressing-rooms. Then, there is a nice cellar under the house, where I can keep my coal-oil and bath-tub. It is a little removed from the centre of the town, but the rent is reasonable, $30 a month. I am now paying $37 for two small rooms an eighth of a mile apart.

In one of his first letters from Denver, dated November 30, 1879, written to both his parents, he says: "Henry and I are living in quite sumptuous apartments, and my office is a particularly pleasant one."

Again, on May 11, 1882, he speaks of new offices which he says "are delightful, or will be when I get them fully arranged." In the following extract from the same letter, he indicates the style of life of the two brothers:

> I have a scheme: Why cannot father return when Henry does, and spend a month with us here? We have room for him at our house, and can insure him a good table. I cannot promise him any particularly hilarious enjoyment; but, seriously, it would gratify me very much if he would come, and I know father would enjoy the trip, and I know also it would do him good. I have a fair miscellaneous library, and we are so situated that his visit would be pleasant to him.

"I wish," he writes in June, 1884, "you could see the house Henry and I live in. It is charming and very comfortable." In his last years he spent much time at the Denver residence of his brother Henry, known as "The Paddock," which was located in Glenarm Street in that city.

In Washington Mr. Wolcott lived a part of the time at the Arlington Hotel, and much of the remainder of the time at 1221 Connecticut Avenue, where he occupied his own house and where he maintained a splendid state.

WOLHURST

Mr. Wolcott's longing for a country home found expression at last in the establishment of a place in Colorado which he named Wolhurst, and which is located fourteen miles south of Denver, on the Platte River.

When he bought the place in 1890, it was a ramshackle old ranch of two hundred acres, with most of its possibilities yet to be developed. It, however, had a grove of great cottonwood trees. These had been planted by the original owner, Gene Estlack, who had taken up the land in 1859.

Additional purchases brought the area to five hundred acres.

Artesian wells were driven for a water supply. A lake was excavated, and extensive grading enlarged the lawn space. Trees were planted wherever they could be placed to advantage. Among others, two rows of spruce were set out to border a driveway, and the driveway was afterward changed to a footpath, that the trees might have a better chance. Long lines of graceful Lombardy poplars were placed along the highway. Wherever attractive shade-trees were discovered within available distance, negotiations were entered into for their purchase, and among those transplanted were two dozen exceptionally fine spruces from the ground of the old H. A. W. Tabor mansion in Denver. It cost $50 or $60 apiece to remove them. Shrubbery and flowering plants were obtained from all over the world, many of them being brought direct from Japan.

At the side of the entrance to the grounds stood two stone posts, surmounted by carved bulls' heads, modelled from the crest of the family coat-of-arms. Conspicuous in the grounds were a pair of large totem poles, which had been obtained from Alaska by the assistance of Admiral Evans and which have been preserved by Henry Wolcott as ornaments of his beautiful home at White Plains. A space near the house was laid out as a garden in more formal fashion. This was adorned with a marble fountain, brought from Italy, and with an elaborately carved sun-dial on which was inscribed, "What shadows we are; what shadows we pursue!" In the spacious yard there towered high above the trees a slender flag-pole, from which the Stars and Stripes floated whenever Mr. Wolcott was at home, causing facetious, if not envious, neighbors to remark that "the Senate was in session."

The house was designed by T. D. Boal, a skilful artist of Denver. It was originally sheathed with rough slabbing, but brick was substituted for this. It was not all built at one time, but was continually receiving additions and being subjected to alterations to meet the demands of the restless disposition of the owner. It was a rambling structure, the principal parts of it being in the form of a right angle, and

much of it only two stories high. Sculptured reliefs and other curios, picked up mostly in France, Italy, and Spain, were set in the walls here and there.

The most notable room was the library, about sixty feet long with a great fireplace and carved mantel at one end, and windows on both sides. Between the windows were book-cases, and over them paintings. Among the artists represented were many of long-established renown, as well as those belonging to later schools. He had portraits by Moreelse, Rootius, Sir Godfrey Kneller, and Prud'hon, and landscapes by Cotman and Constable. He had also specimens of Gérôme, Weissenbruch, Bloemers, and W. T. Richards. But in the later years of his life, when he visited Paris more frequently and for longer stays, his taste turned more to the French artists, and especially to the Impressionists or Luminists. Michel, Thaulow, Pissarro, Monet, Boudin, and Sisley were accordingly among those who were represented on his walls.

His taste in books was inclusive. His Wolhurst shelves contained all the standard authors in history, poetry, and *belles-lettres*, and many of them in rare editions and fine bindings. It was no mere "gentleman's library," bought by the yard and intended to look well upon the shelves. On the last page of each of many of the books would be found his autograph with the date and place, when and where, he had finished the reading of it. He had also a fancy for extra-illustrated books, and he owned many and costly specimens.

His study adjoined the library, and here were kept most of his books of reference. The walls of this room were adorned with photographs, chiefly of his associates in the Senate, and these generally contained autograph inscriptions. The billiard-room was close at hand, where it was convenient to run in and pick up a cue when one had only a moment to spare. The dining-room connected with a sunny breakfast-room, and that with a series of sun-parlors, straggling on one after the other.

All of the lower floor was fitted with Oriental rugs and with comfortable and curious bits of furniture, and with a profusion of odd bits of bric-à-brac. Here and in the

thirty bedrooms of the second floor was a great array of framed pictures, oil and water-color paintings, etchings, engravings, often old and scarce, and photographs of works of art. He had a collection of pictures of famous men, mostly artists and authors, many of them unusual, which were generally framed in groups, and it was a favorite pastime among the guests to see who could identify the greatest number of these.

Wolhurst was the source of much pleasure to its owner, and his life there developed many of his most charming characteristics. He sought to make the place attractive in every way. He was a sincere friend of the birds and of all inoffensive wild creatures. It is a fact not generally known, but still a fact, that he introduced into Colorado the Mongolian pheasant, a fowl of rare plumage. He imported three or four dozen of them at considerable expense, and had them and their progeny protected and cared for at Wolhurst until they had increased to many times the original number. Under this fostering care the birds multiplied rapidly until in time they became very numerous throughout the valley of the Upper Platte, and now constitute the most attractive game-bird in the State. He never permitted the killing of birds or other game within his boundaries. The result of this protection was that the Wolhurst lands became the resort for all kinds of wild creatures, for something more than instinct teaches them where to find refuge. In the spring-time, to the great delight of the proprietor, the big cottonwood trees in the river bottom were full of the music of the feathered flock, and there never was a time that there were not many of them in sight. It is a pleasure to add that Mr. Thomas F. Walsh, who succeeded Mr. Wolcott as proprietor of Wolhurst, continued the protection of the feathered pets, practically maintaining the place as a bird reserve as long as he lived.

Mr. Wolcott's love of trees was strikingly manifested in his protection of a giant cottonwood he found standing in the way of an extension to his kitchen. Not wishing to destroy the tree, and yet bent on the addition, he directed that the kitchen be built around it, thus leaving the tree

standing. So long as he owned the place the tree continued to thrive although its trunk was enclosed.

At great expense he ran water from the Platte to make a lake near his house, and this body of water was the source of much pride to him. He was very fond of walking around the lake, a distance of almost a mile. On one occasion a party of friends who were visiting him took advantage of this habit to play a practical joke on him. One after another of them proposed the walk, and so pleased was he to show the beauties of the water and its surroundings that for some time he did not realize that he was being made the subject of a teazing process. When at last he did discover the prank he enjoyed it quite as much as any one else, and declared that each circuit made had been a pleasure to him. "You can't get too much of a good thing," he said. He also found much enjoyment in tramps along the banks of the Platte and through other portions of his grounds.

When he wanted to be really secluded at Wolhurst, as often was the case when political problems taxed him, he would have the telephone disconnected and thus protect himself from much intrusion. The roadway through the grounds was so constructed that those who continued driving after passing the house soon found themselves facing an exit—possibly a hint that the merely curious were not expected to remain long.

MANNER OF LIFE

At Wolhurst, Mr. Wolcott lived splendidly and in excellent taste. There he was more at home than probably at any other place, and there he dispensed a hospitality in keeping with his generous and lordly nature. His house was most spacious, and in it he entertained not only innumerable of his Colorado friends, but many persons of distinction from other States and from foreign countries. The house was built for comfort, and within its generous environs were the most attractive corners and the easiest chairs. The walls were lined with pictures, the floors strewn

WOLHURST, MR. WOLCOTT'S COUNTRY HOME, NEAR DENVER.
Previous to enlargement and general improvement.

with rugs. The library contained the choicest volumes; there was music for those who desired it, and invitation for a row on the lake, for a spin to the mountains, or for one of many games was ever open to all invited guests. He knew how to entertain, and he was quite as careful not to surfeit the visitor with attention as he was not to neglect.

Hon. Edward Kent, now Chief Justice of Arizona, who for several years was Mr. Wolcott's neighbor across the Platte, and who was a frequent visitor at the Wolcott residence, has kindly furnished the following picture of Mr. Wolcott at home at Wolhurst:

Shortly after my arrival in Denver, where I removed to from New York in 1896, I went to live in the country some three miles from Wolhurst, the home of Senator Wolcott, and across the Platte River from him. The slight acquaintance that I had had with Senator Wolcott was soon increased by constant meeting upon the trains to and from Denver and in the country, and ripened shortly into a close friendship which existed until his death. For a number of years, when the Senator was at home, I was a frequent visitor at his house. He was fond of being with people whom he liked, and his house was constantly filled with guests, sometimes singly but oftener, particularly at the week-end, in numbers.

Senator Wolcott was a royal host and his invitations were greatly prized by all who were fortunate enough to receive them. Life at Wolhurst and the week-end gatherings there were much like similar life and similar gatherings at English country houses, entertainment of all sorts being available for the guests, and with full liberty to make such choice thereof as might seem best to each individual—only the formal dinner at night bringing together at any stated time all those staying with him. His magnetism, so strongly felt by all who have listened to his wonderful oratory, was not lost in the more intimate and closer relations of host and guest. His cheery smile, his deep and ever ready sense of humor, combined with the magnetism that radiated from him, kept the atmosphere charged with a sort of mental electricity, as it were, that sharpened the wits of others and made his dinners and evening gatherings not only attractive but brilliant.

Senator Wolcott was not only a widely-read man, but a man of learning on many and varied subjects. What he knew

he knew well, and he had little patience with superficial knowledge in others, or, indeed, in himself. I remember one evening when he had been speaking most entertainingly of certain customs and beliefs and superstitions of the Chinese, —of whose country he was very fond and of which he had a wide and accurate knowledge—some mention was made of certain analogous facts in Roman history, concerning which he was appealed to for corroboration. His sweeping statement that he knew nothing of Rome or of Roman history was most characteristic, for though his actual knowledge of such history was probably greater than that of any one there present, he himself felt, since it was not so deep or so accurate as his knowledge of most things, that it was but superficial and not available.

A student of history and a lover of it, like most great men, his chief delight was in the reading of the actual doings and sayings of other great men, and the books he preferred and spent the most time over were biographies. A man of action always and of a nervous temperament, he took his rest and recreation actively. I do not recall ever seeing him at home sitting quietly doing nothing as is the wont of most of us at times. He was fond of cards and played most games fairly well, though hardly an expert at any of them. He was particularly fond of solitaire, and at home when only a few were with him played it incessantly, taking part the while in the general conversation, his active mind and restless spirit needing the additional outlet the game afforded.

Fond of his State and zealous of her good name, loyal to her and his country's interests, with the recollection of the part he had so well played in the councils of the nation, conscious of his ability still further to be of great use to his State and the nation, and with a great desire to continue to use his great talents and knowledge in such service, his defeat for re-election to the Senate was not only a great loss to his State and the nation, but a great shock to his pride and his sense of what was justly due him for his past services. The evidence of the ingratitude of his own people whom he loved and had so well served sorrowed his later days at Wolhurst, if indeed it did not, as the expression is, break his heart, and contributed in no slight degree to his early untimely death.

His faults and failings were those of the man whose blood runs red and strong in his veins, and he was a man so big and so full of brain as to be almost in the class of men we call men

of genius, who, as Napoleon said, are not to be judged by the standards applied to ordinary mortals. Orator, statesman, lover of his country, loyal friend, generous, and ever ready with help and advice, well hated as well as well loved, as a strong man should be, Colorado was proud of him and the fame he brought her, even when she discarded him, and held him, as she holds him now, as her greatest son.

In 1900, Mr. Wolcott became interested in the establishment of a National Soldiers' Home in Colorado, and while he was laboring in that interest some "good friend" printed a rumor that his principal object in pressing the subject was to open the way for the sale of Wolhurst to the Government for the Home. The report aroused his indignation. Referring to it in an interview printed in a Denver newspaper, he characterized it as untrue, saying:

"There is n't money enough in the Government to buy Wolhurst. It never occurred to me that any one should even think of such a thing until I saw it in that paper."

The pursuit of health and attention to business affairs kept Mr. Wolcott much away from Colorado after his retirement from the Senate, but that it was his fixed intention to remain in the State and to make his home at Wolhurst he told many persons, and he "put it in black and white" in two letters to Judge Kent. The first of these was written from the quaint frontier resort Luchon, in the Pyrenees, whither on account of his health he went soon after he left the Senate in March, 1901. It is dated August 17th of that year, and the portion pertaining to his residence plans is as follows:

I read with great interest what you say about my returning to Colorado, and I appreciate the friendship that prompts the suggestion. But there is n't the slightest ground for anxiety. I hope to be able to remain out here a couple of months yet, and am in no haste about returning. But when I do get back, I intend going to Wolhurst for good, and to spend the whole winter there, and the months following. It would be idle for me to say that I did n't hope to go East frequently. I have always done this. But for the bulk of every year while I live it is my intention to live at Wolhurst. If you could see the

bills I 've paid lately to fix up its water supply, and generally improve it, you would n't doubt it. It is going to be a little hard at first, because I 've had to be so much away, but up to this time I 've never had a thought of spending less than eight months of every year in Colorado.

The second letter to Judge Kent was written from Denver, January 29, 1903, immediately following his defeat for the Senate. In that letter he not only declared his purpose of making his home at Wolhurst, but indicated his intention of retaining his hold on political affairs. The letter follows:

The result changes all my plans of life, and I shall stay here for the next few years the bulk of the time and make an active fight all along the line.

Believe me, I have no deep sense of personal disappointment, but I do feel outraged at this betrayal of the party; the more so as I am inclined to fear that the line of representations of this cabal really have influence at Washington. I am going East for the purpose of spending a short time in Washington, but shall be back here by the first of March, and shall reopen Wolhurst permanently and make this my home.

I feel too deeply to write much about the whole situation, but I hope you will be this way before long and we can talk it over.

So it was that Mr. Wolcott lived his varied life, flitting from Denver to Washington and from Washington to Europe, and never failing to put in a day with the "home-folks" at Longmeadow when he could find the time to do so. After all, the dearest place to him was the home of his father and mother so long as they remained there.

Unfortunately, Father Wolcott did not live long enough to witness the full fruition of his hope for his favorite son. However, before his death, he was fully satisfied with the young man's achievement in the world and so expressed himself.

MARRIED LIFE

Mr. Wolcott was married soon after entering upon his first

term as Senator and divorced about a year before the close of his second term. His wife was Frances Metcalfe, widow of Lyman K. Bass, Mr. Wolcott's predecessor as general counsel of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. The wedding ceremony was performed at St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, New York, on May 14, 1891. Owing to temperamental differences, the marriage was not a happy one, and through a mutual understanding it was annulled by a decree of divorce, which was granted March 5, 1900.

In his early years Mr. Wolcott would seem to have had comparatively few love affairs, but there were some. His manner was so full of charm, and he tasted so fully of all the delights of life that he could hardly fail to fall under the spell of the gentler sex. In his Cleveland days he entertained an attachment for one of his schoolmates, which ran through most of the years of his adolescence. The letters given earlier from his Norwich schoolmates show that he was on cordial terms with the ladies of his class at the Academy. He tells of an infatuation contracted at Keokuk, Iowa, when on his way to Colorado, but evidently there is more jest than earnestness in the account. He said in effect that the lady in this case was very charming, but that "her father was in too robust health to render possible an alliance," a phrase which does not indicate great seriousness. It is probable that his poverty and the meagre social attractions of the town in those early days guarded him from any entanglement while he was at Georgetown. About the time of his removal to Denver, he became engaged to a young woman from a middle Western State whom he had met on his first trip to Europe. The engagement was suddenly broken off, and soon after its annulment the young Coloradoan was travelling eastward. Passing through the State in which the lady resided, he fell into conversation with a fellow-traveller. Upon learning the Colorado man's name, the other gentleman, who had heard of the engagement, made reference to it and showed an inclination to converse about it. Quite embarrassed for the time, Mr. Wolcott found little difficulty in getting out of the predicament. "I wish," he said, "you would not press that subject; the

gentleman who was engaged to the young lady is a relation of mine, and I feel a little sensitive about it."

"I see by a newspaper sent me by Addie Carroll," he wrote in 1876, "that ——, an old Norwich flame of mine, is just married. The flowers of the forest are 'wede awa.'"

He found Georgetown a lonesome place when he first arrived there, and two months afterward wrote his father:

> Your remark (probably in a joke) in regard to my getting married has more in it than you suppose. No man can live in this country a life of any comfort or satisfaction unless he has a home. It would n't cost me any more, if as much, to live, if I were married, as it does now. I have no one in view, or in mind. If you will select one for me,—a little money or some law-books, no hindrance,—I will come on in the summer and marry her. Will you do it?

Almost six years later, December 29, 1877, we find him writing to his mother:

> I spent Christmas day at Blackhawk and was taken quite by surprise to receive from you the very work I had been wanting to own and to read. Henry was also very much pleased with his present. A man should be married, or live at home, properly to appreciate and remember the holidays. It seems as if they came and went with less interest every year, and like most everything else, their pleasure is in the recollections they recall. I have still on my table a little basket for papers given me by you in 1857, just twenty years ago, on Christmas day.

Much in the same strain as late as July 13, 1884, in a letter to his father, he said: "You are busy at Longmeadow. I wish I had a wife and a lot of babies and could spend the rest of my life quietly in some country town, tilling the soil; but I cannot, and that is the end of it."

He liked to tease his mother over the possibility of getting married, as, for instance, when, in 1875, he wrote in a postscript to a letter to his father:

"Please ask mother if it is the business of the gentleman to see about wedding cards and such trash."

On another occasion in the same year, to his mother herself, concerning his accounts, he wrote:

"If a kind Providence ever blesses me with a son (and there's no telling what a kind Providence won't do) I'll not make him keep an account; would you?"

In a campaign speech in Colorado in 1886, reviewing the Cleveland Administration, Mr. Wolcott said:

"The one act of President Cleveland in his whole Administration of which the people approve, is his getting married and then going fishing—and the high example this furnishes should induce you, my fellow-citizens, to 'go and do likewise.'"

DEATH OF FATHER AND MOTHER

Dr. Wolcott died at Longmeadow, February 24, 1886, two years after the removal of the family from Cleveland, and his death was a sad blow to Ed, as indeed it was to all the members of the family. Fortunately, a family account of his demise has been preserved. It is in the shape of an undated letter from Miss Clara Gertrude Wolcott to her brother Edward, and is as follows:

All last week, we could see that Father was losing strength, but it was very gradual, until Saturday night. Saturday afternoon he insisted, as usual, on being completely dressed, even to collar and cuffs and neck-tie, and then he walked to the end of the hall and back again. But this exhausted him evidently. Sunday he was so weak that he did not try to move himself, but was lifted into his chair several times. He took nothing Sunday or afterward but a few spoonfuls of wine and milk at intervals. After Sunday we did not try to move him, except from one side of the bed to the other, for a change of position. Wednesday morning was a beautiful morning. Mother spoke of it several times before breakfast. Lottie and I stayed with Father while the others were at breakfast. We noticed that his breathing was a little harder than it had been, but just a little. But when Mother came up, she saw there had been a change in his face—a pallor, and the others were called.

Father breathed for about ten minutes after this. His breathing became fainter and then just stopped. That was all. I could not imagine anything so peaceful and lovely—just like

the day that had so impressed Mother. He is still in his room, and his face is so beautiful. It expresses all the patience and trustfulness that Father has shown through all his sickness. I think he had been so brave, Ed, longing to stay, but willing to go. I do not think any one could see him now and have any doubt of the Resurrection. Once on Sunday, when he was lifted into his chair, he raised his hand with considerable effort, and held it up while he pronounced the benediction—clearly, every word, and then wanted to go back to bed.

We miss our older brothers, the three who were born in Longmeadow.

As I think of Father's illness, I can see so many things to be thankful for—that he was so free from suffering, and could be made so comfortable.

A few years after Dr. Wolcott's death there was a movement looking to the preparation by the family of a biography of Dr. Wolcott, and Edward did all that was possible toward encouraging and promoting the undertaking. Some of the members of the family went to the extent of writing an extended sketch, and Senator Wolcott wrote part of an introduction, which it is believed should be preserved here for many reasons, the principal of which are: That it presents in succinct form many of the virtues of the father as outlined by his favorite and distinguished son, and that so far as known it is the only effort the son ever made in the direction of writing a biography of any one. He did not contemplate the construction of the entire preface, but undertook to supply only the opening and the closing portions of it. These were written at Hot Springs, Virginia, in September, 1889, following his entrance into the Senate in the preceding March. He was at the Springs on account of gout, and while there read the manuscript which had been prepared by others. He wrote at length about the production, making suggestions for changes here and there and preparing his part in his own hand. His suggestion for the introduction opening was as follows:

This volume, for private circulation only, is printed because there are many among Dr. Wolcott's old parishioners and friends who will be glad to have, in enduring form, some little memorial sketch of his life, because his hymns published through different

channels, some of them having found their way to extensive circulation, were thought worthy of being collated in one volume.

The sketch of his life and work is slight, and can give but little impression of Dr. Wolcott to those who did not know him. His personality, his glowing enthusiasm, quick, noble impulsiveness, and ardor, entered into all his work; the dignity of his presence and his clear voice lent strength to his utterances, and in his daily life his sunny side and happy temperament brightened the days for those who came in contact with him. Those who knew him well will recall him as they read this little volume, and if it should fall into other hands it will at least serve to tell the simple story of a life devoted to the Master's work: a life in which those who knew him best can recall nothing but sweet and gracious memories, and as such it may not be entirely without interest.

For the close of the foreword he suggested the following:

The foregoing tells in outline Dr. Wolcott's more public labors. In his profession and calling he had high standing, and won the respect of every man who knew him. In any other calling or profession he would have commanded equal respect, and would have won greater fame. At the Bar he would have attained eminence. He had fine presence and bearing, and he did not know moral or physical cowardice. His mind was analytical and clear and logical, and in his oratory he was effective, impassioned, and moving. Whatever he did, he did with all his might. He chose to devote his life to the ministry, or rather his calling was chosen for him when he was a lad, with his acquiescence, and throughout all the years of his ministry he lived a life of self-effacement, seeking only the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, and whatever honors came to him came always unsought. His temperament was always sunny and hopeful, and he was frank and as open as the day. He had a large family to be educated; he found a way to keep them all at school and college as long as they were willing to attend, and the economies he practised to give his children an education really brought him pleasure, and with them all he was always generous wherever he could find something or somebody to help. Nothing moved him so deeply as injustice or wrong to others. During the earlier years of his ministry his mind dwelt constantly on the existence of slavery in the States, and his thought and utterances were deeply affected by it. During the War his soul was constantly astir,

and if he had not known that he could do better and greater service in his Church and with the Christian Commission, he would have taken his musket and marched in the ranks. Yet when the War was over, and there was no more human slavery, he gladly devoted himself to the work of building up the poorer churches in the West, work which would be uncongenial to most men of his training and temper, but he made it congenial to him because it was work. Apparently, perhaps, he belonged rather to the Church Militant, yet in all his ministrations, whether visiting the sick or the afflicted or burying the dead, he was always a pastor beloved.

The biography was not completed.

There is no record of the last days of Mother Wolcott similar to that of the father's illness and death which is given in the letter quoted. She lived until February 5, 1901, surviving her husband fifteen years. Her son Samuel's tribute to her memory has been preserved. It was written from Laredo, Texas, his place of residence, on the day of his mother's death, and reads:

Even to-day as I think of my mother the picture which comes to me oftenest and most vividly is as she was in Cleveland and in Providence. No matter how much we children tried her she never spoke a fretful or hasty word to us.

Her judgment in regard to every question that arose seemed deliberate and perfect.

To her might have been applied the eulogy of the mother of King Lemuel:

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

A picture of the family group of the father and mother with their ten children was taken at Thanksgiving-time 1880, when they were all assembled at Norwich for Katherine's marriage to Mr. Toll. Mr. Elizur Wolcott, of Jacksonville, Illinois, a brother of Dr. Wolcott, wrote on the margin of a copy of this picture which hung in his home the following:

"The woman sitting near the middle of this group is the mother of the ten sons and daughters who are about her,

nearly all of whom have reached manhood or womanhood, and neither her husband nor any of her children has ever heard from her an impatient or ill-natured or unadvised word."

Ed Wolcott's death was a signal for Henry's removal from Colorado, and since then he has resided on a farm at White Plains, New York, where, surrounded by agreeable conditions and near his friends in New York City, he has continued to live, as Ed lived at Wolhurst, the life of a country gentleman.

Thus the year 1905 saw the close of the careers of both of the Wolcotts in Colorado, one permanently, and the other at least temporarily. Each left his impress upon the young commonwealth. Both had been closely and helpfully identified with the formation and early history of the State, and the memory of the substantial achievements of the one will continue long to be cherished in connection with the recollection of the brilliant characteristics of the other.

WOLCOTT ABROAD

ALL your sons are fond of their home, and yet they have all been away from it more than most boys. We are all inclined to be restless, or have been. I cannot read of a steamer's sailing for Europe without wishing that I was on board of it. I always am wanting to "go somewhere." I suppose the cure for this feeling comes when a man either acquires some money and interests in a locality, or when he finds that he has influence among particular people. I possess neither at present, but "live in 'opes."

So wrote Mr. Wolcott to his father from Georgetown, February 19, 1875. Henry had just been on a visit to "the old folks." Referring to the brother's trip, Edward was led to a dissertation upon home and its attractions, and in thus indulging himself he divulged two interesting traits of character: No man liked more to have a permanent abiding place, and few were fonder of travel.

He had been in Colorado only a year or two when there was an opportunity for him to go abroad to assist in the sale of a mining property. He was sorely tempted, but because of the possible injury to his business resisted the offer, much as he wanted to see the outside world.

Writing from Georgetown concerning the Centennial, June 7, 1876, he said:

"I should be more anxious to see it if I didn't still expect to some day see the rest of the world and have my 'Centennial' in the different countries I visited."

He made a trip to England on business before he left Georgetown, and the journey was extended to the Continent. On his way back, he said, "How the men at Georgetown

will open their mouths at the stories that I shall have to tell them about what I have seen." He made a voyage to China about 1880, while a member of the State Senate, and once visited Central America. He crossed the ocean to Europe many times, the journeys becoming more frequent after he was elected to the United States Senate, and particularly after he began to be interested in international bimetallism, which subject had served to introduce him to some of the higher official and social circles of the capitals of the Old World, in which he found much enjoyment. After his retirement from the Senate he lengthened his visits abroad, and it was his fate to die in a foreign land.

The object of the European trips was threefold: He went in search of health or pleasure or in promotion of the interests of the country. The waters of Carlsbad he believed to be beneficial to him, and he spent much time at that resort. He had many friends in England and France. He enjoyed being with them. Italy appealed to him on its own account. From 1893 to 1900 he gave much attention to the promotion of an agreement in the interest of the general coinage of silver, and while he did not succeed in accomplishing the full scope of his desire in that direction, he laid broad foundations which yet may be built on, and he added largely to his list of foreign friends.

Among the letters from Mr. Wolcott which have been preserved is one to his mother, written from Carlsbad, June 27, 1899. It affords a fleeting view of many phases of a trip abroad and is given entire:

Here I am again in this place of wonderful waters. I reached here Thursday, having been detained ten days in Paris with a most painful tooth, which I had to have treated there. My partner, Mr. Vaile, who has been far from well lately, is also here, and we see much of each other.

There are thousands of visitors here from all over the world, although the German language largely predominates. Most of the people are uninteresting to look at, and there are any number of Jews among them. Everybody, however, is devoted to the one purpose of taking the waters and following the diet, and nobody has time for pleasure.

I rise soon after six and go to bed at nine, and spend most

of the day walking over the hills. One is always more or less irritable and depressed while here, but, after the treatment is over, the years fall away and one feels a different person. It was a very great disappointment to me that Henry could not come also. These waters would have done wonders for him. I am selfish about it, too, for I should have enjoyed the days if he had been here with me, while now I am lonely enough.

We had a wonderful voyage over. There was no day that the sea was not as smooth as glass, and not a single passenger was ill. I fear it has spoiled me for all other sea-journeys. I sat at table next Godkin of the *Evening Post*, with whom I disagree on almost every subject, and we got on famously. Fortunately on the other side of me was an old English friend, an ardent bimetallist whom I had known well in London.

Everybody in London was most kind to me. Mr. Choate asked me to luncheon and dinner, but I was so engaged that I could not accept. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made me the guest of honor at his Queen's Birthday dinner, and the same evening I went to Lord Salisbury's reception, where I met all sorts of pleasant Englishmen. The most interesting event to me of my English visit, however, was hearing the debate in the House of Commons over the grant to Lord Kitchener, who sat with Field Marshal Lord Roberts close beside me in the gallery.

I soon tire of foreign travel, however, except in Italy, and am already counting the days before my return, which, I hope, will be early in August.

An old friend writes of a week-end visit Wolcott made to Warwick Castle:

We were a very large party, politicians, sportsmen, fashionable ladies, and odds and ends. I can recall the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lady Londesborough, Lady de Trafford, Mrs. Sneyd; Prince Francis of Teck, the brother of the Princess of Wales, now the Queen of England; Lord and Lady Algernon Lennox, who had been Wolcott's guests at Wolhurst; Lord Herbert Vane Tempest; Miss Plowden, now Lady Lytton, and others.

Wolcott brought to a gathering ennuyéd with a London season a complete change of atmosphere. I remember at luncheon on Sunday one delicious episode. Lord Warwick, referring to the recent death of Queen Victoria, said: "With Her Majesty's taking

off, the word 'veneration' has really disappeared from our dictionary. We admire and greatly respect Lord Salisbury, but whom do we 'venerate' any more?" The Senator's eye twinkled and he said: "Yes, the magic of that one word 'Queen' whenever an Englishman was within earshot! It mattered not though a black Queen had been referred to; still always the image of the little lady at Windsor filled the mind's eye. I recall a grotesque instance." And then there was a silence at table; what was this prodigious man going to say next? He continued slowly and quite seriously: "I was in the stalls of a New York theatre a year since and a travelling couple, evidently English, probably straight off the ship, sat next to me. It was the wonderful spectacular play, 'Antony and Cleopatra,' and after that river scene and the furious love passages with Antony when the barbaric Queen bares her breast to the asp and dies, the husband said: 'My dear, fine! fine! it could hardly have been better staged in London itself.' 'Fine!' said his lady, 'fine! well perhaps so; but, after all, if you come to think of it, how very little it resembles *the domestic life of our own dear Queen!*'"

After luncheon he told me lovely Lady Warwick had taken him off in an electric launch to explain the future "Socialist State." "I told her," he said, "that I would weigh it all carefully, but I thought the State of Colorado was more to my liking," and he added: "Will all you charming ladies dress as becomingly in the Socialist State? I doubt it."

One of the ladies of the party said to me later: "What part of America does he represent in Congress? I think you said Venezuela?" "Yes," I said, "Venezuela!" Greatly we miss the Senator from Venezuela!

The last trip abroad was that made in the winter of 1904–5, on which he was accompanied by his brother Henry, and which, though made in search of health, ended only in death.

OUT OF THE ORDINARY

OCCASIONALLY, but not often, Mr. Wolcott tore himself away from his immediate surroundings to enter upon the discussion of questions which did not pertain to the moment. He was in no sense a dreamer; he was extremely practical—perhaps it were better to say he was entirely "current." He was too much occupied with the pressing problems to give frequent heed to matters the consideration of which might be postponed or left to others.

Still, there were times when he liked to enter upon the discussion of such questions. He could be speculative, contemplative, introspective, when occasion tempted the mood. But he was more disposed to indulge his fancy in those respects by the quiet of the fireside and in the presence of a few friends than in public. Nor was he much inclined to write on speculative or sentimental themes. Indeed, he seldom wrote on any subject for print. Aside from his contributions to Cleveland papers regarding Colorado soon after he reached that Territory, and to the *Georgetown Miner* while editor of the paper, very few instances of his writing for the public are recalled. A notable exception was an editorial tribute to President Garfield, printed in the *Denver Tribune* of September 20, 1881, the day following the death of the President as the result of his shooting three months previous by the assassin Guiteau. The editorial is given entire:

OUR PRESIDENT DEAD!

No lips can utter and no words express the grief of the

Nation—the desolateness—which has fallen upon the people. Garfield, our Great Heart, is dead; the bruised and wounded body, torn by the cruel bullet, emaciated by disease, and worn by pain, is already bathed in the eternal splendors.

The alternate hopes and fears of the past eighty days had in no wise prepared our minds for the possibility of this sad event, for the remembrance of his clean life, and the realization of the great need we had of him, and the belief that God is good, had induced the hope that somehow, we knew not how, the Almighty would spare this splendid life; but the prayers of a great, a Christian, people could not avail him, and at eleven o'clock last evening "Nicanor lay dead in his harness."

Only a few short days ago, and he was the embodiment of manly vigor—strong and brave, wearing his honor as his shield. Only a few short days ago, and now the patient eyes are forever closed; the voice which so nobly and so fearlessly spoke for the right, is forever stilled, and the brave hands that lifted high the battle flag of the Republic and never faltered in defence of his country's liberty, are nerveless and cold in death.

The waves off Elberon fell and rose, and rose and fell last night, but they no longer brought repose to our dying leader; the waves off Elberon will rise and fall, and fall and rise until time shall melt into eternity, but he whose gaze fell lingeringly upon them while his long night was coming on, has crossed a mightier ocean, whose waters are waveless and whose shores return no echo.

The humdrum of busy life will commence again and the world move on as before,

> "But, O, the heavy change now thou art gone,
> Now thou art gone, and never must return!"

The least of all considerations at this time is his assassin; whether the dog lives or dies, or how he lives or how he dies, is of no sort of moment, for Garfield is dead.

The lesson of the hour has not yet been burned into our hearts; our grief is too recent for that, but even at this hour there comes to every true American heart the determination that the Republic must live and not die; that no assassin's bullet shall destroy, and no faction dismember it; that so long as men love liberty and hate oppression, so long shall this Government, founded on the will of the people, be perpetuated. Garfield's life was devoted to this high resolve. We, who loved

him in his life, will show reverence to his memory by following in his footsteps.

May God save our country!

Although frequently urged to contribute to the periodical press, Mr. Wolcott consistently declined to do so, except in the case of *Harper's Weekly*, for which he prepared the article on the silver question which is referred to elsewhere. He did not fall into the habit of some public men of signing compositions written by other people.

He hesitated even to make speeches out of the ordinary lines, such as school commencement orations, and frequently wrote his father telling of the difficulties he encountered in that labor. A fitting example is the following letter of December 2, 1884, concerning some remarks made by him before a Denver charity organization:

Bert tells me that he sent you the papers containing my short address at the Opera House on Sunday evening. I am anxious to know what you think of it. You can hardly have an idea of the difficulty I experienced in preparing something so entirely out of the line of my ordinary professional work, to deliver before an audience so different from any I had ever before addressed. Fortunately, it was enthusiastically received, but I am through with that sort of thing. The nervous wear and tear is too great.

FEDERAL LEAGUE

That, when opportunity afforded, Mr. Wolcott could and did discuss the fundamental problems of government, is evidenced by the following in the American Correspondence column of the *National Review* of London for April, 1905, the month following his death:

The sudden death in France of ex-Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, removes one of the most brilliant orators of his day, a man of charming personality and high ideals, who recognized the debt his country owed to England, and always endeavored to remove friction between the two people, and bring them close together for their own good and the lasting benefit of the whole world. An English friend, who was very close to

Mr. Wolcott during the past fifteen years, has sent me the following interesting letter, which I gladly make public.

"During December Senator Wolcott was confined to his rooms by an acute attack of bronchitis, and I was in the habit of spending an hour or two with him almost daily. The position in Colorado was much in his mind and on his spirits; his relations with his State were difficult, indeed almost impossible, although his service to the Republican party in the crisis of 1896 had won him the affection and the gratitude of President McKinley. With, perhaps, a prophetic insight into the future of his difficulties, Wolcott declared, in a speech made in Colorado just after the assassination of the President:

'Let others hail the rising sun,
I bow to him whose race is run.'

"But I do not venture to burden your notes with these merely local issues, issues which have died with him. During the last few days that he was in America, he opened up a subject of extreme interest, namely, the service done by Washington and Hamilton to all mankind, and the great success which continues to attend the development of the Federal principle of government. But for the Federal nexus, he thought that perhaps now, but certainly later, these forty-five States would have become forty-five nations, with government on the South American plan. To commemorate the splendid success of the Washington-Hamilton experiment, he talked of the possibility of establishing within our two great communities a Federal League—an association outside politics, but which would recruit itself to enormous dimensions by the enrolment of those who would secure peace and good-will through the expansion of the Federal principle.

"The Irish difficulty, which he ever regarded as such a menace to good relations and good politics equally here and in Great Britain, would, he thought, disappear if public opinion, instructed by inter-Federal discussion and literature, were to discover that Ireland demanded something more than the 'State Right.' She is entitled to the State Right of a Federal unit; but she would have no sympathizer on the continent, he held, did she demand the right to secede. He thought that some such league of Federals, interchanging visits and securing speeches from the best men of all parties, would do more to inform and harmonize public opinion in the two bodies politic than could be effected in any

other way. Our two communities, if once convinced that the growth of the Federal principle points the road to the kingdom of peace, would, if acting in concert and yet with no formal or 'entangling alliance,' be not twice, but ten times more powerful in international diplomacy than either the one or the other acting singly.

"Wolcott thought that the initiative should be with America —with some group of distinguished Americans; that the platform should be prepared here and sent over. My friend having represented in the Senate Colorado—a State where women exercise the franchise—disapproved woman's suffrage; but he thought that women might do almost the more valuable share of the work of a Federal League such as that which he foreshadowed. I feel that in this imperfect sketch of an idea there is the last will and testament of one who greatly loved England and all England stands for; he loved her indeed hardly less than he loved his own country."

The friend quoted is Mr. Moreton Frewen.

Five years after Mr. Wolcott's death the Federal idea for the British Empire advanced by him in the conversation quoted by Mr. Frewen materialized in general gatherings in its support, and there were many indications of growing favor. Unquestionably some Englishmen had contemporaneously cherished the views he entertained, but his enunciation of them on what was practically his death-bed lent to his utterances a weight which might not have attached to the expressions of others along the same line.

He had endeared himself to all Englishmen by the friendly sentiments expressed in his Venezuelan and other speeches, and had many personal friends among the English people. No result of the Spanish War was more pleasing to him than the effect it had in bringing England and America into closer relationship, and if he had lived there can be no doubt that he would have exerted himself to make the tie stronger. It is fitting, therefore, that the English should show their appreciation of his interest and of the impetus his words gave the cause, as they are doing by frequent mention of his name in connection with the Federal movement—a movement which many of them dream may include —in a different way, of course—the United States.

A union for offence and defence has not infrequently been suggested, and that such a combination would have its advantages on this side the Atlantic is believed by many to have been demonstrated by the aid given by Great Britain in preventing other European nations from interfering while the United States gave attention to Spain. How far Mr. Wolcott would have gone in support of such alliance no one can now say. His words speak for themselves. They have been printed in pamphlet form and circulated throughout the British Empire, and Mr. Wolcott's English friends consider them one of the strongest influences in bringing the people of that Empire into closer relations.

LITERARY POSSIBILITIES

If Mr. Wolcott had turned his attention to literature, success would have been certain. His speeches and letters afford abundant evidence of the attractive quality of his style, and his broad reading, retentive memory, and general understanding supplied all that could have been necessary to insure the attention of a large circle of readers. In his letters, as in his speeches, he dealt generally with questions of the hour, and very seldom entered upon a description of surroundings or an elaboration of detail. There were exceptions to this rule, however, and two letters have been segregated from the volume of his correspondence to demonstrate his capacity in this respect.

One of these was written to a sister, and is as follows:

GEORGETOWN, COLO., May 5, 1878,
Sunday Evening.

MY DEAR CLARA:

A long time ago, when I used to go to the High School in Cleveland, there was a boy named Cutter—I remember him as having a sort of bullet head—whose father had a lazy bob-tailed horse; and we used to take him in the fall of the year, and drive out to just this side of the same Shaker settlement you write about, and gather hickory nuts. I remember it always rained in a drizzly kind of way. We used to take ten cents apiece with us, and with it we would buy of the Shakers all the milk we could drink, and all the apple-pie and preserves we could eat. I don't know where Cutter is now, and the hickory

trees may be cut down, but I imagine that the Shakers still keep cows and make pies and preserves. I would n't know the road now, but I recollect it as a very pleasant drive.

If it is n't too far, there is another little place worth visiting. It is what is left of an old Mormon settlement, and the ruins of the temple were very pretty when I saw them fourteen years ago. I went by the place on foot, selling pictures, and getting from Chardon to somewhere else—I forget where.

Once in a while I used to go on the horse-cars as far as Wilson Avenue (they did n't go any farther then) and walked out to East Cleveland to see a girl named —— who was as sweet as the morning, and whose father kept bees and sold Dorking eggs. She 's married now and has a lot of children, I believe; but I remember the road down by her house was a particularly pleasant one.

I never used to care much about the Rocky River road, except once when Father went out to marry a couple one evening, at a half-finished brick house (I don't believe it 's finished yet) just beyond the toll-gate, and he took me with him; we had a nice supper and Father and I both kissed the bride, and we drove home in the moonlight. It was as light as day. The bridegroom either worked at Maltby's oyster-stand in Superior Street or at the shoe store next door; perhaps he sold oysters during the months that an R is in them and shoes the balance of the year.

Then, there is a man who sells leather, and has a beautiful place way out on the Lake Shore on the same side of the river you live on. We used to get permission Sundays after Sunday-school to walk in the old cemetery on Erie Street (Father thought it would divert our minds from the vanities of this world) and get Johnny Outhwaite's or somebody else's wagon and drive out to his place on the Lake Shore and go swimming. Long afterward Mother and I went out to a house close by there, on the St. Clair road, I think, and spent the day. It was very warm and there were lots of flies, and we went out and picked berries. What was the lady's name, Mother? And was n't it with Mrs. Spencer's horse and buggy we drove out there and home again?

Just this side of the house there is a gully where there are woodcock in the fall. I went after some there once with somebody, I don't remember who, who was the proud possessor of a gun. We did n't get any woodcock, I believe, but I recollect a random shot sent one or two buckshot into my pantaloons

just grazing my skin, and for a moment I thought I was mortally wounded.

I 've told you of all the drives I think of, Clara. You 've probably found them all before this, and many others too. It will be splendid exercise for you, and after awhile you 'll look back and wonder at what pleasant times you 've had. Nearly all the pleasure in the world is in remembering, and memories of days at home are very tender. Write often. With love,

Your affectionate Brother,

Ed.

All this to induce his sister, who was delicate, to take outdoor exercise.

The other letter was to his mother and was written just after a visit to her at Longmeadow. It ran:

THE NEW MATHEWSON,
NARRAGANSETT PIER, R. I., July 2, 1900.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

The day has been a long one, and rather tedious, but I got here finally. There were nearly two hours to wait at Providence, and I spent it in renewing my memories of the place. I walked up Westminster Street. The place on High Street near the corner of Dean, where the church used to be, is all built over, but on Dean Street, a little way back, is the same lumber yard that was there when we lived in Providence. The old Hoyle Tavern is gone, and all High Street seems poverty-stricken and full of second-hand stores and the like. Few of the old houses are left, but our old house in High Street is standing exactly as it used to when we lived there. It is evidently a boarding-house. I thought of little Mary Alice whom I remember so well as she lay in the front room, and of the black men whom once or twice father hid in the attic, to the terror of us all.[1]

I could n't look over into the yard, but the foliage seemed luxurious, and I wondered if any of the pear trees father planted were still there. Do you realize, dear Mother, that I am speaking of a time forty-five years ago? As I came away I looked into the little area next our house, not on the Butts' side, and recalled "Fatty Bailey" whose father was a sign painter. Do you recall him? and the two thin misshapen —— boys who

[1] Mary Alice was a sister who died in infancy. The black men referred to were fugitive slaves to whom Dr. Wolcott gave refuge and shelter.

lived upstairs across the way? The old Beneficent Church seemed rather neglected.

Then I followed, at the other end of the town, along North Main Street, and saw the little building where, upstairs, somebody we knew made and sold "the Royal Game of Goose." You remember we had it once. Then I followed along Benefit Street and back over the hill, and through the Brown University grounds to the station. The old Arcade we once thought so grand was rather shopworn. I was struck by the number of Irish faces I encountered.

After all, I think Longmeadow the pleasantest of all our old homes. I wish I could write you of the hundreds of early memories that swept over me, and most of them you would share: The Sunday they excommunicated Deacon Knight's widow, because the poor woman thought she conversed with her dear husband through a spiritualist medium; the time the railroad lost your new bonnet, and found it just after you 'd got another like it; the different qualities of the four —— girls, and any number of others.

I had such a happy visit at Longmeadow, my dear Mother, and I hope I may have another before many months.

I am almost the only guest here, and feel as if I owned a Beach.

Ever your affectionate Son,

Ed.

Is there not a suggestion of Dickens in these letters? Or of Stevenson?

And does n't the narration given by Mr. Wolcott in the second letter take one back to the time when a third of a century previous he hauled his cousin "Addie" Carroll all around Providence to afford him an opportunity to jump over into the back yard of the same house, just as he had done when a boy? It should be borne in mind that this letter was written when Mr. Wolcott was nearing the end of his twelve years of service in the Senate and just after the Philadelphia National Convention in which he was one of the most conspicuous figures. The letter was one of his last to his mother, as she died early in the following year.

INTEREST IN SPORTS

ATHLETICS received no little encouragement from Mr. Wolcott. When a young man he was in the habit of indulging in long walks, of which he spoke with enthusiasm in his letters, showing that his enjoyment of them was quite unfeigned. The following from a letter to his father, written while he was living in one of the Boston suburbs in 1871, will suffice to indicate how vigorous a walker he was in those days:

"I had taken very little exercise the last week. So I started yesterday, with a friend early in the morning and walked through Watertown, Newton Corner, Newtonville, West Newton, and Auburndale, then across to Waltham and back through Waverly, Bellemont, and Arlington, between twenty-five and thirty miles, and as a consequence feel much better to-day."

We also hear considerable, through his correspondence, of the young man's interest in baseball, in which as an amateur he was a frequent participant in his youth. He learned bicycling and was quite an expert on the "safety" when it first came into use. On his last visit to Denver in 1904 he walked from Fairmont Cemetery into the city, a distance of several miles. He was then far from well, but he enjoyed the exercise. For the most part, however, his interest in physical culture, during the later years of his life, was theoretical rather than practical; but even then he gave close attention to the general subject of athletics.

Captain James T. Smith of Denver, himself an enthusiastic lover of outdoor sports, tells us that Mr. Wolcott was firmly convinced that Colorado would produce the very best athletic

skill. He was well informed concerning the records of Colorado performers in all branches of sport in and out of college and never failed to manifest enthusiasm over an especial achievement by any of them. His views on the subject of rowing were expressed in an article by him published in the *Georgetown Miner* of July 10, 1873, when he was editor of that paper, and it is illustrative of his ideas on the general question of "sports." The article dealt with a regatta then about to be rowed at Springfield, Massachusetts, in which eleven colleges were expected to participate. In his handling of the subject Mr. Wolcott not only showed a thorough knowledge of the capacities of the various crews, but he learnedly discussed the general subject of training. Of the benefits to be derived from exercise with the oars, he said:

> Rowing is fast coming into general favor throughout the country, and it will not be strange if the annual races, between our various universities, become as generally observed and attended as is the Derby in England. The amusement is healthy, and recent investigations have proved that no ill effects need be apprehended from the training. Certainly it is better that our young men should strive to excel in these athletic sports, which require temperance and hard work, rather than squander their leisure hours in billiard halls and fast living; so let us lend what encouragement we can to all of them.

THE FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN

ONE of the most important and far-reaching official acts of the State of Colorado while Mr. Wolcott was in the Senate was that of conferring the right of suffrage on women. This step was taken in a State election in 1893, during Mr. Wolcott's first term in the Senate and during Governor Waite's administration. The question was submitted to the voters as the result of an act of the previous Legislature. That was an "off" year in politics, as there were no State officers to be chosen. Consequently, the suffrage question was not involved in partisan matters. The contest was a sharp one, but the result was favorable to the sex, the majority in support of the proposition being about five thousand.

The first opportunity afforded the ladies to exercise the newly conferred right came in connection with the campaign of 1894, and was generally taken advantage of. They, even more than the men, were disgusted with the turn that public affairs had taken in the State, and a majority of them unquestionably exerted themselves to overthrow Waiteism. Mr. Wolcott had signalized his term in the State Senate by introducing a franchise bill, but had not otherwise given especial indication of favoring the movement. Upon the whole, however, he was accepted as a partisan of the cause, and when his campaign for re-election came on, as it soon did, many of the women gave him vigorous and effective support. He made frequent references during this campaign to the new condition in State politics, always indicating confidence that the influence of the opposite sex would have a beneficial effect upon politics.

Upon his return to Denver in August, 1894, after an absence in Washington of some months, Mr. Wolcott was informed of a line of policy adopted by the Republican County Committee looking to the deprivation of the women members of the committee of their rights. He expressed deep regret over this occurrence.

How unfortunate! [he exclaimed]. I can conceive no greater blunder than to shut out the women from a full share in the duties of the campaign. We are fortunate to have the help of the women of the State in the impending struggle, and it is only through them that we can hope for success. The difficulty I had feared all along was that the good women of the State would shrink from exercising the rights the law gives them. I see my fears were groundless. Every possible inducement should be held out to secure their active co-operation. They are entitled to a full participation in the work and responsibility of the campaign, and should not be denied it.

On the memorable occasion of his reception by the ladies at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver on September 17th of the same year, he spoke directly to them, saying in part:

I know of no honest desire which I might have as a citizen for the welfare of the State which is not shared by every good woman in Colorado for the same reason. The suffrage was extended to you not because you are women, but because you are human beings with the same interest that every honest man has in the administration of government, with the same intelligence to bring to bear upon the questions at issue from time to time, with the same splendid love of your State and of your country.

The hope to be obtained by suffrage is the advancement of society as a whole. This is to be accomplished by the enactment and the enforcement of good laws. There is nobody on earth more interested in the enactment and the enforcement of law than the good geniuses who preside over our homes and our firesides. Acrimony and hate have been the accompaniment of political campaigns almost since the history of our country. They bring no good; they settle no issue. I believe that with the advent of woman into politics and into government, much of that acrimony and hate will pass away.

In December, soon after the close of the campaign, Senator Wolcott united with Senator Teller in a letter concerning the operation of equal suffrage in the State. The statement was made in response to a request from Senator Hoar, who was a supporter of a movement for woman suffrage in municipal government in Massachusetts, and it was wanted for use in a campaign in that State which had that end in view. The Colorado Senators did not content themselves with testifying to the effect of equal suffrage in the Centennial State, which they declared to be good, but they entered upon an account of the participation of women in their first campaign, thus rendering the document of rare historical value.

Prefacing their report with the announcement that their observations had been confined largely to Denver and to the Republican party, they said:

> Many weeks before the conventions were held, the women of the larger cities began to organize political clubs, composed exclusively of women, for the discussion of political questions. At these meetings men who had had experience or knowledge of political affairs were invited to make addresses, and frequent meetings were held. In Denver, and perhaps elsewhere in the State, parliamentary clubs were organized by the women for the purpose of enabling their members to familiarize themselves with the rules of parliamentary procedure.
>
> The women's political clubs attracted from the first a large membership which increased as the time for the conventions drew near, and the fact was developed that among the women themselves there were great interest and intelligence respecting political questions. It further appeared that there were among their own membership many women who were able to discuss the political situation clearly, intelligently, and effectively, and a few women developed unquestioned oratorical ability.
>
> The political machinery in Colorado, as in most of the States, includes committeemen for the different wards and precincts in all the large towns, and also a committeeman for each county in the State. The first step taken by the women was to secure some representation upon these committees. In some localities there was a little resistance to this suggestion, but, generally speaking, it was welcomed and the suggestion accepted as a valuable one, with the result that in each county of the State

a woman acted as a member of the State committee with the male member of such committee from each county, and in the towns a woman was appointed in each precinct to act in an advisory capacity.

The primary elections preceded the county and State conventions by a few days. The women's clubs had meanwhile been organized most effectively, and their members had made a house-to-house canvass of the most careful character, and they very generally interested themselves in the primary elections. In the history of Colorado there has never been an instance where the primaries have been so generally attended, and fully one third of the attendance in the cities was composed of women. The result was that the primaries were of the most orderly character, entirely free from any sort of disorder or violence, and the result was accepted by all members of the party as being the full, free, and fair expression of the will of the voters.

In the county conventions which followed the primaries the women were largely represented as delegates, and participated, though in a quiet and unobtrusive fashion, in their deliberations.

A number of women from many counties in the State were elected as delegates to the State convention. This convention was the largest in the history of the State, and was more generally attended in person and less by proxies than any other party convention since the State was created. It was held in a large theatre in Denver, and was composed of some eight hundred delegates, including a very marked sprinkling of women. Pending the report of the Committee on Credentials, and at a time when the convention was calling for speeches from members of its party from whom it was desired to hear, there were several women called for, who made brief addresses, and all of them were appreciatively listened to by the convention. In the proceedings of the convention the women took an active and efficient part. They had much to do with the shaping of the ticket, which was a very strong and acceptable one to the people of the State.

The women also attended personally to the registration of the women in the different wards of Denver, and it was very fully and completely done. The work of the women was perhaps more important in this direction than in any other. There has never been known such careful, perfect, and complete registration, and it was practically looked after in the larger cities by the women themselves. The election was remarkable in the fact that the vote was much larger than ever before in the history

of the State. Not only was it larger because of the fact that the women voted, but the vote was much closer to the registration than ever before. In Denver, where we were able particularly to observe the working of suffrage, the reason for this is manifest. Some twenty-five thousand women voted in Denver. A far larger proportion of women who were registered voted than of men who were registered. The women were on hand early in the morning to cast their ballots; the great majority of them had voted long before noon, and they devoted the remainder of the day to procuring the attendance of the women who had not theretofore voted.

Another somewhat noteworthy fact concerning the election may be stated. It had always been assumed that the personal likes and dislikes of women would count for much when they came to exercise their right of suffrage. In this election, all these feelings were obliterated in their determination that the ticket that they advocated should win, and the overwhelming majority of the women voted straight tickets without change or erasure.

In reviewing the occurrences of the election so far as women are concerned, we think the following are the fair and necessary conclusions:

Women bring to the exercise of the right of suffrage an intelligence fully equal to that of the male voter. They gave evidence of intense earnestness in the election. We feel it is yet to be determined whether or not this earnestness will be evinced generally in elections, or is to be attributed to the unusual state of facts existing at the time of the last election. One of the apparent results of the presence of women as participators in political matters is that political parties must exercise greater care than before as to the character and standing of nominees for office. The tendency of the women is to stand by the party ticket, and not to let personal favor or prejudice affect the exercise of their right of suffrage.

There were no unpleasant results apparent as the consequence of the voting by women at this election. There has been an undefined fear that the bestowal of the right might lead to certain offensive demonstrations in the way of what is termed the strong-mindedness of women. Nothing of the sort was in the slightest degree apparent. Women voted in a far greater proportion than men; they apparently felt they were performing a duty rather than exercising a privilege. Upon our State ticket a woman was nominated as Superintendent of Public Instruc-

tion, and there were three women elected as members of the Legislature. There was no unusual desire on the part of the women of Colorado to be candidates for office, and the women who were nominated and elected received their nominations without wire-pulling in their behalf.

In conclusion, we think we may say that in Colorado there is hardly a lover of good government who does not believe that the presence of women at the polls in November last was an undisguised blessing. If the question as to whether the right of suffrage should be bestowed on women should be again submitted to the voters of Colorado, it would, in our opinion, be carried in the affirmative by a far greater majority than it received a year ago. The influence and vote of good women will always be cast for the preservation and permanence of the home and of our institutions, and their presence as an influence in determining public questions brings hope and promise for the future of our country.

If there was any hesitation in Mr. Wolcott's endorsement of equal suffrage it was due to the apprehension that good women, occupied with other matters and trustful of their husbands and brothers, might fail to avail themselves of the privilege. The right once extended, he urged its exercise by women having the public welfare in mind. With their active co-operation, he was assured that the change would result in improved conditions.

The Long Fight for the Coinage of Silver

THE LONG FIGHT FOR THE COINAGE OF SILVER

TO no other question did Mr. Wolcott give so much attention while in the Senate as the coinage of silver as money, and, notwithstanding the apparent paucity of results, the capacity he displayed in that interest must form the basis of all proper estimates of him as a legislative advocate. Not only was his first Senatorial speech made in behalf of silver, but scarcely a session during his twelve years of service was permitted to pass in which he did not lift his voice in support of the white metal. Beginning his work by assisting in the passage in 1891 of the bill authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month (which subsequently, though inappropriately, took the name of the "Sherman Law"), he two years later did all in his power to prevent the repeal of that law, and, failing in that effort, he concentrated every energy upon an effort to obtain an international agreement looking to the recognition of silver as a coinage metal on an equality with gold. He made many speeches on the different phases of the subject and ever was willing to devote any resource at the command of his fertile mind to the advancement of the cause. He entered the Senate a silver advocate and he left it a silver advocate.

The pages of a biography are no place for any elaborate presentation of the silver question as such; but during the two concluding decades of the nineteenth century, political developments in the United States were so deflected by this great issue, and Mr. Wolcott's relations with his State and his party were so intimately influenced by these developments, that a short retrospective survey is essential to a

right understanding of the history of the period and of his place in that history.

From times almost prehistoric the two metals had been admitted freely to the leading mints of the world, and jointly they had constituted the international volume of full legal-tender money, the expansion or contraction of which volume raised or depressed the entire level of wages and prices. But in 1873 the world's established currency system was tampered with, first by one national legislature, then by another. To the United States belongs a doubtful pre-eminence. In February, 1873, the surreptitious demonetization of silver was procured at Washington. Almost on the heels of this action came the attempt of the German Government to exchange the whole mass of its currency at the French mints for its gold equivalent, and this move was followed by the enforced closing of the French mints to the free coinage of silver. Thus in 1873 the question of silver became a matter of extreme urgency. The production of gold from the world's mines was rapidly diminishing. Professor Suess and other leading geologists were of the opinion that the prospect for further considerable gold discoveries was not hopeful. Meanwhile prices of commodities were falling fast and the added burden of debt, whether national or private, was threatening a social upheaval.

In 1878 on the initiative of Congress, President Hayes issued invitations to the first Monetary Conference at Paris. It was perhaps natural, even though some may regard it as unfortunate, that the silver-mining States should have been the first to resent this novel proscription of silver and that the arguments of some of their representatives in Congress should have been based on the restricted ground of protection to a native industry. Be that as it may, the question thus emerging as a "local issue" immediately obtained the philosophic endorsement of the leading professors of political economy. On the continent of Europe the brilliant pens of Emile de Laveleye, of Wolowski, and of Cernuschi were at work before Washington was fairly awakened. In Great Britain the younger professors, such as Foxwell and Shield Nicholson, were teaching in their schools the necessity of what had now begun to be called "Bimetallism," and

the franc-tireurs and skirmishers in the coming Battle of the Standards were in evidence over a very wide field. In the United States, Professor Francis A. Walker, whose formative influence in the field of economics is admitted even in Europe to be greater than that of any teacher since John Stuart Mill, was writing the whole theory of the concurrent legal tender of the two metals in his great work *Money*, a work destined to be translated into seven languages. From every direction the note of warning was borne in on the legislatures as to the perils of that novel experiment, the "Crime of 1873." Save only two, the political protagonists within the halls of Congress have now gone over to the majority upon the farther shore of time. But for those two survivors, Henry M. Teller of Colorado and John P. Jones of Nevada, it is fair to claim an undisputed pre-eminence in the laboriously acquired philosophy of this question. General A. J. Warner, of Ohio, one of the most consistent and efficient of American silver-coinage advocates died after the preparation of this work was begun.

Fully acquainted with this history and intensely awake to the situation, Mr. Wolcott was from the beginning a loyal supporter of the double standard. He believed in bimetallism because he believed bimetallism right. Finding that from the beginning of history until very recent times silver had been given the same recognition as gold, as a money metal, though at a lower valuation, he believed that the long-established order was in the interest of the general welfare. He was distinctly a hard-money man—never a greenbacker; but he did not believe that the gold stock afforded a sufficient money basis for the accommodation of the currency of the world. He adhered to the quantitative theory regarding money, and, believing that the complete disuse of silver as money would cause untold suffering by reducing the volume of the circulating medium, he opposed the policy as unjust and inhuman.

To what extent his views were influenced by environment he probably could not himself have told. Representing a constituency whose chief industrial interest lay in silver mining, he foresaw the devastation that must follow

any adverse action, and that his big heart was touched by the prospect there are many evidences. But he did not admit the local influence as controlling; he maintained that the question was of world-wide importance and his interest general and not sectional. Possibly the material interest of his State in promoting the commercial value of the white metal had the effect originally of causing him to investigate more closely the silver side of the money question than he would have done under other circumstances, and to this extent we may concede the influence of surroundings and of local interest.

Was he right in his contention that silver coinage is essential to the welfare of the world? His speeches were made from ten to twenty years before the preparation of this volume was undertaken. In them he prophesied disaster as the result of the general adoption of the single gold standard. It will be said that the prophecies have not been realized. Nor have they been fully or continuously. Was, then, our orator a real prophet?

The reader of Mr. Wolcott's speeches must not pronounce against him simply because he finds that prosperity has been as much the rule since the general official pronouncement against silver as it was before that edict went forth. The purpose of this volume is to record facts rather than to propound argument, but it cannot be considered out of place to mention the one circumstance that in no previous period of like duration has there been anything like so large a production of gold as there has been since the general demonetization of silver. Almost coincident with the shutting down of the silver mines, as a result of this disparaging action, came the opening up of vast new gold fields.

As if in response to the command of a master, as soon as silver was discredited, the prospectors of Colorado turned their backs on the silver croppings and began to search for gold. The result was that they found much of the yellow metal where hitherto they had looked only for its white companion. Cripple Creek soon began to pour its twenty or thirty millions a year into the lap of the world; Leadville was transformed from a silver to a gold camp; Gilpin County

and the San Juan region continued sending out large supplies of gold.

The result of the newly directed effort was that the Centennial State soon took as a gold producer the lead which hitherto it had held as a producer of silver. Other of the Rocky Mountain States also increased their gold output, and the gold-producing activity of the United States was reflected throughout the mineral-yielding world. The frozen north came to the front with its Klondyke and Nome, and the yellow stream that soon began to flow from the direction of the North Pole was met by even a larger current from the Transvaal of far-away South Africa. Thus there was no lapse. As if providentially, the loss of silver was made good by the increase of gold.

Is there not, after all, then, some justification of Mr. Wolcott's quantitative theory in the present situation? Who can say what the result upon the human race would have been but for this fortunate augmentation of the gold supply? Who can say that but for the new gold discoveries the Wolcott prophecies would not have been realized even now? And, alas! who can say that with a diminution of gold production there may not be yet a fulfilment of the predictions of the Colorado Senator? Ten or twenty years is a very brief period of history. Prophecy covers a much longer time.

Not only did Mr. Wolcott enter the Senate an advocate of the free coinage of silver, but he favored its coinage by the United States regardless of the action of other nations. He left it an advocate of international co-operation. This is a broad statement of fact, and, like many broad statements, would do injustice if left unqualified or unexplained. In the beginning of his Senatorial career he did not consider international action possible of attainment; otherwise he would not have opposed it. Toward the end he saw that silver coinage was out of the question except by such international action, and, in addition, there was such a change in world conditions that for a time a general movement in behalf of the white metal did not seem improbable.

In view of the fact that Mr. Wolcott's silver speeches

are published, there will be no effort to review them here. Only brief extracts from them will be given, and these will be inserted for the purpose of showing his attitude from time to time—of giving point to the narrative.

If space permitted, it would be both profitable and edifying to insert more extended excerpts, for the purpose of illustrating his force as a speaker and his skill as a tactician, for seldom if ever has a more forcible or a more convincing campaign been made in the interest of a losing cause. No man who ever sat in the Senate had greater capacity for sarcasm than the Colorado Senator, and few could plead more effectively. But, superior as he was in those directions, his greatest strength lay in his logic; in his directness of speech and his appeal to reason. All of his great powers were used in this, to him, the dearest of all interests.

Courageous to the verge of rashness when conviction was involved, he did not hesitate to attack a foe, concealed or open, with all the weapons at his command, and many and pronounced were the conflicts with opposing Senators over this same silver question. In one breath he resented all accusations of personal interest in silver on the part of the people of the West and chided the East for attempting to break down and destroy so great an industry as silver mining. But so greatly charmed were all by his manner and by his convincing argument in support of each branch of his contention that no one pointed out this inconsistency. Every possible appeal was made to all sections and all parties. He showed that both Republicans and Democrats had pledged themselves to stand to the bitter end for silver, the Republicans in former years, the Democrats more recently. To the New Englanders he intimated that anti-silver legislation might be followed by the abandonment by the West of the Protective policy; the Southern Senators, whose pet theories had been attacked by the Force Bill, were reminded of the assistance that had been given by their Western colleagues in defeating that measure. Knowing the partiality of the Senate to the privilege of unlimited debate, when the talk on the bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman law had proceeded for several weeks and there was an attempt to curtail the speech-making by

a rule of clôture, he announced a willingness to submit, but said that the rule must be general and for all time and not special and confined to the Silver Bill. He especially chided Senator Sherman of Ohio for repudiating the platforms of the Republican party, and he took the utmost delight in flaying Senator Hill of New York and Senator Voorhees of Indiana, both Democrats, because, while professing to be friendly to silver, they still were advocates of repeal. Of Mr. Hill he said: "He keeps the word of promise to our ear and breaks it to our hope"; of Mr. Voorhees: "His words were writ in water."

Briefly reviewing the course of Mr. Wolcott in the Senate, we find him making his first speech in advocacy of the passage of the Sherman law providing for the annual purchase, for coinage in the American mints, of 54,000,000 ounces of silver. By the time this speech was delivered, June 17, 1890, it had become evident that President Harrison would oppose any effort at independent free coinage by the United States, and the discovery was a sore disappointment to the pro-silver men. His previous utterances had justified them in looking for something better. Never awed by high functionaries, the Colorado Senator did not hesitate to attack from his seat in the Senate the President's position, and the attack was so forceful and so eloquent that it commanded universal attention.

As going to show his general attitude on many phases of the question during the early days of his Senatorial career, the following extract from a speech made by Mr. Wolcott March 1, 1893, may be quoted:

> The people of the West are for silver, not alone because they produce it, but because they believe in hard money, gold and silver; because they believe there is not gold enough in the country to stand back of the credit of the nation in the proportion that money should stand back of credit. I believe the time is surely coming when the people of the West who do thus believe will stand like a stone wall with the people of the East against the issue of irredeemable paper and fiat money. We are silver people because we believe that the credit of the Government should be properly backed. A majority of us are Republicans. If it comes to a question between silver and the

Republican party, we are for silver; but we do not believe that well-advised and sincere patriots will ask that that be made a party issue. We continue our allegiance in the ranks of the Republican party because we cannot but believe that better counsels and wiser judgment will not attempt upon a financial question which has no place in party politics to drive men out of a political party in which they were born and whose principles they love.

Mr. Wolcott's anti-repeal views on silver were concretely outlined in a page contribution made by him to *Harper's Weekly* of May 27, 1893. A few extracts from that article are therefore reproduced as follows:

The West believes in the free coinage of silver because its people have been taught, as has the whole civilized world outside the money centres, that the stock of gold in the world is insufficient for the needs of the world in the transaction of its business, and that the annual supply applicable for coinage by no means keeps pace with the growing demands of commerce and increasing population, the development of vast areas of country, new industries which invention and enterprise are creating, and the infinite and constantly extending needs for money as a medium of exchange in new communities remote from old commercial centres.

The vast majority of the people cherishing these convictions are solvent, intelligent, thoughtful citizens, to whom the national well-being and the stability of our institutions are as dear as life itself. They have no sympathy with paternalism, or with any movement which shall rob human effort of the fruits of industry and ability.

An international coinage agreement would be of incalculable benefit, but without it the United States, with free coinage at the present ratio, would maintain the parity of the metals.

REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN LAW

With the extraordinary session of Congress in 1893 came the greatest of all silver contests. Called for the express purpose of repealing the Silver Purchase Law, that subject received undivided attention during the three months the session continued, from August 7th to November 3d. The measure was put through the House after very brief dis-

cussion, so that almost all the time of the session was consumed by the Senate. There never was much hope for the opponents of Repeal, but they struggled to the last, even going to the extent of conducting an open filibuster to postpone the day of fate. Mr. Wolcott was an active participant in these proceedings, and at all times was prepared to go to the front when necessity demanded sharp and effective speech.

In his call for the special session President Cleveland had specified no other subject for consideration. Finding, as he said in his proclamation, that "the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the Executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress," he convened Congress "to the end that the people may be relieved through legislation from present and impending danger and disaster." In his message to Congress, which was received August 8th, the day after Congress met, the President said:

> I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and such legislative action as may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfil its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Thus the single object of the session was plainly announced, and it had not long proceeded when the Repeal Bill was brought in.

Strangely enough the question of international agreement received attention from Mr. Wolcott in the first speech made by him on the bill, and it shows not only his own state of mind, but the general view of the American silver advocates of the time. He said:

> The friendship for silver expressed by every member of each House of Congress who has spoken on this question is remarkable and unanimous. No Senator in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act has failed to announce in solemn words his belief in bimetallism. The statement may

be soothing to his conscience, but it serves no other purpose so far as favorable legislation is concerned. The Senators who state that they are bimetallists, but that international agreement is necessary before we can adopt the double standard, misstate the proposition. International agreement must depend on the attitude of Great Britain. If Great Britain consents to a double standard, they are bimetallists. The policy of Great Britain, which they are powerless to shape or to control, is the policy they advocate. They are willing to sacrifice not only a great region of our country, whose resources are of infinitely more material value to the East than all our trade with Great Britain, but also the welfare and prosperity of every farmer and toiler in the land, in order that we may be in entire accord with Great Britain in our financial policy.

Later in the same speech, he said:

We are constantly assured that our abandonment of silver will force England to an international agreement. This may be true. There is not gold enough in the world to do its business, and some day this will be recognized by monometallist countries. But the time is far away. Capital is strong and selfish. This Senate Chamber to-day is the best possible exemplification of its power, and a long period of suffering and a shrinkage will pass before we return to the double standard.

A few weeks afterward, on October 9th, he spoke even derisively of international action, saying:

The people of this country, the largest producer of the precious metals, who believe in the double standard, are referred to Great Britain for legislation and for relief. International agreement is a chimera, a myth. Two members of the late conference are in this body. They will not hesitate to tell us that there is no hope for it at this time. Without Great Britain's assent it is impossible. Why should she consent? Her policy is plain, her interests are evident.

Then followed this wonderful picture of the result of repeal, which all too soon was to be partially, though fortunately, only temporarily realized:

Meanwhile the sections heretofore devoted to the search for

silver will become largely depopulated. The mines will fill with water, the timbers which sustain their walls will rot, the vast industries dependent for success on the mining regions will become bankrupt, and a generation will not serve to renew their prosperity, even after silver may be remonetized. The investments in railroads, mines, smelters, and other property directly and fatally affected by the action recommended by the Finance Committee aggregate more than $1,000,000,000, and they are all to be sacrificed that we may make our financial policy in exact accord with Great Britain, the creditor of the world.

Probably in no connection did he more forcibly present in condensed form his reasons for his position than in the following from one of his speeches of 1893:

The people of the far Northwest favor the resumption of the free coinage of silver because they believe in the principle of bimetallism. We are not inflationists; but we do not advocate fiat money. We believe that, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Jones] so aptly put it, the rude obstacles which nature interposes offer a better safeguard for the people than the wisdom or unwisdom of their rulers. We oppose the single standard because there is not enough gold to do the business of the world and furnish the inhabitants with the currency they need.

The history of all times has shown that a scarcity of circulating medium means a continuous fall in prices, depression in business activity, the impoverishment of the people, and a decline in civilization. The last twenty years have but emphasized the experience of the centuries. Silver has not depreciated; gold has appreciated. The double standard lessens the tension which may be caused by the lessened production of the one metal or the increased production of the other. It secures to the debtor at the maturity of his debt money of the value he received when his debt was incurred. The two metals together furnish a standard which has permanency, stability, accessibility, and is a suitable and adequate measure of value.

Mr. President, the question as to whether silver shall by the passage of the bill before us be finally demonetized is national and not local. The claims we urge in behalf of the recognition of silver are not pressed because we of the mountains ask your sympathy for a region which your proposed action would impoverish and ruin. If we represented any other section, with our knowledge of the possibilities of the great West, we would

be equally tenacious for the preservation of the white metal as a standard of value. No man removed from the money centre, and realizing the illimitable resources of this Republic and its constantly expanded needs, will ever stand for the contraction of a currency already insufficient.

Our interests, our hopes, and aspirations are identical with those of the other sections of our country which are borrowers and not lenders; with those of the Carolinas, of Alabama and Mississippi, and Arkansas and Missouri, the Dakotas and Washington in the remote Northwest. We demand the coinage of both metals because the history of our country and of all lands has taught us that they afford the safest and most adequate basis for the currency of the people.

We are not influenced by our environment. It is true that for a generation at least many States, some of them larger in population than any one of three of the New England States, and having greater resources, minerals included, than all of them put together, will suffer if this bill shall become a law, to an extent impossible to describe, and which in our lifetime cannot be repaired; but we can endure it. The strong will survive and the weak will go to the wall. It is the lot of man. But before you complete your work, I beg of you to pause long enough to realize that this is the first time in the history of republics—nay, even of governments—that a people devoted to one of the noblest of human industries, the search for the precious metals of the world, were doomed to destruction by their fellow-men because they produced too much of them.

Almost immediately after the repeal of the Sherman Law Mr. Wolcott began to investigate the possibility of obtaining international action in the interest of bimetallism. But he moved with caution, and in the meantime he exerted every effort to find a means of relieving the situation and of easing the blow which had been struck at the silver-producing industry. In that interest he at one time proposed a resolution inviting negotiations with Mexico looking to the coinage of Mexican dollars in the mints of the United States and out of metal produced in the mines of this country, and at another, he introduced a resolution providing for the coinage of the silver seigniorage which, owing to the far greater value of silver as coin than as bullion, was no inconsiderable sum. The former proposition failed of passage,

but the seigniorage measure went through Congress. On both bills Mr. Wolcott spoke at length, and after the veto of the Seigniorage Bill he made a review of the silver question as affected by politics, in which he plainly indicated that because of the President's position, as well as because of the opposition of the Eastern States, he recognized the hopelessness of further effort in the interest of independent coinage by the United States. In the course of this speech, which was delivered on the 9th of April, 1894, he said:

We were told by Senators upon this floor, including members of the Finance Committee, that as soon as the infamous Sherman Act should be brushed aside, the first moment would be utilized in reintroducing a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, for which the President of the United States would undoubtedly stand as sponsor. That position has been somewhat cleared. If by this veto any one thing has been made clear to the minds of the people of the United States, it is that its Chief Executive is the consistent and implacable and eager enemy of silver. He has been consistent throughout and has had the courage of the convictions of the national banks and the trust companies of the United States, to all of which the name of silver is a stench and an offence.

The veto has further shown us that the silver sentiment of the country is local and not political. In the New England States and in the Northeast both parties have vied with each other in adulation and praise of the President's action, while in the rest of the country the veto has been viewed with sorrow and with indignation. In the New England States and in the Northeast the unanimous feeling is that the President of the United States is infinitely better than his party. So universal is this the prevailing sentiment that the Democracy of that section apparently intend to endorse the openly expressed contempt of the President of the United States for the Democratic party at large by voting overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican ticket; while in the West and South, irrespective of party, there is a prevailing and unanimous sentiment that the President of the United States has betrayed not only the platform of his party but the interests of his people, and that he has treated the just claims of those great States of the Union, which are devoted to mining and to agriculture, which are borrowers and not lenders, with scorn and with derision.

The veto has further taught us that during the incumbency of the present Executive there is no hope whatever for the cause of bimetallism. And the self-respect of those of us who believe that the day of prosperity will never come to this country again until silver is rehabilitated and restored to its place as a money metal should require of us that we advocate and vote for no makeshift and no temporary expedient. If the lesson is to be learned it may as well be learned during the present Administration as at any other time; and we owe it to our own dignity, and the respect due the cause, that we oppose upon this floor every measure which does not follow upon the lines of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 15½ or 16 to 1.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT

In the spring of 1893, Mr. Wolcott was compelled to go to Europe on account of the precarious condition of his health, and while in England and France he met many of the bimetallists of those two countries. From all of these he received encouragement to believe that an agreement for a general recognition of the white metal could be brought about. Indeed, generally, the Europeans showed a willingness to take the initiative in urging the wisdom of a movement by the United States in the interest of a new international conference. But, while as zealous in their advocacy of silver coinage as he was, they were united in preaching the necessity for concerted action.

Soon after Senator Wolcott's return to the United States the following statement regarding this visit, evidently authorized by him, was published:

Senator Wolcott had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Balfour socially and had a very enjoyable time with him in London. The silver question was discussed in all its relations, and while Mr. Wolcott knew, of course, that Mr. Balfour was a strong advocate of bimetallism, he was surprised to find him so deeply interested and thoroughly informed on this question, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Balfour's efforts in behalf of the double standard were purely philanthropic and based upon the belief that the masses were suffering untold calamities by reason of the adoption of the single standard, the demonetization of

silver, and the great increase in the purchasing power and value of gold.

Mr. Wolcott went abroad again in 1894, this time with a far more friendly inclination toward concerted action than before. He had thought much of what he had heard on the previous visit, had become convinced of the sincerity of his European friends, and was almost satisfied that they were right in their contention that the only road to the rehabilitation of silver lay through general international co-operation. Unquestionably the closing of the Indian mints and the cessation of the large and regular monthly purchases of silver by the United States were forcible factors in bringing him to this point of view. At any rate, he now was found a willing listener to the suggestions of his English and French friends who had differed from him only on the one point of the method of carrying bimetallism into execution. He was forced to concede that because of its comprehensiveness their plan was preferable. But was it practicable? For a time it seemed to be.

In 1894 there were many interviews with people of distinction on the silver question, and there was one notable dinner in London, given by Sir William Houldsworth, at which the unofficial American envoy received much encouragement to believe that even England might be influenced to grant such concessions as hitherto had not been considered possible. The dinner was tendered to a number of Americans of distinction, including Senator Wolcott, Hon. W. C. Whitney, General Francis A. Walker, and Mr. Brooks Adams, and there were invited to meet them the Right Honorable Arthur J. Balfour, the Right Honorable Henry Chaplin, the Right Honorable William Lidderdale, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Moreton Frewen, Mr. Herman Schmidt, Prof. Foxwell, Mr. Heseltine, and Mr. Murray Guthrie, all more or less pronounced advocates of bimetallism. Indeed, it was an informal, unauthorized international conference on silver under the guise of a social function.

There were a number of speeches, and most of them were encouraging. There was an exception in the case of Mr. Chaplin. Quite as earnest a bimetallist as any present and

just as desirous of success, he still did not fail to point out the great difficulties in the way, principal of which were the conservative character of the English people and the self-interest of the London bankers. The sequel proved that he was right, for there can be little doubt that, whatever the instrument with which the final blow was struck, the London influence directed it.[1] His speech was not, however, intended to throw a damper on the movement for a conference, and at the time it received comparatively little attention.

Senator Wolcott was among the speakers. He said:

I feel that much more real interest attaches to the attitude of Mr. Whitney and General Walker at the present time than to the attitude and efforts of those who think with me that the United States with open mints can single-handed act as the world's money-changer, and can maintain the parity of the metals. And seeing that for three years to come no effective silver legislation can be secured at Washington, such legislation during President Cleveland's term being impossible, the bimetallic contest has to-day shifted itself from Washington to Westminster. But I am glad to endorse General Walker's assertion to-night that ninety per cent. of the people of the United States are earnest and convinced bimetallists. The question then for us in the United States is not one of principles, but of methods only—how best we can encourage action on the part of Great Britain; and this being the position we think, some of us, that perhaps the offer to your colonies and India of lower tariffs as contrasted with prohibitive tariffs may attract your colonial premiers to a little friendly but determined girdling at Downing Street. I notice, however, that just as a distinguished American humorist was prepared to demonstrate his

[1] In his Autobiography, Senator Hoar, who gave much attention to the question of an international agreement, attributes the failure of the mission to the influence of the London banks. "I conjecture," he says, "that the English Administration, although a majority of the Government, and probably a majority of the Conservative party, were bimetallists and favored an international arrangement on principle, did not like to disturb existing conditions at the risk of offending the banking interests of London, especially those which had charge of the enormous foreign investments, the value of which would be constantly increasing so long as their debts were payable, principal and interest, in gold, the value of which, also, was steadily appreciating."

patriotism by sending his wife's relatives to the field of battle, so also, whether in Australia or at the Cape, England at the present time contemplates the sufferings of her relatives with considerable equanimity.

In concluding a speech that was followed with very close attention Senator Wolcott said that just as the promise of improvement to come immediately after the repeal of the Sherman Act had been delusive, so also the improvement to follow after tariff reform might be not less visionary, and that many who had voted for repeal less than a year since were likely at the coming elections to accept the alternative of free coinage.

As in London, the Colorado Senator's reception in Paris was again cordial, and upon the whole his investigations greatly strengthened his conviction in favor of an international movement. He reached the conclusion that Europe might inaugurate such a course at any time, and he determined to do all that he could to place the United States in the way of co-operation in case it should be undertaken.

Accordingly, having returned to the United States, on the 23d of February, 1895, he introduced in the Senate as an amendment to an appropriation bill a measure providing for the appointment of a commission. This provision was incorporated in the law and, while no action was taken under its authority, it proved the forerunner of the subsequent legislation under which the Wolcott Commission was appointed. This amendment authorized participation by the United States in any international monetary conference that might be determined upon by the European powers. In presenting it, Mr. Wolcott said that he had felt under some embarrassment from the fact that it might be construed abroad as indicating an undue desire on the part of this country for an international compact, but, taking all the circumstances into consideration, he had concluded that it would be wise to give the authority in order that the appointment of commissioners might be made, if occasion should arise for them during the Congressional recess which then was approaching. In his comment he could not resist the opportunity to take a fling at the professed bimetallists

who had not shown their faith by their works. "It is," he said, "entirely satisfactory to those bimetallists who vote for bimetallism; it should be equally satisfactory to that devoted band of bimetallists who talk for us and vote against us, and who look with ravished eyes for English approval before they register their votes." He added: "We are for the establishment of bimetallism by the United States alone. If other countries will join us so much the better."

Speaking again on the 28th of the same month to the same amendment, Mr. Wolcott gave utterance to a few sentences showing the real reason for his interest in silver coinage.

> The result of my studies [he said] is the conviction that the suffering and poverty all over the world have been caused by the abandonment of silver and the appreciating value of gold. If by any act of mine I could bring all over the world some amelioration of existing conditions, I should feel that I had played an important part in the legislation of my country; and as a citizen of a Christian nation I should be unwilling to shut out from view the nations of the world.

Replying to objections to the measure from Senator Stewart of Nevada, Mr. Wolcott briefly referred to the struggles of the European bimetallists.

> Why, Mr. President [he asked], does the Senator from Nevada forget that, under the most unfavorable circumstances, all through these years the bimetallist party of England, with both the great parties against it, has been struggling year after year to make its converts; that in the heart of the great creditor nation of the world, where every instinct of every man who has a dollar due him is to oppose silver, these men have, unaided, fought a gallant fight with such glorious outcome that the other day in the House of Commons the leader of the party in power did not dare to oppose a motion made by a member in behalf of bimetallism? [He added:] Rather than contest it in the House of Commons he yielded his opposition, and, declining to permit the vote to be taken, abandoned the position which for years the Liberal party has held, and virtually announced that for years the English Government would share in any inter-

national conference which might be called upon the question of bimetallism.

So in Germany, where the owners of land have gradually seen their land grow less in value; against the Government, against the great banking houses of Berlin and the other German centres, the bimetallists have steadily, year by year, fought their fight, until in spite of the opposition of the Government, the Socialists, and the Radicals, they have forced the Reichstag to agree practically to the calling of an international conference.

The Senator from Nevada refers to the Republic of France, as if that country might not favor international bimetallism! Fortunately I have just received an accurate statement of what took place in the French Assembly the other day upon an interpellation on this very subject; and with the permission of the Senate I will read it, for it is vital to the great questions which are now at stake.

He then read a statement showing marked progress by the bimetallic movement in the French Republic, and, continuing, said:

So, Mr. President, does this great question press forward. In England success is almost at hand. In Germany success is practically reached. In France there is hearty co-operation. This movement has been brought about not by our enemies, but by our friends; by earnest men who have the solemn conviction that prosperity and civilization can be advanced only by a return to the double standard. We in this country, certainly in my section, believe that America alone can maintain the double standard. But, for that reason, shall we reject advances of other countries?

Mr. President, in the six years I have been in the Senate I have seen wandering about these corridors, day after day and week after week, the same hungry faces of lean men with claims pending before Congress. I am told some of them have been here thirty years and more, seeking some payment or restitution by Congress of something they have lost. So day after day they haunt these chambers, and they plot and plan and dream. If they met success and Congress should give them what they seek, they would die. So I fear it is true with some of the advocates of bimetallism. They have preached their gospel, their true gospel of salvation, so long, that, if the people

of the world became converted, their occupation would be gone and they would have to close up shop.

I am for bimetallism not because I want to fight; I am for bimetallism—and I am for waging an unceasing fight for its accomplishment—because I believe that out of the contest we can bring success. And for that reason, Mr. President, I stand for the amendment as it is. We are for American bimetallism, with or without international agreement, but if we fail to grasp the extended hand of other countries when it reaches out to meet ours, we will deserve and receive the eternal odium which should attach to us for having failed to embrace the greatest opportunity that has been since silver was stricken down.

Speaking in Denver on August 13, 1894, of his observations in England, Mr. Wolcott said:

I happened to be in England when Professor Francis A. Walker, Brooks Adams, ex-Secretary Whitney, and other prominent Americans were there, and attended a banquet at which I met many English bimetallists. This and other meetings have served to bring the bimetallists of both countries into closer alliance and will result in much good. It is none the less true, however, that there is no sound reason why this country should wait for the action of Great Britain. My own belief is that if the United States entered on the free and unlimited coinage of silver and at the same time maintained a fair protective tariff Great Britain would be more speedily forced into bimetallism than by any other pressure.

Our great hope in England must lie in a change of Government. The first advantage was gained by the retirement of Gladstone, who was the open enemy of silver. Lord Rosebery has never declared himself hostile to the white metal, and many of his friends express a hope, from what they know of him, that he will not oppose it. At best, however, it will be a long time before we can hope for any radical change in the policy of Great Britain on this question.

The present English policy toward India is admitted to be a failure. I am inclined to think that Great Britain would even now be glad to make concessions as to its Indian policy, if we should see fit to enter upon the free coinage of silver. All over Europe, wherever there is an owner of land dependent upon its products for support, there is a growing and abiding conviction that, until silver again takes its place as a standard, the

price of gold is certain to appreciate, and the price of agricultural products and of lands to decrease. I fear, however, that it will take years of further suffering to work a change in the European financial policy.

I find a wonderful interest shown over there in the progress of the silver cause in this country. No important speech was made by my colleague, Senator Teller, upon which the English bimetallists were not informed. They are preparing themselves fully for the struggle, when it does come to them.

PARTY POLITICS AND SILVER

These were the preliminary steps looking to the appointment of an international commission, but the real action in that interest did not take place until about three years afterward. In the meantime Senator Wolcott had vigorously continued his efforts in support of silver legislation in Congress. He had been re-elected to the Senate in the face of the determined opposition of Waiteism and Populism in his own State, and later the Republican National Convention of 1896 had come, bringing with it a split in the Republican party, and resulting in the defection from the party of his colleague and a large following of that gentleman throughout the West.

To Mr. Wolcott the period was a trying one. He had said repeatedly that when it came to a choice between his party and silver his support would be given to the white metal. That time had come, and he remained a Republican. Failing to discover any probability of relief from any party, he had concluded that he could not promote bimetallism by leaving one political organization to join another. True, the Populist party was committed to free-silver coinage, but Senator Wolcott felt assured that that party never could attain to national control, and the result shows that in that respect his conclusion was correct. Moreover, free silver was only one of the tenets of Populism. It stood for almost everything else which established society had not seemed to want. The Colorado Senator was in sympathy with it only on the one point of silver coinage. For these and many other reasons he found it impossible to cast his lot with this organization.

Probably as fair an expression as Mr. Wolcott has left as to his attitude toward his own and other parties in connection with silver is found in his speech before the Republican State Convention of Colorado in 1894. This was two years before the test of leaving the party came, and it will be observed that his threat of departure was not unconditional.

Whenever I am convinced [he said] that the free coinage of silver is not attainable at the hands of the Republican party, and is attainable at the hands of some other party, I will join that party. And so will every citizen of Colorado. But, my friends, that determination will never bring you or me into party affiliation with Mrs. Lease and Governor Waite. My earliest recollections are associated with the Republican party. When I was a lad our house was a station on the underground railway. After nightfall, in our New England home, some black man would be secretly let in to sleep in the attic, and started off at daylight on his road to Canada. The first years of my manhood are associated with the attack on the flag and its restoration. All the life I have known is identified with that of the Republican party, and draws its inspirations from that party's achievements in the protection of American labor, and American products, and American manhood; in its eternal vigilance for the maintenance of the honor of the flag at home and abroad, and in its elevation of the human race. And since that eventful session of Congress a year ago, what growth we have seen has come through and in and by the Republican party. My friends, with you I love the party and every line in its history, and when we leave it it will be to different music than any Populistic party has yet piped.

Not very different was his speech at Colorado Springs, September 16, 1896, after the die had been cast and he had decided to remain with his party. Then he said:

"We don't want silver if we must take mob law with it; and if in this country any man who wants to labor is not protected in the exercise of that right, even if it takes all the armies of the United States to secure it to him, then this Government is not worth preserving, nor will any change of financial policy bring it prosperity."

To turn elsewhere with any prospect of accomplishing

results was quite as impossible. The Democracy was hopelessly in the minority, as Senator Wolcott realized. Moreover, the country had found in Cleveland, the only Democratic President of modern times, the most implacable and determined foe that silver ever had encountered in the Presidency. And Cleveland did not stand alone in his party in opposition to silver. A large percentage of the Eastern Democracy ardently supported his view. There was, therefore, at least no certainty of favorable silver action in case of Democratic success. Had not a Democratic President compelled the repeal of the Sherman Law?

Why, then, in view of these conditions, should Senator Wolcott leave the party into which he had been born and of which he had been a member during his entire life, for another party which to his mind promised no more than the Republican party? If by taking such a step he could have insured the rehabilitation of silver he would in all probability have taken it. He had no such assurance.

In his heart of hearts, Wolcott was ever a party man, and he could not and would not break with a great historic party over an economic issue merely as such. There was nothing pontifical in his nature. True, he was a leader, but not the leader of any pilgrimage to Canossa; not of an exploring expedition into uncharted seas; and when in the late 'eighties, and still more after the failure of the last Monetary Conference at Brussels in 1893, there were ominous symptoms that the Republican party could not subdue organic dissensions arising from this issue, it was clearly the time to take careful soundings. The great party which Wolcott loved was in danger; the career of its leaders might be compromised; the ship with a rapidly falling barometer was off a lee shore. That he counted all the cost—this was well known to his friends. He had come, however reluctantly, to the conviction that silver must needs be fought out upon a wider stage.

From this time he gradually drifted away from the counsels of the silver Senators, taking his new inspiration more from Senator Hoar of Massachusetts perhaps than from any other one man. For his new mood and for wise guidance he could have found no better mentor in the entire

United States. Mr. Hoar was no reactionary. He was, indeed, one of the most courageous men in public life. He had a nation of admirers because he was the very embodiment of all those moral and yet liberal principles which form the rugged traditions of New England. Granted that he knew far less about currency than the silver Senators, yet, doubtless, argued Mr. Wolcott, he had a wide view of history and was quite as likely to see the blazed trail over and beyond the mountain. And, above all, he, like Wolcott, was a devoted party man. Hoar, too, was entirely sound on the international aspect of silver. It may be well to quote here a cable drafted, or at least amended, by Senator Hoar, which was sent to a reform gathering at the London Mansion House in May, 1895:

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, the Mansion House, London:

We desire to express our cordial sympathy with the movement to promote the restoration of silver by international agreement, in aid of which we understand a meeting is to be held to-day under your Lordship's presidency. We believe that the free coinage of both gold and silver by international agreement at a fixed ratio would secure to mankind the blessing of a sufficient volume of metallic money and, what is hardly less important, secure to the world of trade immunity from violent exchange fluctuations.

(Signed) John Sherman, W. B. Allison, D. W. Voorhees, George F. Hoar, Nelson W. Aldrich, William P. Frye, C. K. Davis, S. M. Cullom, Henry Cabot Lodge, Calvin S. Brice, O. H. Platt, A. P. Gorman, Edward Murphy, David B. Hill.

It will be observed that this comprehensive message bears the signatures of all the Senators from the three great States of New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, and is signed by every Senator who had been active in promoting the repeal of the Sherman Act. It shows vividly the state of mind of the "sound money" Senators of that day.

There was a further influence which was probably assisting Mr. Wolcott in his growing conviction that the silver issue would be settled on international lines. During his visits to England in 1889 and 1890 he had established very pleasant relations with Mr. Henry Chaplin, at that time in

Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, and the acquaintance had been renewed on each subsequent visit. In England Mr. Chaplin was and is a very interesting figure both in politics and in society. He was the intimate friend of King Edward. A thorough man of the world and of affairs, he had won with *Hermit* the blue ribbon of the English turf in the most sensational Derby of that generation. Mr. Chaplin was second only to Mr. Balfour in his earnest advocacy of international bimetallism. The Cabinet in this matter was much divided. Lord Salisbury was benevolently neutral, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goschen, was strongly opposed, for the temperature of the City of London was then, as always in treating this question, below zero. Mr. Chaplin was greatly attracted to the Colorado Senator, as was the Senator to him. The two men had much in common, joyous, vigorous, vital sport-loving natures—natures which look forward and not back. Through Mr. Chaplin the visitor saw no little of Mr. Balfour in these early visits. The tide seemed running strongly for the restoration of silver even in England, and especially in France and Germany, and the world of finance appeared to be coming to its senses. Doubtless Mr. Chaplin had strong influence in causing his American friend to give consideration to the world-wide aspect of the silver question.

Extremely important as showing the set of the wind was the resolution adopted by the British House of Commons, February 20, 1895, which was in line with previous pronouncements by the legislative bodies of France and Germany:

> That this House regards with increasing apprehension the constant fluctuations and the growing divergence in the relative values of gold and silver, and heartily concurs in the recent expressions of opinion on the part of the Governments of France and Germany as to the serious evils arising therefrom; it therefore urges upon Her Majesty's Government the desirability of co-operating with other Powers in an international conference for the purpose of considering what measures can be taken to remove or mitigate these evils.

Again on March 17, 1896, the following resolution was adopted by the House of Commons:

That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver, since the action of the Latin Union in 1873, has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon this Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.

Thus apparently the three principal European nations had committed themselves voluntarily and authoritatively to silver coinage. Is it surprising that the American advocates of international agreement felt encouraged?

Following close upon the action of Parliament, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, a monometallist, but fair-minded, was reported to have declared that if the other nations formed a bimetallic league, the British Government would reopen the Indian mints and by other means promote an increased use of silver in coinage, to help the general movement. Mr. Balfour asserted that in these circumstances Great Britain would do more for bimetallism than any other country in the world.

Fortunately Mr. Wolcott has left us an explanation of his conversion to the international theory, which saves the necessity for speculation. In a speech made February 12, 1900, one of the last of his speeches in the Senate, he said:

When I entered the Senate eleven years ago, and afterward, I believed, and asserted my belief, that the United States alone, unaided by any other nation, could establish and maintain for the whole world the parity between gold and silver if it opened its mints to the free coinage of both metals at the old ratio of 16 to 1; and under the conditions then existing, and which seemed certain to follow our action, I still believe it might then have been accomplished. What was true a few years ago is no longer true. The commercial value of silver was then far greater than now; India had but just closed her mints, we believed temporarily; Russia had not declared her ratio of 24 to 1; Japan was still upon the silver standard, and the annual product of gold was normal, showing a slight but steady increase year after year, and the world's supply of metal money was grossly inadequate. To-day we face a vastly different condition of affairs, and for one I should shrink from entering upon the experiment alone and at the old ratio. Not only the hostility

of the vast majority of the taxpayers of our own country, but the attitude of the civilized governments of the world, the existence in India of a thousand million ounces and more of silver, uncoined, sold from day to day in the bazaars, the uncertainty as to the future of the Orient,—all these vexed and unsettled problems might well make us pause. It is not necessary now to discuss further that question, but it is my judgment that, if Mr. Bryan were to-day President of the United States, and if a majority of Congress were of his way of thinking, they would never dare seek to impose upon this country the responsibility of entering alone and unaided upon the duty of maintaining a parity at the old ratio.

For these and many other reasons, the environment in which Wolcott now moved greatly influenced his drift away from the predominant sentiment of his own State, which was almost unanimous for the free coinage of silver by the United States without regard to other nations.

Then came the St. Louis platform of 1896. The die was cast; he would attempt to hold Colorado for the Republican party and for international action if only a corporal's guard would follow him.

THE FOREIGN SITUATION

In its declarations at the St. Louis Convention the party placed itself on record as "unreservedly for sound money," and for the first time declared itself "opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world." Then followed a promise to promote such agreement, which in turn was succeeded by a declaration for the maintenance of the existing gold standard until such agreement could be obtained. This was an advance over previous platforms in favor of gold monometallism of such a pronounced nature as to render the situation very trying to the Republicans who favored silver. The only relief was in the pledge for the promotion of an international agreement.

The campaign was fought on this issue, and Mr. McKinley, was triumphantly elected over Mr. Bryan, although seven-eighths of Colorado's vote was cast for Bryan. Very

little had been said during the campaign about the party's declaration for international bimetallism; but Mr. Wolcott and his fellow silver men in the party who had remained true were quite determined that it should not be lost sight of. No sooner, therefore, had Congress convened after the election than they set themselves to work to vitalize it and make it the basis of an active propaganda. At the first caucus of the Republican Senators, Mr. Wolcott called attention to the declaration, and at his instance the ball was set rolling in the interest of an agreement.

At this conference Senator Hoar related the particulars of interviews he had had with prominent bimetallists during a recent visit to England and France, and added his plea to Mr. Wolcott's in favor of taking steps toward an international agreement. After considerable discussion, a caucus committee was agreed upon to further the movement, and Senator Wolcott was placed at the head of it, with Senators Hoar, Chandler, Carter, and Gear as his associates. It was due to their labors that the law of March 3, 1897, providing for a commission, was enacted.

Mr. Wolcott did not, however, confine his efforts to Congress. He lost no time in placing himself in communication with the new President, who even then was seeking a way to aid silver. The result was his second silver prospecting trip to Europe. This trip was made at the instance of the President and was therefore semi-official in character.

The Colorado Senator's determination to adhere to his party, notwithstanding the St. Louis platform, rendered it all the more important that he should demonstrate to the world that he had been consistent in his advocacy of bimetallism, and that his party had been in earnest in pledging itself in the recent platform to an international arrangement. His confidence in the President was so great that he believed that he would do all in his power to promote the movement, and in his inaugural address, delivered March 4, 1897, after Mr. Wolcott had sounded the European Governments, the President went far toward justifying this confidence. In that pronouncement the President declared his adherence to the platform pledge as well as to other portions of the financial plank of the St. Louis Convention, saying:

The question of international bimetallism will have early and earnest attention. It will be my constant and earnest attention to secure it by co-operation with the other great commercial powers of the world. Until that condition is realized when the parity between our gold and silver money springs from and is supported by the relative value of the two metals, the value of silver already coined and of that which may hereafter be coined must be kept constantly at par with the gold by every resource at our command. The credit of the Government, the integrity of its currency, and the inviolability of its obligations must be preserved. This was the commanding verdict of the people, and it will not be unheeded.

Independently of his personal attitude, the election of William McKinley marked a death-blow, as we now see, to the "free silver" agitation. The basis of that agitation was the painful fall of prices. There was, it is true, in the background the great problem of the silver exchanges with Asia, a problem which may yet emerge as the real and paramount silver issue—a great racial danger. But it was the fall of prices occasioned by the contraction of the currency which formed the stock argument of almost every speaker. Had it been imagined for one instant that the tide had just turned in 1896 and that the world already had crossed the threshold of such enormous and unprecedented supplies of new gold from the mines as must quickly inflate the Western currencies and raise all prices, it is possible that the Democratic platform of 1896 would have contained no "free silver" plank. In the new President, however, the silver men had a good friend. When a member of the House of Representatives McKinley had voted for free coinage. In 1892 in an address to the Republican League of Ohio he had said of President Cleveland:

During all the years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of the precious metals, one of our own great products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration into office to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterward and to the end of his Administration he persistently used his powers to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and de-

monetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else the servant. He was not thinking of the poor people then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defence. Cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of those professing to stand guard over the poor and lowly. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption? . . . He believed that poverty is a blessing to be promoted and encouraged, and that a shrinkage in the value of everything but money is a national benediction.

Holding such views it was inevitable that the President should consider how best to employ the prerogative of his great office in order to forward an international settlement and this without a day's delay. He looked round for the emissary most agreeable to Europe. Who, by reason of his services to and sacrifices for his party, because of his knowledge of the silver question, and particularly because of his intimate acquaintance with the chief pieces on the European chess-board, could do better service at this juncture than Wolcott? The new President at once despatched him to Europe, unofficially, to inform himself as to the lay of the land. Lord Salisbury was again in power. Without committing the President or his Administration Wolcott could discover from Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chaplin the prospect for a successful formal commission later. A commission could only harm the party and the President if the position in Europe was hopeless; but if, on the other hand, sufficient encouragement was vouchsafed Wolcott understood that he was to return soon to Europe with a full-fledged official body.

Mr. Wolcott inevitably regarded the mission as the grand climacteric of his life. If it was possible to achieve a lasting settlement, the Republican party would splendidly justify its attitude in the recent furious campaign, and he himself in view of the line he had taken in Colorado would emerge an historic figure. A very great opportunity had come to him; what had the Fates in store? And his friends remarked in him during the year that followed a

greatly increased sense of responsibility. He sailed for Europe during the winter of 1896–97, spending the months of January and February in England and France with the exception of a few days in Germany.

Since his previous visit, the unfriendly Gladstone Administration had terminated and the Conservatives had come into power, placing many of the foremost bimetallists of Great Britain in positions of responsibility. M. Méline, the French silver champion was Premier in France. Senator Wolcott was received with open arms in both the French Republic and the British Empire. He was a social lion among the leaders of the bimetallic thought in both London and Paris, and he was told that an American commission would receive a cordial welcome, in case it should be appointed. France was especially reassuring in her attitude. Mr. Wolcott was informed that, if in the then approaching tariff legislation in this country French interests could be properly considered, such a course would have a most beneficial influence upon the French people. Mr. Wolcott, who had become a member of the Senate Committee on Finance, promised to give his attention to these representations, and it should here be said that he afterward did so, influencing many important changes in the Dingley Tariff Law in the interest of French exporters to this country without in any wise impairing home industries.

It is important to recognize that in England in 1897 the views of the bimetallists had undergone an important modification. The Indian mints had been closed to free coinage in 1893 with a resultant collapse in the price of silver for which history has no precedent. Thus it was appreciated for the first time how very much Great Britain had done for silver during the previous century by keeping the mints of her vast dependency open to the free coinage of that metal. So that on Wolcott's arrival the best friends of the white metal advised him not to advance extreme proposals as to the inclusion of Great Britain, but to rest satisfied with the restoration by her of silver monometallism in India with open mints there, and the promise of a continued free gold market in London.

The all-important point was to persuade France, her

traditions all friendly to free coinage, to go hand-in-hand with her sister Republic in restoring that monetary system which before 1873 had served the world so well. The view of those consulted as to Germany's attitude was rather to let Germany make the advances if and when she wished. The two great Republics were to take the lead. England's partnership, though very important, was to be looked upon as subordinate. It was thought that all that was scientific in French and American finance and all the idealism of the two great nations would respond to a settlement in which the "effete monarchies" were to knock later for admission on the door of the allied Republics.

This Plan of Campaign was not devoid of audacity. Would France rise to such a fly? Would it satisfy the McKinley Administration? If so, the inclusion of India, though all important, might, it was felt on all hands, be taken for granted.

After leaving London Wolcott next spent a fortnight in Paris and found to his delight and surprise that M. Magnin, the Governor of the Bank of France, was most sympathetically with him in the conviction that the monetary area of the two Republics, with India, was quite wide enough within which to establish free coinage and fixed exchanges, and that the arrangement proposed would give Paris and New York a predominant position in the world's bill market; that not only would a great and profitable exchange business be obtained by the two partners, and this largely at the expense of London, but that projects such as Asiatic railroads and other constructions requiring capital would be likely to come where, because of open mints, the world's silver markets had been localized.

Immensely satisfied with the beat of the European pulse, Wolcott returned to America to carry his report to the White House. The business depression in the United States at this time showed no sign of lifting. Not the President only but the Republican chiefs, Hanna, Allison, and Aldrich, were quite with the President in thinking that a rational settlement to which France was a party and for the sake of which England would coin silver freely for three hundred millions of her people, would not merely be at-

tended by a business revival but would be regarded as the crowning triumph of the Republican party; that where the Democrats would, if victorious, have taken a devious and dangerous road leading into a possible morass, the "Grand Old Party" had procured by a quick diplomatic effort a practically invincible Triple Alliance.

THE BIMETALLIC COMMISSION

When, in March, 1897, Mr. Wolcott returned from his informal mission, he found that the way for the appointment of a commission had been prepared by the passage of the Caucus Bill, the essential portion of which read:

Whenever after March fourth, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven, the President of the United States shall determine that the United States should be represented at any international conference called by the United States or any other country with a view to securing by international agreement a fixity of relative value between gold and silver as money by means of a common ratio between these metals, with free mintage at such ratio, he is hereby authorized to appoint five or more commissioners to such international conference; and for compensation of said commissioners, and for all reasonable expenses connected therewith, to be approved by the Secretary of State, including the proportion to be paid by the United States of the joint expenses of any such conference, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated.

That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in the name of the Government of the United States, to call, in his discretion, such international conference, to assemble at such point as may be agreed upon. And he is further authorized, if in his judgment the purpose specified in the first section hereof can thus be better attained, to appoint one or more special commissioners or envoys to such of the nations of Europe as he may designate, to seek by diplomatic negotiations an international agreement for the purpose specified in the first section hereof. And in case of such appointment so much of the appropriation herein made as shall be necessary shall be available for the proper expenses and compensation of such commissioners or envoys.

The bill was a Republican measure, passed in accordance with the pledge of the St. Louis Convention, but it did not antagonize the views of President Cleveland, and he attached his signature to it March 3, 1897, only a few hours before retiring from office.

Very soon after the Colorado Senator's arrival from Europe the Commission was appointed. For the purpose of showing his good faith President McKinley decided that all the members should be silver men of pronounced views, and to that end he selected Mr. Wolcott as Chairman, giving him as colleagues Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, a Democrat who had been Vice-President of the United States when Mr. Cleveland was President and who had been the recent running mate of Mr. Bryan for the same office he previously had held, and General Charles J. Paine of Massachusetts, a private citizen, but a bimetallist and a Republican.

In view of the fact that the Commission came within an ace of complete success and that the failure came from a quarter not for an instant anticipated, it is perhaps ungracious to criticise its make-up. But at the time it was felt that in a matter of such transcendent importance Mr. Wolcott should have strengthened his Commission by the inclusion of Senator Allison or Senator Aldrich, because his companions, though both men of zeal, position, and intelligence, could not bring to their chief all the assistance he needed in meeting the infinitely complex problems which were daily in evidence and often from the most unexpected quarters.

Much attention was given by the Commission and by the Administration to the method of proceeding. In view of the fact that since the general demonetization of silver in 1873 there had been three futile attempts to establish world-bimetallism through international conferences, it was thought best not to suggest another such conference without definite knowledge of conditions. Hence, it was decided that the great commercial powers should be officially and still further sounded on the subject before suggesting a conference. If there was sufficient encouragement, the conference was to come later. The first part of the programme

was carried into execution; the second was not. No conference was held. The Commission appointed, the plan was to first proceed to France, "the point of least resistance," and, in case the French authorities were found to be friendly, as Mr. Wolcott was confident they would be, to go thence to England, and if there should be encouragement there, to then lay the subject before the German and other European Governments in succession, when, if a sufficient number were willing, the conference was to be called. It was quite generally believed, however, that the United States and France could maintain the double standard if the consent of Great Britain to the re-opening of the Indian mints could be obtained. In the event of such union, Germany's co-operation would have been welcomed though not absolutely necessary.

France yielded without remonstrance, and it was quite well understood that if England would make the concessions desired of her there would be no objection from Berlin. England was asked to reopen the Indian mints, if not her own. She unexpectedly referred the question to the Indian Government. The Indian Government just as unexpectedly declined the proposition. This refusal meant the total failure of the mission, and so it proved. The preliminary inquiry did not go further. The authority for an international conference was not withdrawn, but after the return of the American emissaries because of the attitude of the Indian authorities, the subject never was revived seriously.

From the time of the appointment of the Commission, President McKinley manifested the deepest interest in its movements and he insisted upon being fully informed concerning its negotiations, as he constantly was by its chairman, both by cable and by letter. He undertook to give the envoys all the assistance in his power, and this he did by fostering favorable sentiment in the United States and by instructing the American representatives in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia to further their purposes by every legitimate means. By despatches sent at his instance from the State Department while the Commission was en route to France, Ambassadors Hay, Porter, and Uhl, and Minister Breckenridge were instructed to take immediate

steps to ascertain the views of England, France, Germany, and Russia respectively on the advisability and practicability of holding a new monetary conference. The instructions also set forth the importance to the commissioners of having at an early date full and trustworthy information as to the attitude of the four countries toward international bimetallism. To this end the American representatives were instructed to visit the proper officials in London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg and endeavor to ascertain from them the views of their respective Governments. These instructions were faithfully carried out. Ambassador Hay especially was untiring in his efforts to promote the objects of the mission in London, and Mr. Wolcott never flagged in sounding praises of that official's tact and zeal in behalf of the mission.

NEGOTIATIONS IN FRANCE

The Commission sailed from New York on the 8th of May, 1897, and arrived at Paris on the 16th of the same month. Headquarters were established immediately at the Hotel Vendôme, and steps were taken for the beginning of the work of the mission. The members first put themselves in communication with the officers of the Bimetallic League of the French Republic, and, in the absence of Ambassador Porter, utilized Senator Edward Fougeirol, the president of that league, and M. Edmond Théry, the head secretary, as their intermediaries in communicating with the officials of the French Government. Through them they brought about interviews with President Faure, Premier Méline, and M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Méline was cordial and encouraging, as he had been during Mr. Wolcott's former visit, and he did not fail to lend all the support of his great office to the furtherance of the Commission's labors. Messrs. Faure and Hanotaux were more conservative and more inclined to raise obstacles, but apparently these were due rather to difference in temperament than to divergence in conviction. At any rate, the Méline view triumphed, and within less than a month's time the French Government had decided to co-operate with the

American envoys in presenting the necessity for silver coinage to the British Government and to other European powers.

The Commission was enthusiastically received by the French National Bimetallic League, by which its members were tendered a banquet at Paris on May 29, 1897. In his speech of welcome, President Fougeirol greeted the envoys cordially, saying:

We have the great honor to have in our midst Mr. Wolcott, the American Senator, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, late Vice-President of the United States of America, and General Paine.

These gentlemen, who arrived in France only a few days ago, and who have been invested by the United States Government with a special mission to the Governments of Europe in order to establish with them the basis of an international understanding for the re-establishment of bimetallism, have also been kind enough to accept our invitation.

I thank them in the name of the French League, which sees in their acceptance a valuable testimony of their esteem for its efforts and work.

Are not their presence and the official mission with which they are charged by the Government of Mr. McKinley, the best proof, gentlemen, that in the last Presidential struggle in the United States it was not the gold standard, as our adversaries have been pleased to say, but international bimetallism itself, such as we have always defended, which has triumphed in the person of Mr. McKinley?

We salute these official representatives, and we see in their presence here the pledge of the near solution of the monetary question.

Thus you can see, gentlemen, the way covered and the progress made in so short a time.

As to France, the presence of M. Méline in power is a sure guarantee to us that his Government will respond to the appeal that is made to it and that there will be a loyal and sincere union between the two great sister Republics for the re-establishment of monetary peace in the world.

We are firmly convinced that in the presence of this union the gold-standard Governments of Europe, and especially those of England and Germany, will understand that the hour has come for them to take their part resolutely in a work in the success of which they are perhaps more interested than ourselves.

M. Méline was also a guest at the banquet. He was most sanguine of success, and after declaring the cause practically won, spoke of the American commissioners, of whom he said:

> To-day the situation is changing its aspect. The government of a great power is taking the initiative, and is taking a decisive step in approaching the principal powers of Europe. It is sending as ambassadors statesmen who are capable of assuring the success of the cause they espouse, for they combine with their incontestable ability and with the high authority which they enjoy in their own country a very just idea of the difficulties which they will encounter in their negotiations. They have made every effort to overcome them before their arrival here, and we must thank Mr. Wolcott, in particular, for the conciliatory disposition of which he has recently given proof.
>
> I am convinced that this disposition will be strengthened still further by his stay among us. For he will find that our co-operation will not be wanting on behalf of the great cause which we are ready to defend with him.

It may be worth mentioning that for a time at the beginning of their negotiations in Paris the commissioners found themselves considerably puzzled over the attitude of M. Hanotaux, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. That official at first had raised a question about the American tariff as fixed by the then recently enacted law, but when shown by Mr. Wolcott that, in accordance with promises made by him in his previous visit, the features in the bill which had been considered objectionable to the French exporters had been modified, apparently he still was obdurate. Interviews with him were unsatisfactory and his general bearing was such as to create a feeling of uneasiness. But when the forebodings aroused by these conditions were imparted to M. Méline, he laughed them away as unfounded, and apparently they were, for not only did the French Government give its adherence to the plan of the American envoys, but the French Ambassador to Great Britain, Baron de Courcel, was instructed to co-operate with the American Commission in its effort to obtain the assistance of the Island Empire in bringing about a return to bimetallism.

An agreement with the French authorities to press for a general restoration of silver coinage with the French ratio of 15½ to 1 in favor of gold was reached; and with the assurance of the support of the Parisian Government the American envoys immediately betook themselves to London, where they lost no time in communicating with Ambassador Hay, who in turn brought them into official touch with Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet.

IN LONDON

Noting the arrival of the Commission in London and commenting upon the attitude of Mr. Wolcott a press correspondent remarked:

He is at once as cheerful and reticent as ever. His faith in the ultimate success of the movement for international bimetallism is unclouded with doubt or suspicion. The reasons for that faith he is too wary to disclose, and he is wise. His success in dealing with the French Government and the British Ministry has been due in large measure to his talent for silence. He confers confidentially with financiers and Ministers, and has the good sense to keep his work out of the newspapers. He cannot be drawn into an interview or premature statement of his purposes, which would serve only to excite controversy and expose him to attack.

Another journalist commented:

Whatever may be the final outcome of the bimetallist mission, it cannot be doubted that the McKinley Administration has succeeded in presenting this question to the European Governments in the best possible way and in employing the right men for the work. Senator Wolcott is not only a keen controversialist, whose heart is in his work, but he is also a thorough man of the world, with a talent for conciliating opponents and convincing them, not infrequently against their will. His successful work during his previous silver tour was not adequately appreciated in America. It was remarkable for diplomatic finesse and intellectual force.

Even with influential members of the British Government

friendly conditions in Great Britain were not so favorable as in France. London as the heart of the commerce and finance of the world had for many years been recognized as the centre of gold monometallism. A large majority of the banks and business houses and of the press stood for the single standard. It was scarcely hoped that any influence could be brought to bear to bring about the opening of the English mints to silver, but the conditions in India were such that it was thought probable that the Indian mints might be reopened. Only a few years previous the Government of that dependency had evinced a willingness to such a course provided there should be sufficient co-operation on the part of the great commercial nations, and no silver advocate dreamed of the possibility of a change of front in that quarter.

Upon their arrival in London the commissioners immediately began preparation for their negotiations with the British Government. They were formally presented to Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, on July 7th, and we are told by the press of the day that they were "cordially received." For the first time the public learned that the two Republics were not only united in sentiment on the subject but actually co-operating. Noting the interview with the Premier, the London correspondent of the *New York Tribune* wrote:

> An important point which is not yet understood outside of the Foreign Office, is that these envoys will have two Embassies behind them in place of one. They produced so good an impression upon the French Government during their stay in Paris that the French Embassy in London has been instructed to co-operate with the American Embassy in such conferences and negotiations as may be conducted with the British Government. It has been known that M. Méline and the French Ministry were outspoken in expressing their sympathy for the objects of their mission and in promising that their concurrence would not be wanting for the triumph of the cause of rational bimetallism on international lines, but it has not been suspected that the French Government would be prepared to lend diplomatic as well as moral support to this movement of the McKinley Administration in favor of bimetallism. It is, nevertheless, true that these envoys in their negotiations with the Foreign Office and the

Chancellor of the Exchequer will have the hearty co-operation of the French and American Embassies.

Messrs. Wolcott, Stevenson, and Paine are not here on an errand of political adventure, devised for the sake of duping Western and Southern voters and playing a game of impossible compromise for moral effect in America. They are successful negotiators, who have carried their main point in Paris, and have enlisted not only the good-will, but also the active co-operation and diplomatic support of the French Government in their London campaign. Ambassador Hay has been arduously at work on the same lines ever since his arrival in London, and his prestige and influence are now of the greatest possible service in facilitating the work of the envoys, who are likely to remain here several weeks before returning to Paris.

What was originally a sincere effort on the part of the McKinley Administration to carry out the pledges of the Republican platform respecting bimetallism grounded upon international agreement has become already a joint movement on the part of the United States and France to bring about a settlement of the monetary question through the action of a new conference. France is the natural ally of the United States in this movement, because she has greater interest than any other European State in bimetallism. The Bank of France contains in its vaults over $255,000,000 in silver which has been withdrawn from circulation. Both Governments have a common interest in obtaining the adjustment of this monetary question which has caused a disturbance throughout the commercial world, and they are naturally supporting each other in the negotiations now opening in London.

Senator Wolcott and his colleagues will say nothing for publication on this subject, and the American Ambassador is equally reticent, but the main fact that the two Governments are acting together through their representatives here is not to be questioned. It proves that the McKinley Administration is not leaving any stone unturned to bring about a satisfactory solution of the silver question by international action, and that it is having greater success than has been generally supposed on either side of the Atlantic.

The first formal presentation of the proposals of the envoys in England took place at the Foreign Office, July 12th, when, as noted by the account of the interview published by the British Government, there were present:

The Marquess of Salisbury, Her Majesty's Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
The Right Honorable Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India.
The Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury.
The Right Honorable Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
His Excellency the Honorable John Hay, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States.
The Honorable Edward O. Wolcott, General Charles J. Paine, The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, } Envoys of the United States on Special Mission.

The joint proposals of the United States and France as then made were as follows:

1. The opening of the Indian mints, and the repeal of the order making the sovereign legal tender in India.

2. The placing of one-fifth of the bullion in the issue Department of the Bank of England in silver.

3. (*a.*)—The raising of the legal tender limit of silver to, say, 10*l.*

(*b.*) The issue of 20*s.* notes based on silver which shall be legal tender.

(*c.*) The retirement, gradual and otherwise, of the 10*s.* gold pieces, and substitution of paper based on silver.

4. An agreement to coin annually *l.*[1] of silver.

[Present silver coinage average for five years about 1,000,000*l.*, less annual withdrawal of worn and defaced coin for recoinage about 350,000*l.*]

5. The opening of English mints to the coinage of rupees and of a British dollar, which shall be full tender in Straits Settlements and other silver-standard Colonies, and tender in United Kingdom to the limit of silver legal tender.

Alternative for Proposal 4. Agreement to purchase each year *l.*[1] in silver at coinage value.

[1] These blanks were not formally filled, but the American and French envoys were united in the opinion that England should purchase annually 10,000,000*l.* of silver in case the English Government refused to concede the opening of the English mints to free silver coinage.

6. Action by the Colonies and coinage of silver in Egypt.
7. Something having the general scope of the Huskisson plan.

The only official account of this interview was prepared by Senator Wolcott at the request of Lord Salisbury. Later it was submitted to the two Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and thus became public. It is of sufficient importance to be given entire, and is as follows:

Lord Salisbury invited a statement from the Representatives of the United States as to the nature of their mission, whereupon Mr. Wolcott, on behalf of the Special Envoys, recited the essential provisions of the law under which he and his colleagues had been appointed, and explained the objects of their mission. He said also, in substance, that the Special Envoys had determined that it was important to ascertain, as definitely as possible, in advance of an International Bimetallic Conference, if one should be called, the views of the Governments which might participate therein, and the extent to which they would contribute to bring about a favorable result of such Conference.

Mr. Wolcott explained that the Special Envoys had determined, in the first instance, to ascertain the views of the French, English, and German Governments on the question of reaching an international agreement respecting bimetallism. This determination was based upon the Resolutions heretofore passed by the English House of Commons on the 17th March, 1896, by the Prussian Landtag and Herrenhaus on the 16th and 21st May, 1896, and upon the Resolution proposed in the French Chamber of Deputies by M. Méline, on the 17th March, 1897, and signed by 347 of his colleagues, all of which Resolutions Mr. Wolcott read.

Mr. Wolcott said that the Special Envoys had proceeded first to France, and that they had reached a complete and satisfactory preliminary understanding with the Government of that country; that in the negotiations to be carried on in England, the Special Envoys believed they would have the full co-operation of the Ambassador of the French Republic in London, his Excellency Baron de Courcel; that the French Ambassador was, for the moment, absent from England, and that the Special Envoys of the United States would have asked a postponement of the meeting, had it not been for the fact that the French

Ambassador had requested them to proceed with the meeting in his absence.

Mr. Wolcott then presented some reasons which, in the opinion of the Special Envoys, rendered it desirable that some international agreement for the restoration of bimetallism should be reached, and explained why, in their opinion, the success of this effort depended upon the attitude which England would take regarding the question. He then stated that the Special Envoys requested that England should agree to open English mints as its contribution to an attempt to restore bimetallism by international agreement, and dwelt upon the importance of the fact that France and the United States were together engaged in an attempt to bring about such an agreement, and were co-operating to that end.

Lord Salisbury desired to know if the French Government would co-operate upon the basis of opening their mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Mr. Wolcott answered in the affirmative. Lord Salisbury then asked at what ratio, and was informed by Mr. Wolcott that the French Government preferred the ratio of 15½ to 1, and that the United States was inclined to yield this point and accept this as a proper ratio. Considerable discussion on the question of the ratio and the method by which it should be settled then took place, the Special Envoys taking the ground that the countries which opened their mints should among themselves determine the ratio. The Chancellor of the Exchequer suggested that if Indian mints were to be opened, England might be held to be interested in the ratio, but the Special Envoys did not accede to this view, and called attention to the fact that by opening Indian mints the English Government did not thereby adopt bimetallism in any form.

It was then suggested that further proceedings should be deferred until the French Ambassador also might be present.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in further conversation, said that if the suggestion of opening the English mints was to be made, he thought an answer in the negative would undoubtedly be given. The First Lord of the Treasury asked whether, assuming this request for opening English mints to be refused, it was desired that the subject be discussed upon the basis of something different and less than the opening of English mints.

Upon a mutual understanding that in the absence of the French Ambassador anything said should be considered as said informally, a discussion then took place as to the concessions

that England might make toward an international solution of the questions, if it should refuse to open English mints.

Mr. Wolcott, for the Special Envoys, presented the list of contributions which, among others, England might make towards bimetallism if an international agreement could be effected, and some general conversation followed in regard to the suggestions. The interview terminated, to be resumed on the 15th July, 1897, when it was understood that the French Ambassador would also be present.

When on the 15th the conference was resumed, the French Ambassador, His Excellency Baron de Courcel was present, as was also M. L. Geoffray, Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic. On this occasion Baron de Courcel was the principal speaker. He discussed at some length the contributions which England could make toward the proper recognition of silver in the absence of the free coinage of that metal by the English Government. The official account continues:

Lord Salisbury asked whether the French Government would decline to open its mints unless England would also open her mints. The French Ambassador replied that he preferred to discuss the subject upon the basis that France would go to open mints if England would consent to open her mints, but that he would not exclude from his view the question of contributions by England toward maintaining the value of silver, short of open mints. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in response to this suggestion, stated definitely that the English Government would not agree to open English mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, and that, whatever views he and his colleagues might separately hold on the question of bimetallism, he thought he could say they were united upon this point.

The French Ambassador, upon being asked what contributions he suggested, replied that among other contributions he thought England should open her Indian mints, and should also agree to purchase annually, say, 10,000,000*l.* of silver for a series of years.

The suggestions made by the Special Envoys at the interview on the 12th of July were again read, and the Special Envoys accepted also as important and desirable the proposal that the English Government should purchase annually, say, 10,000,000*l.*

of silver, with proper safeguards and provisions as to the place and manner of its use.

REFERENCE TO INDIA

There is no available record of the subsequent proceedings of the British Cabinet, but it is known that a decision to refer to the Indian Government the question of the reopening of the Indian mints was arrived at, and this reference was made in a communication from Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, bearing date of August 2d. In his despatch Lord Hamilton enclosed a communication from the Foreign Office containing the American-French proposals, and after referring to it said:

> It will be seen that among the proposals is one for reopening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and the repeal of the order making the sovereign legal tender in India. My Lords regard this as the most important of the proposals which they are invited to consider. The question which it raises involves serious issues in India; and, before expressing any opinion on it themselves, they will be glad to learn the views of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India.

Foreseeing no antagonism from India, the American commissioners regarded the reference as a mere formality. It was expected that when received the reply would materially aid the Salisbury Cabinet in reaching a conclusion favorable to the proposals and not that it would block the negotiations, as it did.

While awaiting the response of the Indian Government the envoys were not idle. They were engaged in every way that might possibly assist in bringing about the favorable termination of their mission. Possibly their most important accomplishment was the obtaining of the consent of the governor of the Bank of England to keep one-fifth of the reserve of that great and conservative financial institution in silver. This achievement was of such importance as to attract the attention of the world of finance, and, important though it was, it may well be doubted whether it did not result in more injury than benefit. Not until the

announcement of the fact was made did the money centres have knowledge of the progress the Americans were making. This publication opened their eyes, and they lost no time in putting into operation all the vast and potent influences at their command, in opposition, not only to the proposition regarding the bank reserve, but in antagonism to all the proposals of the envoys. Presumably if there had been a further compliance with the wishes of the Wolcott Commission, this opposition would have been manifested in the end, but if it could have been postponed for a time it might have been less harmful.

The willingness of this great central bank to do so much to aid the purpose of the Commission was announced in an official letter. The press on which the communication was printed was not dry when the enemies of silver coinage throughout the Empire were shouting their disapproval from the housetops. The papers, hitherto silent, were called into active service. The Salisbury Government was soundly denounced. Especially severe was this denunciation in London, where columns were devoted daily to excoriation of the commissioners and to condemnation of the friendly attitude of the Government toward the mission. Discussing the question at this juncture, the *Times* spoke of the "characteristic crudeness and boldness of American diplomacy," which it claimed was shown "in sending a bimetallic commission to ask for the reopening of the Indian mints while at the same time dealing the worst possible blow at British commerce by passing the Dingley Tariff."

While the delay due to this reference to the Indian authorities was unfavorably commented upon by Mr. Wolcott's detractors in America, it was recognized by thinking people as necessary if the Indian Government was to be permitted to voice its wish in the matter, and the real friends of the movement saw in it no real menace. That, however, Mr. Wolcott was not entirely at ease, we have his own testimony. In a letter from France to a sister, dated September 19th, he speaks of the engrossing interest of his work, and adds: "These are anxious days." But some silver advocates who had been skeptical were converted to a more favorable view. Among those of this class was Mr. Moreton

Frewen, the most tenacious as well as the most consistent of English bimetallists. Mr. Frewen wrote a letter to Judge C. C. Goodwin, of Salt Lake City, soon after the announcement of the postponement. The letter throws so much light upon the situation and shows so clearly that Mr. Wolcott's hopes for a favorable outcome of his negotiations were not without substantial foundation, that it is here reproduced almost entire. Writing from London under date of August 7th, Mr. Frewen said:

The situation here is extremely complex. The personal factor—the attitude of half a dozen men, here, in Berlin, in India—upon this seems to be turning at this moment, the monetary history of the twentieth century. Your men, it is only fair to admit, have done extremely well here. I was one of those who thought that little good could come of such a mission at such a time. I feared that it might sidetrack the energies of silver men on your side, while adding nothing to the movement of public opinion here. But this is not the case, and I am quite surprised at the serious way in which the right people here are now discussing the problem.

This quite unexpected movement toward free coinage by France has come as a bolt from the blue. French finance has always appeared to us wholly admirable. That thrifty, conservative France should adopt the attitude, that the two great Republics could safely "go it alone," if our Indian mints reopened, and if Berlin would agree to take a little silver annually, and sell none—it is hardly possible to overrate the moral effect of such a development as this. It is not America then that is to-day dragging forward an unwilling France; it is rather France that is about to become the target of your gold press! When Wolcott returned from France last February and declared that Méline, the French Prime Minister, was in a likely mood, he said very little more, and the thing seemed to us wholly improbable. But here is Baron Courcel, the French Ambassador, collaborating with your men at every step, and Méline declared to a friend the other day: "If we [the Government] are put out because of our support of silver, we shall not be out long." You can then imagine the surprise of our people at the attitude of the French Ministry. Bryan, we were told, was a low fellow; he was a "repudiator"—a "fifty-cent-dollar" man; but here is the French Government working quietly for a "forty-five-cent"

dollar, for a ratio of 1 to 15½, and our press, in dumb surprise, has not yet found any adjectives.

It is strange that the member of this Cabinet from whom the least was hoped, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is apparently the most anxious of all to help things forward to a speedy settlement; while, on the other hand, that member whose speeches in the past have done the most to arouse public opinion here to the great dangers impending, is to-day making all the trouble within the Cabinet. I refer to Mr. Goschen, who was the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's former Government.

. . . . . .

Bimetallism at 1 to 15½! That is rupee exchanges at ten to the sovereign; the tael and the yen and all the exchanges with eight hundred millions of Asiatics deprived of the present gold premium of 100 per cent. This seems to be too good to be true. Commercially it means a new heaven and a new earth; a far better world to-morrow for all the white races. It is better not to anticipate such blessing as near at hand; but I do feel, after a period of despondency, that perhaps the very last chapters of this strange history of financial anarchy, which dates back to 1873, are even now being written.

INDIA'S REJECTION

The announcement of the adverse decision of the Indian Government and of Great Britain's consequent rejection of the proposals was delayed almost three months after they were submitted. It came through official communications from Lord Salisbury to Ambassador Hay and Baron de Courcel.

These letters were dated October 19th. They were identical in language and read:

Her Majesty's Government have given their most careful consideration to the proposals respecting Currency which were submitted by the representatives of the United States and France at the Conferences held at the Foreign Office on the 12th and 15th of July last. Of these proposals it is evident that the first, which relates to the reopening of the Indian mints for the free coinage of silver, is by far the most important, and consequently a despatch was addressed on the 5th of August to the Govern-

ment of India by the Secretary of State in Council asking for an expression of their opinion on the subject.

I have the honor now to enclose a copy of a letter from the India Office to the Treasury, forwarding the reply of the Government of India to this country. It will be observed that their "unanimous and decided opinion is that it would be most unwise to reopen the mints as part of the proposed arrangements," and that this conclusion is endorsed by the Secretary of State in Council. Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the reasons by which this conclusion is supported. Among other arguments, the Government of India point out that they can hardly be expected to give up the policy which for four years they have been endeavoring to make effective, in the absence of substantial security that the system to be substituted for it is practically certain to be stable. If, owing to the relative smallness of the area over which the bimetallic system is to be established, to the great divergence between the proposed ratio and the present gold price of silver, or to any other cause, the legal ratio were not maintained, the position of silver might be much worse than before, and the financial embarrassments of the Government of India greater than any with which they have as yet had to contend.

These are arguments against the proposals as they stand of which it is impossible to deny the force. But even were they less strong than they appear to her Majesty's Government, or than they will probably appear to the representatives of the United States and France, the Government of India could hardly be compelled against their own decided opinions to make a second important change in Indian currency within so short a period as four years at a time of exceptional difficulty and suffering.

In these circumstances her Majesty's Government feel it their duty to state that the first proposal of the United States representatives is one which they are unable to accept. Due consideration has also been given to the remaining proposals, but her Majesty's Government do not feel it to be necessary to discuss them at the present moment. The proposal respecting the Indian mints was not only alluded to by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate in the House of Commons of March 17, 1896, as by far the most important contribution which could be made by the British Empire towards any International agreement, with the object of securing "a stable monetary par of exchange between gold

and silver," but it would also appear that the representatives of the United States and France entertain a similar opinion with regard to it. Her Majesty's Government are, therefore, desirous to ascertain how far the views of the American and French Governments are modified by the decision now arrived at, and whether they desire to proceed further with the negotiations at the present moment. It is possible that the time which has elapsed since the proposals were put forward in July last may have enabled the representatives of the two Governments concerned to form a more accurate estimate than was then practicable of the amount of assistance which they may expect from other Powers, and of the success which their scheme is likely to attain. Her Majesty's Government might then be placed in a position to consider the subject with a fuller knowledge than they now possess of many circumstances materially affecting the proposals before them.

In their response the Indian Viceroy and his Council gave many reasons for the rejection of the proposals, one of the principal of which was that the proposed ratio was too favorable to silver. The imposition of the ratio of 15½ to 1, while the actual market ratio was 35 to 1, would, it was contended, shatter, for the time at least, the export trade of India; would gravely affect the relations between the State as landlord and the cultivating classes; would diminish the receipts from the State railways, and would give a shock to commercial and social relations by a sudden and large increase in the value of the rupee from 16*d.* to 23*d.*, to be followed, in all probability, if the anticipations of the bimetallists were not realized, by as rapid a fall, "probably to 9*d.* or even lower." The whole cost and risk of the experiment would, it was contended, be, substantially, borne by India alone. The fact that France and the United States had a certain stock of gold on which they could rely if the new system were to break down, and which they would undoubtedly take measures to protect, was pointed out and made much of. But India, "reduced to a monometallic silver basis," would be unable to help herself. She could not hope to get back to her position by again closing the mints. Moreover, the change in prices to which France and

the United States looked with hope would be injurious to India's commercial interests.

They could not think that France and the United States would be likely with the help of India to be able to maintain the relative value of the two metals at the ratio suggested. Only a general international union of all or most of the important countries of the world, they argued, could accomplish so much. Then a further doubt arose in the possibility of either France or the United States being reduced for a time to a paper currency, when the agreement would cease to operate for an indefinite period. This they admitted would be of no importance in a union comprising all the important countries of the world, but could not be disregarded when only two or three were concerned. Moreover, an agreement between two or three nations was open to much greater risk of termination than a wider union.

The position was then taken that unless England was in full co-operation India could not see her way clear to enter the proposed union. On this point it was said:

> We believe, however, that whatever inducements are held out to us by other nations, our best policy in monetary matters is to link our system with that of Great Britain. Our commercial connections with that country are far more important than those with all the rest of the world put together, and more than a sixth part of our expenditure is incurred in that country and measured in its currency. The advantages which in this respect we gain by following the lead of Great Britain are not obtained, or not fully obtained, if we become members of a monetary union in which Great Britain takes no part. And, indeed, as we have already explained, we have little hope of an efficient union being formed unless Great Britain is a member. We think it a reasonable position for us to take with regard to the present proposals by France and the United States, that we should say that the Government of India strove long and earnestly to further the formation of an International Union; that when they saw that the opposition of England rendered impossible the attainment of that object within any measurable time, they temporarily abandoned their efforts in that direction, and decided, as the least prejudicial of the courses open to them, to throw in their lot with Great Britain, and to adopt the gold standard; that, as it appears improbable that an effective union

will be formed without the adhesion of Great Britain, and as the measures adopted to introduce a gold standard in India are now approaching final success, they consider that it will be wisest to adhere to the course adopted in 1893 until Great Britain is prepared to join in International Bimetallism; and that they therefore wish to adhere to the same monetary standard as Great Britain, with which nation they are most closely linked both in respect of their commercial relations and in all other respects, and to refrain from becoming a party to arrangements with other nations in which Great Britain sees ample reason for refusing to join.

The despatch concluded:

To sum up, our reply to your Lordship's reference is a strong recommendation that you should decline to give the understanding desired by France and the United States. Our unanimous and decided opinion is that it would be most unwise to reopen the mints as part of the proposed arrangements, especially at a time when we are to all appearance approaching the attainment of stability in exchange by the operation of our own isolated and independent action.

Plainly, nothing was left to the American Commissioners but to discontinue negotiations. They recognized that without the opening of the mints of India it would be impossible to obtain the co-operation of France, to say nothing of Germany and the other Powers, in the interest of silver coinage. They therefore decided upon an immediate return to the United States. This resolution was carried into effect and, sailing soon after the receipt of the communication, they arrived early in November, 1897. The mission was of six months' duration.

AFTERMATH

That the failure of the mission was due to the mysteriously potent money centres is now certain, and this influence was exerted unfavorably from the time the commissioners set foot on British soil. Coincidently with the beginning of their work silver began a rapid decline, and down it continued to go until in a very short time it had

reached the then unprecedentedly low price of 55½ cents an ounce.

Probably the exact means used for the accomplishment of the result never will be generally known, but the reason for the opposition is not so difficult of determination. There was but little effort on the part of the English press of the time to conceal it, as witness the following from the *London Graphic* of October 18, 1897:

> Gold may yet become current in India if the policy of 1895 is boldly pursued. Then the single gold standard would rule throughout the Empire. That is our interest, but as producers and lenders of gold we are not going to throw it away in order to put money into the pockets of Colorado mine owners, or to help Mr. McKinley out of electioneering difficulties.

And this from the *Statist*, of October 30th, in connection with comments on the proposals of the Commission:

"Every one who really knows English opinion must be aware that no Government that ever existed in this country could venture upon such an experiment, and that if any Minister were rash enough to propose it he would be instantly hurled from power."

The reference by the Imperial Government to the Calcutta Viceroy in dealing with a question such as this is probably without precedent in British administration. The question of the Indian currency is pre-eminently a question for the Imperial Parliament, and the mouthpiece of that Parliament is the Secretary of State for India, not the Viceroy and his Council in India. The event almost justifies a suspicion of bad faith somewhere in high places.

The disappointment left Wolcott a changed man. His hope, amounting for a few weeks to a conviction that he had with such facility and expedition settled a question which had baffled all previous monetary conferences; which had led to one of the fiercest controversies of the century; which had come very near to disrupting both parties in the United States—this hope was shattered at a moment when he had the right to suppose that the goblet of success was at his very lips. It made the disappointment all the keener that the final reference to the Calcutta Govern-

ment was really an afterthought of the Imperial Government, a matter of official or diplomatic courtesy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said to Wolcott on an afternoon soon after the conference: "I suppose that we should in a matter of this sort ask the views of the Indian Government," but he left no doubt whatever in the mind of his auditor that the reference to Calcutta which elicited the despatch of disapproval was hardly more than a matter of form.

To the student of history the entire course of events connected with the Wolcott Commission furnishes the material for perpetual surprises. The decision of the two Republics that they would reopen their mints to silver if the great Indian dependency would revert to silver monometallism, was in the highest degree unexpected by the whole world of contemporary finance. Again, the Government of India was in the greatest straits. It was believed by all competent economists that just as the closing of the mints had been a colossal blunder, so also India would find it necessary to reopen them without waiting for outside help; that the refusal to reconvert into money the silver ornaments of the peasantry at any time of famine must swell the death-rate immensely during these frequent and sinister visitations, and that by the full difference between the exchange value of the rupee and its bullion value the export trades of India were being crippled and reduced. In short, every Government of India since 1873 had been praying for just such outside support for silver as France and America had now offered. And yet, when the offer was made, it was refused in a despatch bristling with jejune fallacies in every paragraph.

The surprise and disappointment were heart-breaking, and Wolcott returned home greatly depressed. Yet it is not improbable that his work may yet bear fruit. The present awakening of China is destined to prepare the way for a vast absorption of silver and for a great rise in its price, and when the moment comes, some offer linking on to that of 1897 may be made to the British Government, when wiser counsels may prevail.

Though in great trouble over the result, it is fair to add that Wolcott never referred to the English Chancellor of the Exchequer without indicating high regard

and appreciation. Sir Michael Hicks Beach was a monometallist of the straitest sect; he had the reputation in his own country of being a strong but essentially a narrow-minded official, steeped in Tory prejudice and stewed in Tory juice; but throughout these complicated negotiations the American Commission found the Chancellor not merely anxious to promote the desired co-operation of Great Britain and India, but prepared also to disregard, and on more than one occasion to disregard with expressions of contempt and disavowal, the ignorance and the obsession of so-called "City influences." The Chancellor of the Exchequer was aware, what even London's City Fathers are sometimes inclined to forget, that silver is the money metal of some eight hundred millions of their smaller customers, and that, as this metal loses its value in exchange, so also the purchasing power of the Orient shrivels and shrinks with catastrophic consequences to British trade.

There was, of course, much and varied comment by the American as well as the foreign press on the result of the mission. The gold-standard papers were pleased, and they did not hesitate so to express themselves. The more radical silver advocates had never believed England would yield, and their disappointment over the failure to obtain silver coinage was visibly tempered by their satisfaction at having their prophecies fulfilled. Probably as fair and impartial a statement as was printed in the United States was contained in the editorial comment of the *Washington Post* of October 24, 1897. In part the *Post* said:

> The Administration's course in the premises so far has been characterized by conscientiousness and good judgment. The St. Louis platform has properly been its guide of action. That platform committed the Republican party to an effort to rehabilitate silver by international agreement. It did not pledge success to such an effort. It could not do that, because the question was recognized as a very difficult one.
>
> The Administration upon coming into power promptly took the subject up. But not without a protest here and there. In more than one quarter there was a feeling and an opinion was expressed that no action at all should follow. The cynical sug-

gestion was made to treat the matter merely as a campaign promise without binding force in the day of success. The Administration vetoed this, and announced that the promise should be kept to the letter.

Then came the question of procedure. It was decided to send a special commission abroad, and to select its members from the ranks of those known to be earnest advocates of bimetallism. The country expressed the liveliest satisfaction with the three men chosen—all men of substance, experience, high position, and undoubted abilities. It was at once arranged to give them all the support that the leading American embassies abroad could afford. So equipped, with full support at home, and assistance provided for abroad, the special commissioners entered upon their work, and have carried it along with patience and tact and much dignity. They have found sympathy in France, and respectful attention even in England, and the sum of their knowledge as well as of the world's knowledge on the subject as it exists up to date has been enhanced.

As the case stands to-day, therefore, the Administration has followed the line of the St. Louis platform, and the special commissioners have followed the line of the Administration's instructions. Difficulties in the way of accomplishing the end desired were known to exist, and they have been encountered. The commissioners will report the situation accurately, and it will then be for the Administration to determine its future steps.

MR. WOLCOTT'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION

Of all the opponents of the Commission in the Senate, probably Senator Allen of Nebraska and Senator Stewart of Nevada were the most pronounced. Soon after Mr. Wolcott's return the Nebraska Senator took him to task on the floor of the Senate concerning the Commission. He was pressing for a report, and in the course of his speech expressed the opinion that the $100,000 appropriated for the payment of the Commission's expenses had been "thrown away."

Wolcott replied that if Allen would take the necessary time to investigate the accounts of the Commission, on file at the State Department, he would possibly correct the statement—a statement he had sent broadcast over the country and had "published in those patent 'insides in the West,

which constitute the bone and sinew and most of the brain of the Populist party." He added that of the $100,000 appropriated for the Commission but $16,000 had been spent. No member of the body had, he said, gone abroad except at the sacrifice of thousands of dollars of his own money.

Continuing his reply, he said:

> The Senator from Nebraska says he always knew that any attempt to obtain international bimetallism would be a failure. I suppose the sapient Senator from Nebraska and his fellow-Populists at some cross-roads in the western part of his State, who know where Europe is on the map and know but little else of the countries of the world, got together and determined that no country but the United States was intelligent enough to have ideas upon the money question. They were unaware of the fact that the great leaders of thought in England, in France, and in Germany were, for more than a generation before the party of which the Senator from Nebraska is such a shining light was ever heard of, bimetallists from conviction and from principle, and from that day to this they have preached it as the one doctrine that can bring prosperity to the people of the world and can advance civilization.

On the 17th of January, 1898, Senator Wolcott made his official explanation of his mission to the Senate and the country. Like all his speeches, it was clear-cut and well expressed, but it was devoid of the spirit which was a marked characteristic of most of his speeches. This was due to the fact that he was reluctant to make the statement. He confided this fact to those nearest to him just before he began to talk. He did not like to speak of failures, and the non-success of his mission probably was one of the greatest disappointments of his life. He had been more hopeful of the result than any one had suspected, but, as he said on the floor of the Senate, the adverse reply of India to the note of the home Government concerning the opening of the Indian mints was "like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky to him." He had not counted upon opposition from that direction and had been quite unprepared for the blow when it fell. There also lingered within his breast the feeling that he had not received from the President's subordinates

in the Administration that co-operation which he thought he should have had, and he especially felt that the then Secretary of State, John Sherman, of Ohio, as well as the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Lyman J. Gage, had been remiss in this respect. Indeed, he asserted that they had placed such obstacles in his path as greatly to embarrass his every effort in the negotiations. He mentioned Mr. Gage in his speech, but not Mr. Sherman. For a period he was quite bitter on account of their course. He became so nervous that those who were connected with him at the Capitol found it pleasanter not to mention the subject of the mission in his presence. In time, however, his buoyancy reasserted itself, and he grew reconciled to the inevitable.

In this speech he gave a detailed account of the work of the envoys, explaining how in the end only failure had resulted, and at the same time how near they had been to achieving success, a success which, if it had resulted, would have revolutionized the finances of the world and influenced for ages the affairs of all mankind. The various proposals, including the Huskisson plan (which was a silver bank reserve scheme), were outlined and explained.

He gave the McKinley Administration credit for in the main assisting the work of the Commission, but severely criticised the utterances of Secretary Gage of the Treasury and of some of his subordinates. To President McKinley personally he awarded the highest praise, as he did to John Hay, American Ambassador to Great Britain.

The attitude of France and of Great Britain respectively was explained at length, and while there was much praise for the French, there was no censure for the English—not even for the authorities of India, to whose attitude failure was due. On this latter point, he said:

> I am sure that I violate no confidence when I say that the answer of the India Government protesting against reopening Indian mints was as much a surprise to the English Ministry as it was a disappointment to us. While the protest was not final and while the English Government in London could have overruled the objections from India, yet such action would have been contrary to all precedent. As a matter of fact, the home Government, it is said, unanimously upheld the report.

Frequent statements in our papers assert that the answer of India was dictated from London. It may be that the blind and unreasoning fury of the City of London directed against any suggestion of contributions or concessions to an international settlement of the currency question which should recognize silver, and which threatened a panic, and the overthrow of any ministry which attempted it, may have rendered the reply of the India Government not wholly unwelcome; but the policy outlined in the letter of September 16th, signed by the Viceroy and his associates, must stand as the deliberate and uninfluenced judgment of that Government.

His peroration was an appeal for continued international effort in the interest of the double standard.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the ability of this country to maintain alone the parity between silver and gold [he said], there is no question that the concurrence of other nations would help and not hinder the cause of bimetallism in the United States, and efforts to secure it ought to receive the cordial support of every citizen who is opposed to gold monometallism.

International bimetallism is not a myth, a chimera. The people of Europe are, even as we are, struggling to keep their heads above water and seeking blindly for that which may make for prosperity and for progress. The evils of falling prices and dearer gold bring poverty and disaster to them as to us. It is said that the influence of money grows year after year. So also does the influence of those great masses who toil from dawn till dark upon soil which God made rich and unwise laws of man can make profitless.

With useless endeavor
Forever, forever,
Is Sisyphus rolling
His stone up the mountain!

And every year of added burdens and lessened prices swells the ranks of those who refuse longer to believe that overproduction, cheaper transportation, and labor-saving inventions can account for the steady decline in values since the mints were closed, nearly a quarter of a century ago. Dollar wheat is

dollar wheat the world over; but it does not tell the same story in France and Germany, where drought and flood have left only starvation in their wake, that it does here where the misfortunes of the Old World have brought prosperity to the New.

Much of the recent legislation in Europe looking to the increase of gold holdings and the depreciation of silver, finds its origin in the exigencies of a situation where readiness for war is the paramount necessity. There is hardly a statesman in Europe who believes the last word has yet been said upon the question of the remonetization of silver, and hardly one who would not welcome an effort to settle the question internationally. Only a few days ago, just before Christmas, in a debate in the French Chamber, M. Méline again declared that the French Government was at one with the United States on the question of bimetallism.

In the face of such a declaration it is as cowardly to abandon hope as it is false to talk about failure. International bimetallism is to the gold monometallist a stumbling block, and to the silver monometallist foolishness, but it is nevertheless a splendid possibility. Its accomplishment would be the greatest blessing that could befall our people, and to achieve it we might well afford to sink for the time the hostilities of party and the bickerings of faction.

The English popular explanation of the conference was made by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who, in a speech at Bristol, October 29, 1897, said:

We consulted the Government of India. We gave them certainly not too much time to consider this most important matter and to give us at adequate length their views in regard to it. Those views reached us in the despatch that has been made public. Now I should not like to bind myself to every statement or every argument in that despatch. I wish it had more clearly stated what are the reasons for which the Government of India believe that they will soon be able to make a gold standard effective in that country. But take the main arguments in the despatch, and bring them to bear upon the particular proposals which the United States and France have made. Speaking for myself, I certainly concur in those arguments and think that the Government of India was certainly right in rejecting the proposal that was made to them. Now, I dare say that that view is not shared by all my colleagues. But this

I may tell you, that, though some of them might not share the view, we were perfectly unanimous on this point, that it was impossible for us, in face of the views which the Government of India had expressed upon the particular proposals which had been made to them and of the nature of those proposals themselves, to override the judgment of the Government of India on a matter primarily affecting the interests of India herself and to compel her to make a change in her coinage system a second time within four years. Therefore, we returned, as we felt bound to return, a negative answer to the United States and France with regard to that most important one of their proposals, without the acceptance of which it certainly did not appear to me that it was worth while considering any of the others which they submitted to us.

In his message to Congress, delivered six weeks after the suspension of the Commission's labors, President McKinley seemed to entertain a hope that later the negotiations might be renewed with the possibility of better success, and Mr. Wolcott himself entertained the opinion that on another ratio, say 1 to 20, something might be accomplished. To make the record complete and to show the good faith of the President, his expression on the subject is here reproduced. The message bore date of December 6, 1897, and in it he said:

The gratifying action of our great sister Republic of France, 3, 1897, for the promotion of an international agreement respecting bimetallism, I appointed on the 14th day of April, 1897, Hon. Edward O. Wolcott, of Colorado, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, and Hon. Charles J. Paine, of Massachusetts, as special envoys to represent the United States. They have been diligent in their efforts to secure the concurrence and co-operation of European countries in the international settlement of the question, but up to this time have not been able to secure an agreement contemplated by their mission.

The gratifying action of our great sister Republic of France in joining this country in an attempt to bring about an agreement among the principal commercial nations of Europe whereby a fixed and relative value between gold and silver shall be secured, furnishes assurance that we are not alone among the larger nations of the world in realizing the international character of

the problem and in the desire of reaching some wise and practical solution of it. The British Government has published a résumé of the steps taken jointly by the French ambassadors in London and the special envoys of the United States, with whom our Ambassador at London actively co-operated in the presentation of this subject to Her Majesty's Government. This will be laid before Congress.

Our special envoys have not made their final report, as further negotiations between the representatives of this Government and the Governments of other countries are pending and in contemplation. They believe that doubts which have been raised in certain quarters respecting the position of maintaining the stability of the parity between the metals and kindred questions may yet be solved by further negotiations.

Meanwhile it gives me satisfaction to state that the special envoys have already demonstrated their ability and fitness to deal with the subject, and it is to be earnestly hoped that their labors may result in an international agreement which will bring about recognition of both gold and silver as money upon such terms and with such safeguards as will secure the use of both metals upon a basis which shall work no injustice to any class of our citizens.

At frequent intervals after his return to America, Mr. Wolcott engaged in discussion of the silver question both in and out of the Senate Chamber, always championing the cause of bimetallism, ever predicting the ultimate return to the system, and consistently defending the international movement as the only plan to insure that result.

In an interview printed in the *Washington Post* of November 16, 1899, eighteen months after the close of his mission to Europe, Mr. Wolcott expressed his conviction that international co-operation would be necessary to the restoration of silver coinage.

"My views upon bimetallism do not change," he said, "but it is becoming perfectly evident that silver will never be restored to its parity by any act of the United States alone. When relief comes it will come through international action, and not otherwise."

In a speech made in the Senate in support of a legislative affirmation in favor of the double standard, as late as February 12, 1900, he took occasion to refer to his mis-

sion to Europe and then threw further light on the work of the envoys. In that speech he predicted reaction from the then prosperous conditions, when, he declared, "public interest will be again aroused to consider the wisdom of a policy which would do more than any other to ameliorate and lessen the hard times which seem the invariable attendant of our commercial life." The provision which he was advocating was an amendment to the pending bill, and concerning it he declared:

> The amendment, together with the law of 1897, creating a commission for negotiation with foreign governments, still in force, is in accord and in line with its former declarations, and furnishes to the United States their only hope for an honest effort toward a restoration of a parity between gold and silver. It is true there are doubt and hostility in certain quarters, but the great mass of the voters of the country are bimetallists, provided always bimetallism can be secured without impairment of the national credit. "Truth is the daughter of Time," and sooner or later, when other experiments have failed, the principle will secure adoption by the intelligent nations of the world.

In this speech he took note of the then recent gold discoveries, but voiced the opinion that even with the vast additions the new mines were making to the world's stock of the yellow metal, silver still would be necessary to the proper transaction of business. On this point he said:

> If this great output of gold shall continue and increase, as it bids fair to do, it will go a long way toward making permanent that general rise in values which is now bringing the world prosperity. But even so, Mr. President; if the Transvaal, when days of peace shall return in that region now devastated by war, should quadruple its output; if the Klondike and Cape Nome shall rival the Rand in wealth; and the wonderful gold production in Cripple Creek and throughout our mining regions continues and increases, as there is every reason to believe it will, it is still true that every civilized gold-using country which relies upon agriculture or which may compete with the silver-using countries in the labor employed in its mills and manufactories will still suffer great and destructive disadvantage until at some fair ratio the two metals again march side by side.

Finding in the lapse of more than two years of time an excuse for a fuller revelation of some of the proceedings of the International Commission, he said:

The position of France was that she was bimetallic, and that under no conceivable circumstances would she make a change in her financial system. Unless there were important concessions from England, including the opening of the Indian mints, France would not proceed further.

There was another fact which lapse of time permits me to state without embarrassment to anybody, and that is the undoubted fact that when our envoys—for there was no conference called—had their interviews with the English Ministry in the late summer of 1897, before the proposals which we had made were forwarded to India, the English Ministry were of the unanimous opinion that the India authorities would quickly avail themselves of our offers, and that the result of our proposals would be the acceptance of them. That fact is as undoubted as any fact in existence. When people talk here of the futile efforts of the envoys, they little realize how near to the achievement of success we came.

There is one further fact of great importance in view of what I am going to say, and that is, I sincerely believe that if we had then been in a position, either in the summer before our proposals went to India, or afterward, upon their return, to negotiate with the English Government upon the basis of a change of ratio, not great, not enormous, but something of a change to meet the altered conditions, we might still then have come back with an agreement executed and not with failure. But we were not at liberty so to do. The hostility that prevailed here would have prevented.

Mr. President, it is undoubtedly true that our final success was perhaps neither furthered nor hindered by the attitudes and actions of parties and individuals on this side of the water. But there was nothing left undone by the extremists on both sides to injure and destroy our usefulness and the possibility of our success.

I do not care again to refer to the action of Administration subordinates. Above them all was the President of the United States, and it is beyond any question that he, as well as the ambassadors abroad, cordially and zealously co-operated with the Commission, gave us a free hand and the fullest power.

Discussing at some length the attitude of what he termed the "Bryan Democracy" in opposition to the work of the Commission, Mr. Wolcott referred with feeling to the antagonism he had experienced in his own State, and added:

I rejoice to say that there is a radical change taking place not only in Colorado, but in all the far Northwestern States. Our people are tired of hearing only a gospel of hate and sectionalism. We do not pay as much attention as we formerly did to the prophets of despair and doom, who are eternally warning us against the wrath to come, that somehow does not come. We are getting a glimmering shadow of an idea that if we want friendship, and prosperous communities, and capital for our marvellous resources, we are as apt to get them by maintaining cordial relations with the rest of the country, even if they do not fully agree with us on the silver question, as we are by bitter words and savage hate toward everybody who happens to differ with us; and that perhaps the cause of bimetallism is not really furthered by an alliance with people who want to tear up railroads and tear down the Supreme Court, and whose principal mission seems to be to persuade mankind that they are on their way to the poorhouse.

Life is not all cheerfulness and content; but some of it is, and we are going to take ours without waiting for Mr. Bryan, for he may not arrive. The black spectre of the "Crime of '73" no longer walks abroad in Colorado and keeps us awake nights. It has gone "over the range," and we are coming out from the caves of gloom into the open sunshine of hope.

Our Commonwealth is the richest in natural resources in the whole Union, but its chief value is in the fact that it lies in the heart of this great free Republic, one of an eternal brotherhood of States, linked together in one common and immortal destiny.

He closed this memorable speech, his last in the Senate on the merits of the silver question, with a glowing prediction of a general return to bimetallism, declaring, however, that it could be brought about in this country only through the aid of the Republican party, "the party which has ever stood for the national honor and the national credit."

When a few days later there was an effort in the Senate to alter the phraseology of the amendment so as to declare that "the people of the United States are in favor of bi-

metallism," Mr. Wolcott opposed the change, not because he did not favor the broadest possible expression, but because his common sense told him that it was better to take what he could get, even though it was only partially satisfactory, than to hold out for what he could not get.

Mr. President, if I could frame the language of this side of the Chamber respecting an amendment which reiterates and reaffirms the principles and policy of the Republican party as to the restoration of bimetallism, I should [he said] make it strong and vigorous and unqualified and earnest. I should probably add many phrases to the declaration as it appears in the amendment reported by the committee. But, Mr. President, I cannot make the language for the Committee on Finance; I cannot frame the language for this side of the Chamber. In good faith I accept the declarations of honorable Senators belonging to a party whose record is one of honor and not of dishonor; and when, to a man, they state on the floor of this Senate that they are believers in the principles of international bimetallism, that they stand ready to assist in bringing about the accomplishment of that beneficent result, as an honest man I accept that statement and am grateful for that admission and that appendage to this bill respecting the currency. I accept it, Mr. President, because I know it is made in good faith. It may be, in the opinion of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen] puny and futile; it may be, in the opinion of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Cockrell] humiliating and disgraceful; but it is enough for me and enough for any man who wants to be a Republican and is a bimetallist and wants to believe that the Republican party will not agree to the reopening of the American mints at 16 to 1 without considering the wishes of any other country, but do stand ready to assist in bringing about, with the consent of the leading nations of the world, the restoration of the bimetallic system at some fair ratio. And because I believe that I accept it, and I am not going to be driven from my earnest desire as a Republican to stand with the committee and stand with the party by changes of phraseology, however specious or however attractive they may be.

After returning from Europe Mr. Wolcott expressed a willingness to depart from the American and French ratios for silver and accept a wider margin, say 22 to 1 of gold. The low price of silver was responsible for this change of

view. To Mr. Wolcott's practical mind silver at fifty-five cents an ounce was not worth as much gold as silver at twice that figure. The English bimetallists were behind this proposition and it develops that it was the subject of semi-diplomatic treatment. The suggestion contemplated the leaving out of France, which was not inclined to make any concessions on the ratio. The matter was presented to Secretary Hay, who, passing the proposition on to Mr. Wolcott, said in a note of October 10, 1898:

> What our friends in England would like to receive from us would be an assurance that we are ready to act, upon the opening of the Indian mints alone at something like 22 to 1, without regard to the action of France, and even in view of a positive refusal from that country. I am inclined to think that our Government is not ready to go quite so far as this. We should probably not pledge ourselves to act in spite of the refusal of France, and I doubt if we should care to commit ourselves positively except with a fair chance of the adhesion of the French Government. I wish you would take a minute from your engrossing occupations to tell me what you thing about it.

Nothing came of the English suggestion, but the Secretary did not abandon his efforts as is shown by the following letter:

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1899.

MY DEAR SENATOR WOLCOTT:

Understanding that you are about to visit Europe this summer, I take this occasion to say that I should be greatly obliged to you if, in the course of your travels, you could see and converse with some of the leading public men in England, France, and Germany in regard to the questions relating to currency, in which you were so much interested during your mission to Europe two years ago.

You know better than any one else the attitude of public opinion in this country, and of the leading men of the Government in regard to the question of practical bimetallism, and I, therefore, need not repeat to you that it is not considered expedient for the Government of the United States to reopen the subject at present. But the information which you might acquire as to the present point of view of some of the leading European States in regard to the matter could not but be use-

ful to us all, and I hope you may find it convenient to give a little time and attention to the subject during the summer.

I am
Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) JOHN HAY.

Hon. E. O. WOLCOTT,
United States Senate.

In his address in connection with the Wolcott Memorial Services held in Denver soon after the Senator's death, his intimate personal and political friend, Hon. A. M. Stevenson, dwelt at length and upon first-hand information on Mr. Wolcott's efforts in behalf of the white metal, and in a recent letter he has added somewhat to his previous remarks. These contributions throw so much light on the subject that liberal extracts are given. In his address, he said:

Mr. Wolcott went to Washington thoroughly imbued with the ideas and sentiments of the people of the West, and especially those of his own State, upon economic questions, and at once became a leader both in counsel and in debate upon all subjects connected with the monetary system of his country. He believed then that the free and unrestricted coinage of silver by the independent action of the United States was possible. His speeches in the Senate advocating this monetary policy will always be classed among the most convincing arguments in behalf of the double standard. He fought the fight until to continue the battle longer upon those lines, in his opinion, meant not only defeat, but more, the absolute certainty of accomplishing nothing for either his people at home or for silver as a money metal. He saw and realized long before the rest of us saw or realized that the inevitable result of a continuance of the struggle for free and unlimited coinage by the independent action of the United States meant defeat and failure, and he appreciated, as few Western men could appreciate, that some compromise must be accepted, or that legislation would be enacted which would cast aside silver as a money metal, and debase it to an ordinary commodity of commerce; he knew what that meant to thousands of his constituents. His first home here had been a silver-mining camp and he had all the sympathy that a loyal Coloradoan could have for men who worked and delved in the silver mines of the State. He realized that if silver was

cast aside, thousands of men throughout the entire West, and especially in Colorado, would be unemployed; that fortunes would be dissipated in a day, and that flourishing towns would be depopulated and their citizens left in want or driven from the State.

What was he to do under these circumstances? Had he better act the part of a demagogue and continue the hopeless fight, certain of applause and popular approval at home, or should he do what he considered best for the people of Colorado? He was a statesman, brave and courageous, and chose the latter course. He determined to seek some middle ground upon which he hoped all could meet, and which he knew would be of lasting benefit to his own people and work no injury to the rest of the country. He tried with all his energy and ability to convince his colleagues that at least American silver could be coined by the United States at a fixed ratio without danger of injury, and it is now to be regretted that in this masterful effort for Colorado he met with no encouragement at home.

He soon learned that the contest had been carried on so long and the opposition to silver had become so strong that even the free coinage of American silver was an impossibility; but he still refused to surrender unconditionally, and almost single-handed and alone he persuaded President McKinley during his first Administration to appoint a Monetary Commission, to visit the leading nations of Europe and try if possible to agree upon the relative value between gold and silver as money, with free mintage at a common ratio.

. . . . . .

The trouble with it all was that most of us were still hoping for the impossible, and we did not see as the statesman, Wolcott, saw, that it could not be accomplished. His broad-minded statesmanship disclosed to him the true situation long before silver was abandoned as money, and long before the conditions which exist to-day had been accomplished. He refused, against the wishes of a great majority of his people, to continue the hopeless fight for free and unrestricted coinage by the independent action of the United States, and tried to do something for their interests upon the lines that I have indicated.

This was the cause of the unfortunate estrangement between Senator Wolcott and the majority of his party, and a majority of the people of his own State, in 1896.

In a personal letter to the author dated October 8, 1909, Mr. Stevenson wrote:

You will recall that Senator Teller and Senator Wolcott were never happy during the Harrison Administration. They both saw the tendency to adopt the gold standard and in addition to this they felt personally aggrieved at the President. Wolcott was then as devotedly attached to the cause of bimetallism as any other man in public life.

During the Harrison Administration at a banquet given to Senators Teller and Wolcott at the Brown Hotel, Senator Wolcott stated that should the Republican party declare for the gold standard he should not be bound by its declaration. I am confident that he never changed in his devotion to the bimetallic principle and that his statement at the Brown Hotel was from his heart and sincere. But up to that time Wolcott had not been much of a student of monetary questions. It was after this time that he commenced to investigate, read, and study, and finally he came to the conclusion that the unrestricted coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 by the United States alone was something that could never happen; that it was impossible, and that the only hope for silver as a money metal was through an agreement between the principal nations for a limited coinage at an agreed ratio. Wolcott therefore corresponded with the leading statesmen and financiers of England and the Continent and was encouraged to believe that he could bring about such a result. President McKinley promised to aid him in his efforts.

Wolcott also became convinced that the Democratic party was not honestly for the free coinage of silver and that it was using the silver question to get votes, and he believed that if it ever again came into office the result would be a repetition of the Cleveland Administration. He was not wanting in proof of this idea even from Democratic sources. Some of his Democratic friends in the Senate did not hesitate, in the cloak-room, to tell him that the Democratic party, if in power, would never enact a bill for the unrestricted coinage of silver. I have talked with him many times in a confidential way concerning these matters and I bear witness that his every action on the silver question was prompted by the highest and most patriotic motives. He sincerely believed he was best serving the people of his State by the course he finally adopted.

L'ENVOI

THAT the efforts of Mr. Wolcott and his co-laborers in behalf of silver may yet bear fruit is the opinion of a growing number of thinkers, among whom are some Englishmen and Americans who have had especial reasons for studying conditions in the Orient. As the question presents itself to them, it is one of trade and exchange rather than of coinage, and as such they find in it possible potentialities which were not in operation when the problem was under consideration in Mr. Wolcott's day, although he foresaw that in time they would appear. One of these, a close observer of the times, a conservative Briton who enjoyed Mr. Wolcott's confidence and shared his views, has consented to prepare for this work an outline of the future possibilities as seen from the new view-point. Writing from London under date of July 11, 1910, he says:

I suppose that what most we desire for the lives of our friends is the fruition, however long delayed, of the work on which those lives have been expended. The subject of these memoirs was capable of prodigious, though, too often of intermittent, energies; and there is no doubt that the impression he so nearly succeeded in stamping on his time, and the superscription which he chiefly desired to make to the pages of our history, was some permanent settlement of the great problem of the currency.

Strange though it may seem in view of the lethargy of public opinion since his death, the probability is growing from day to day that the great silver issue is again destined to emerge. Whether almost at once, or more probably a decade later, it is likely that the work of the Wolcott Commission yet will be

extricated from the archives of the State Department and that on these foundations the world will yet clamber to safety.

That silver is politically dead—this is essential to its resurrection, if, as Professor Francis Walker declared, its unsolved problem is "a menace to our Western civilizations."

The verdict of the historian will probably agree with Wolcott that in 1896 the Democratic party blundered out upon the political stage, possessed of a great half-truth, but in an unworkable platform, and that the ignorance of the masses of the electorate was not, and could not have been, leavened by a Presidential candidate whose knowledge of the question was so incomplete that only a very few years later he had apparently abandoned all interest in the issue. This is no unfriendly criticism of Mr. Bryan; far from it. The men who, in all the world, had in 1896 any thorough conception of the ramifications of this question could have been numbered on the fingers of one hand. Nor either were they men in the limelight of politics anywhere; nor had they followers anywhere; nor, again, were they anywhere in touch with the organs of the press in either hemisphere. Their voices, as of those who cry in the wilderness, would needs be listened for in bank parlors here and there in the far East: such men as Sir Thomas Jackson of the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank, or Mr. T. H. Whitehead, the manager of the Bank of India and China. With Wolcott's death therefore it is not too much to say that the silver question temporarily disappeared, and monetary science as a science became not so much discredited as clean wiped off the slate. The leading reviews in Europe as in America had in the 'eighties and early 'nineties fairly bristled with the goose-quills of the professors, but for thirteen years after the debacle of the Wolcott Commission the entire subject was erased.

But in the early months of 1907 there was again in waiting for the world of finance, had it but known it, a new and conclusive object-lesson in silver, and this, too, on a scale hitherto unprecedented. The coming twelve months were destined to disclose the greatest collapse of all time in the world's history of the metal, a steady and continuous fall of some thirty-three per cent. Once again, as after the silver crisis in 1893, the financial earthquake was such that the very proudest of the modern credit sky-scrapers were seen to totter to their fall. The wreckage is now removed, the atmosphere is clearing, and there to-day emerges in full sight of all men the great crisis in the exchanges. Men no longer talk of "silver," but they

are none the less discussing everywhere the effect of its recent tremendous descent as governing all those Asiatic industries which, with fleet steamships and railway expansion at low rates, have started on a ruinous competition with the like industries of the white races. It would not be easy to subject this vast question to a compression more remarkable and more luminous than that of the Chinese Mandarin Tong Shoa Yi, the leader of the "Young China" party, who was himself educated at Columbia University.

Writing to a well-known English bimetallist in February, 1908, the Chinese Imperial Commissioner says:

"In China fluctuations in exchange, such as those of last year, are of course very troublesome for our importing merchants; still no doubt last year's fall in silver greatly assists our mills and other manufacturing industries which might be damaged by the competition of imported foreign goods if the exchange rose. Thus the fall in exchange is even as an increasing tariff; but unlike a tariff our exports are not reduced, but are, so to speak, subsidized."

This letter of the Chinese Imperial Envoy at once attracted the attention of Senator Henry M. Teller, who, having agreed to serve on the National Monetary Commission, wrote to a friend in England to enquire what "index numbers" of Oriental and especially of British India prices might be available to assist the new Commission. To guide his correspondent as to the direction given to his own mind by the Mandarin Tong, Senator Teller wrote:

"Five gold dollars, or one sovereign, used to purchase three taels, and three taels formerly paid a day's wage to twenty-one Chinese mill-hands; while to-day five gold dollars purchase, not three, but eight taels, and eight taels pay a day's wage to sixty Chinese mill-hands."

Meanwhile there had been, albeit all unknown either to Washington or to Wall Street, a master mind attracted, nay magnetized, by this great problem of Oriental competition as fostered by a low silver exchange. In the spring of 1909 it began to be rumored in New York that Mr. James J. Hill, the President of the Great Northern system of railroads, had the entire exchange situation under review. In July a short authorized interview with Mr. Hill appeared in the cable columns of the *London Times*.

Mr. Hill said (*Times*, June 22d):

"We must await the proposals of the Monetary Commission at Washington. The silver problem is full of difficulty, and I

wish it were possible to ignore it. Our Consuls in Asia warn us, however, that at the present rate of silver exchange Asia has ceased to import American wheat, lumber, or flour, and that the Shanghai merchant who eighteen months ago bought a sovereign with five taels must now pay nearly eight taels. The result is disaster; he no longer buys."

The financial collapse of 1907 had sufficed to demonstrate the exchange crisis to the acute mind of Mr. Hill. But two years earlier the big Pacific steamships connecting with his vast system of railroads had been carrying to the East, from Puget Sound, wheat, lumber, and steel rails; but now, since the great fall in exchange, these ships were running to Shanghai empty and were returning filled with competing products of Chinese manufacture, such as pig-iron. Next a great steel rolling-mill with a capacity to roll four hundred tons a day had started at Hankau. Might not this perhaps be the very "menace to Western civilizations" which Professor Walker had adumbrated nearly twenty years earlier to a profoundly puzzled and skeptical world? Replying to a letter from Earl Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Hill wrote as follows:

"GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY BUILDING, SAINT PAUL,
January 17, 1910.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY:

"I must apologize for my delay in replying to your favor of the seventeenth ultimo.

"Your letter expresses forcibly and accurately the practical effect of the fall in exchange with the Orient, not only upon its trade with the rest of the world, but upon domestic industrial conditions in those other countries as well. I have expressed very briefly my opinion of the importance of the matter in an article on 'Oriental Trade,' published in the January number of *The World's Work*, a copy of which I take pleasure in sending you herewith. In addition to my own views I have quoted from a letter from Mr. Moreton Frewen, who has covered the subject exhaustively in a number of articles published within the last few years. Whatever one may think of Mr. Frewen's general theory of monetary standards, his discussion of the fall in exchange and its economic consequences is quite valuable, being matter of fact and not all theory.

"It seems to me that such facts as you cite, which are now becoming familiar in the experience of every country and are affecting profoundly industrial conditions throughout the world,

call, as you say, for a 'good deal of scientific thinking.' Nor will it be easy to discover and agree upon a remedy. The adjustment to each other of two civilizations differing not only in monetary standards and customs but in wages, hours, standards of living, industrial methods, and almost every physical and mental peculiarity that separates one race from another, is a slow and difficult process. It will not be accomplished without some cost to us.

"It appears certain that, as long as the workers of the Orient are content to accept silver at par for their low wage, while the merchant and manufacturer can sell their products abroad for gold and turn it into silver at current rates of exchange, not only must exports to the Orient tend to decrease rather than increase; but it will presently become a question whether the markets of the rest of the world can be saved from a competition stimulated by exchange conditions that we are powerless to control.

"Undoubtedly this subject needs as much attention as is being bestowed upon the general rise of prices, with which it is connected. It is not understood or even mentioned in the discussions of our time. But it will presently force itself unpleasantly upon the notice of other countries, not only in their changing trade balances with the Orient, but in the appearance in their home markets of a competition with which they are unprepared to deal. The adoption of prohibitive tariffs against the Orient, which implies retaliation and the destruction of that trade; the reduction of standards of living and of wages in other countries until the difference between these and those of the Orient shall cover only the difference in efficiency of labor, and some form of agreement upon monetary standards and ratios that will equalize exchanges once more, are the only remedial measures that suggest themselves. The matter is becoming sufficiently urgent to call for their earnest consideration.

"Faithfully yours,

"(Signed) JAS. J. HILL."

From England, it is true, there is little to chronicle that affords any immediate encouragement. Here the deplorable deadlock in politics and the rapid movement toward Protection at present holds the economic field. But the Government of India is understood to be much perplexed as to the operation of their novel "gold standard." May not their admitted tampering with the Indian currency be perhaps connected with the growing unrest

of their people? And, again, will not the new Chinese cotton-mills, which have shown such a mushroom growth during the past two years in Shanghai and elsewhere, be likely to supersede for the very consumption of India itself the fabrics of Bombay? May not India with "rated gold exchanges" lose not merely the Chinese market for cotton goods but her own market also? This is the opinion of Sir David Sassoon, the representative of immense financial interests in the great city of Bombay.

Lord Desborough of Taplow Court, an intimate friend of Senator Wolcott's and now the President of the London Chamber of Commerce, has written a pamphlet on *The Yellow Peril*, which has focussed attention on the new exchange problem, with all of the racial significance that it involves. To revert to America again, it is known that, shortly before he died, Mr. Edward Harriman had declared himself to a friend "a good deal of a silver man," and that he had announced to one who is himself a master mind in finance, Mr. Otto Kahn, a partner in the great international banking house of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co., that the whole subject of silver in its relation to the awakening of China had become of the first importance to the United States.

Such being the sporadic symptoms of our day, it is increasingly evident that important developments may not be very far ahead. Mr. Blaine once said, "No question is settled until it is settled aright." And if for the lack of proper settlement the Western nations are supplying Asia with all the weapons for their own destruction, then the silver question, at last understood, must again attract to its solution the wisest and the best minds of the civilized world.

How completely in accord with the above is the following from Mr. Wolcott's own lips, dating back to 1900, and to be found in an interview published just after the November election of that year:

In the general trend and growth of commerce and our commercial relations with other countries, especially if the Orient be opened to foreign commerce, the question of bimetallism will again be raised, probably by some of the nations of Europe. If it does again become matter for international discussion, it will be through some policy approved by England, France, Germany, and the leading commercial nations of the

world, at some change of ratio, and under conditions which will secure an absolute parity of value at a fixed ratio between the two metals. The question has long ceased to be one which may be settled by the United States alone.

EDWARD O. WOLCOTT, JUST BEFORE ENTERING THE SENATE.

Life and Character

of

Edward Oliver Wolcott

Late a Senator of the United States
from the State of Colorado

By

Thomas Fulton Dawson

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MISCELLANEOUS SENATE SPEECHES

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In the United States Senate

MR. WOLCOTT'S FIRST CONGRESS

WHEN at high noon on the 4th of March, 1889, Mr. Wolcott took the oath of office as a Senator of the United States from Colorado, the nation entered upon the 101st year of its legislative history. That was the date of the beginning of the Fifty-first Congress, and Mr. Wolcott was destined to serve until the close of the Fifty-sixth Congress, two Senatorial terms, or almost an eighth of the Second Congressional century. He was just past forty years of age, and the youngest Senator in the Chamber was his junior by only a month. He came from a State which had been a member of the Union for only a little more than twelve years. But, young as was the State and correspondingly young as was the State's new Senatorial representative, neither was unknown to fame.

In addition to its climatic and scenic attractions, the commonwealth already had taken front rank as a producer of the precious metals, and was making rapid strides in agriculture and stock-raising. Then, as since, the admirers of the State included all who had breathed its exhilarating air, bathed in its life-giving sunshine, looked upon its glorious mountains, or pocketed some of the proceeds from its rich mines or productive ranches.

Not only the State, but the people of the State, had come to be the subject of much general admiration. They were known everywhere as intelligent, progressive, and enterprising. And it was everywhere recognized that they had found in the rising New Englander a representative in every way worthy of them. Young, buoyant, of superior physique,

possessed of splendid intellectual equipment and of much native ability, Mr. Wolcott already had won for himself a fame which extended beyond the borders of the State whose people had asked him to stand as their representative in the higher body of the national Council.

The chief product of the mines of Colorado then was silver, and the people were intensely interested in the struggle for the restoration of that metal to a position of equality with gold. From the beginning of the State's history in 1876, Mr. Wolcott's colleague, Senator Teller, had stood forth as an aggressive and effective combatant for the white metal, and Mr. Wolcott had been chosen as his associate on the same platform. How well he met the demands of his constituency in that direction, as in others, it is the purpose of these pages to set forth as well as may be.

Notwithstanding its history as a State covered only a dozen years, Colorado had been represented by six different Senators, and of the six, Mr. Teller alone had remained for more than one term. Hon. J. B. Chaffee, one of the first of the State's Senatorial representatives, had at the end of his service of a little more than two years voluntarily renounced a re-election. Hon. George M. Chilcott had served under gubernatorial appointment for less than a year; Hon. Horace A. W. Tabor, elected to fill a vacancy, had retained his seat for thirty-three days only, and Hon. Nathaniel P. Hill and Hon. Thomas M. Bowen each had served a full term of six years. With the exception of three years spent as Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of President Arthur, Senator Teller had been in continuous service in the Senate since the beginning of the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress in 1876.

The epoch was an important one. Economic and financial questions were demanding much attention, and party lines were sharply drawn.

Mr. Cleveland had just concluded his first term of office, and for the first time in fourteen years the Republican party controlled the executive office and both branches of Congress. The dispute with Great Britain growing out of the fisheries controversy and the summary departure of Lord Sackville,

the British Minister, who had severed his relations with the Government of the United States on the peremptory demand of the Chief Executive, were still fresh in the minds of the people. In some sections there was no little feeling against the mother-country—a feeling which subsequently Mr. Wolcott was to assist materially in allaying. Party rancor was aroused, and the Republicans had come into power under pressure for a general change of policy, both administrative and legislative. This demand was first met by the introduction of an exceptionally large number of bills, and subsequently by the enactment into law of an unusually large percentage of them. The McKinley Tariff Bill was the result of this popular demand, and it was so persistently debated, and its provisions so vigorously antagonized, that it continued to receive the attention of Congress from the date of its introduction in the House, April 16, 1890, until the first of the following October, when finally, upon the passage of the bill and its approval by the President, the session came to an end.

The occasion of the young Senator's initiation into office was one of marked brilliance and high official importance. Mr. Cleveland, the only Democratic President since the Civil War, had concluded his first term and was on the eve of surrendering the sceptre of office to Benjamin Harrison, his successful Republican rival, who four years from that date in turn was destined to vacate his seat for Mr. Cleveland. Gathered in the classic Senate Chamber were not only the retiring President and his incoming successor, but the new Vice-President, Hon. Levi P. Morton, together with a brilliantly arrayed assemblage of diplomats and Army and Navy dignitaries; the begowned and dignified Supreme Court and its officials, the entire Senate, and a full representation from the House of Representatives. The galleries were adorned by the presence of the wives and sisters of the men who occupied the floor, adding a color and an animation which formed a fitting background for the historic ceremony below.

Always punctual, Mr. Wolcott had made his appearance in the hall early in the day, and, taking a seat beside Mr. Teller, he quietly awaited the call to the presiding officer's

platform to take the oath of office. Similarly situated were one third of the members of the Senate. Not all of them were new to the rôle, as was the Colorado man. Many of the expectants were men who had been re-elected, and they included such notables as Beck, of Kentucky; Berry, of Arkansas; Butler, of South Carolina; Jonathan Chace, the Quaker statesman from Rhode Island; George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts; Manderson, of Nebraska; Morgan, of Alabama; Plumb, of Kansas; and many others whose names were familiar to the country.

As usual, the oath was administered to the new Senators in groups of four. The number was larger than ever before, because the four States of Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, and South Dakota had just been admitted into the Union, and each sent two Senators. Mr. Wolcott was escorted to the front by Senator Teller, and upon being sworn received the cordial congratulations of Vice-President Morton, who then was performing the first of his official duties.

Coming in alphabetical order, Mr. Wolcott was the last of the group to pledge due faith and allegiance to the Constitution, and no sooner had he taken his departure from the Presidential desk than the important assemblage in the Senate Chamber was dispersed in order that it might proceed to the east front of the Capitol, where the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of the new President were to be immediately celebrated.

Following the initiation into office of Mr. Harrison, there was a more than ordinarily prolonged special session of the Senate, which had been called for the confirmation of Presidential nominations and the ratification of pending treaties with foreign countries. The greater part of the work of this session was executive in character and was conducted behind closed doors and in secrecy. If, therefore, the new Senator from Colorado actively participated in the proceedings of this session the fact does not appear of official record; but, as the newspapers were then as now in the habit of printing quite as full, and generally as accurate, accounts of the executive sessions as of the legislative, the fact that

no reference was made to him in their reports of the proceedings may be taken as indicating that he then gave due consideration to the prevailing Senatorial etiquette, which required that new Senators, like small children, should be seen and not heard.

The only official record made of Mr. Wolcott in this brief and formal session is found in the announcement of his appointment on committees and of his introduction of a number of bills. He was fortunate in receiving assignment as Chairman of the important Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, within a few days after taking his seat, his associates being Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; Leland Stanford, of California; W. D. Washburn, of Minnesota; G. A. Pierce, of North Dakota, Republicans; and E. C. Walthall, of Alabama; E. K. Wilson, of Maryland; J. H. Berry, of Arkansas; and Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia, Democrats. He also was assigned to positions on the Committees on Claims, on Post-office and Post-roads, on Pensions, and on Private Land Claims.

During this extra session of the Senate, Mr. Wolcott gave much attention to the distribution of the Federal patronage in Colorado. The State delegation at that time consisted of himself and Mr. Teller, in the Senate, and Hosea Townsend in the House. Up to that time, indeed until 1892, the State was allowed but one representative in the lower House of Congress, and Mr. Townsend was then filling his first term in that office. He was in accord with the Senators, but, notwithstanding this harmonious condition, the filling of the offices required careful consideration at the hands of all the members of the delegation.

To Mr. Wolcott fell the lion's share of this work. But the service was not without its charm for him. He did not ordinarily enjoy detail, but he did like to manage affairs. It was a real pleasure to him to exercise control and to reward those who had assisted him. Senator Teller was his opposite in this respect. The senior Senator shrank from responsibility of this character, and he very willingly permitted his new colleague to have his way in most of the selections. Mr. Townsend was not unlike Mr. Teller. Both of those gentlemen also recognized the generally

accepted rule that a new Senator, having more applications than a Congressman or an older Senator, should be permitted to place most of the more important patronage bestowals.

As a consequence of these conditions, Mr. Wolcott found himself very much occupied in receiving and replying to letters and in visiting the White House and the Departments in behalf of the office-seekers. Nor was his communication with this class of his constituents confined entirely to the mails. Much telegraphing was done, and delegation after delegation visited him in Washington in the hope of influencing his decision in behalf of this or that applicant.

Senator Teller was at that time Chairman of the Senate Committee on Patents, which occupied the room on the east ground floor of the north wing of the Capitol which afterward was converted into a post-office for the Senate. For some time after his arrival Mr. Wolcott had no committee-room, and Mr. Townsend being similarly situated in that respect, both made their headquarters in the senior Senator's official apartment. It was an unusually commodious room, and afforded ample accommodation to the entire delegation.

THE FIRST SESSION

The Colorado offices had not all been disposed of when Teller and Wolcott found themselves in their seats for the beginning of the first regular session of Congress on the first Monday in December, 1889; but afterward the offices were not the subject of so much attention from either Senator.

Then it was that Mr. Wolcott began his real legislative career. Much was expected of him. Engaging in manner, he soon became a favorite on both sides of the Chamber, and much interest was manifested in his first appearance as a Senatorial speaker and worker. He had accomplished an unusual degree of success in his profession, but his efforts in the line of the law had been confined to Colorado, or at the most, to the trans-Mississippi country. His local fame as an orator had been expanded by some after-dinner ad-

dresses in Eastern cities, and the reports concerning him were uniformly favorable. Still, he was yet to be put to the real test in the every-day work of the Senate. Would his sentences be so rounded; would his voice be so persuasive; would his manner carry with it as much force, and would his efforts as frequently compel conviction as had been the case on the Western hustings and in the court-rooms of the Centennial commonwealth? These questions remained to be answered, and to be answered by as distinguished a body of statesmen as probably ever had gathered for purposes of legislation at any time at any place in the world.

Seldom, if ever, has the Senate been as strong as it was when Mr. Wolcott entered it. A glance at the names of the young Senator's associates is sufficient to revive reminiscences which in themselves would fill volumes.

Presiding over the body as Vice-President was Levi P. Morton, a gentleman of wealth and refinement, who had occupied the high posts of Governor of the State of New York and Minister to France. He was a most gracious and a quite impartial presiding officer, and personally was as highly esteemed on the Democratic as on the Republican side of the Chamber.

It was the beginning of a time of great activity along the lines of financial and economic legislation, and the Senate found itself well prepared for such labor. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, who had entered the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth Congress and had served continuously since in one House or the other, was at the head of the Committee on Finance. He had been prominent in the fiscal legislation of the Civil War period and during Reconstruction days, and had earned a high reputation in connection with the tariff. He was ably flanked in these respects by John Sherman, of Ohio, whose service in Congress was co-extensive with his own, and whose reputation was even greater along financial lines, and by William B. Allison, of Iowa, then, as for many years afterward, a member of the Committee on Finance and Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Not so well up in the list, but more active and more effective than any of them, was

Nelson W. Aldrich, who, notwithstanding he had only completed his first term in the Senate, even then outranked all of his compeers in actual working knowledge of the tariff and the finances, and who soon afterward was to succeed Mr. Morrill as Chairman of the Finance Committee, which position he for many years continued to hold.

In addition to these, the Northern States were represented by many men of calibre, such as Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois; Eugene Hale and William P. Frye, of Maine, who possessed such elements of worth that both continued for more than twenty years afterward to represent their State in the Senate; John P. Jones and William M. Stewart, of Nevada, pioneers of the Pacific Coast; Henry W. Blair, the father of the famous Educational Bill, then gasping its last breath, and the versatile and resourceful William E. Chandler, both of New Hampshire; J. Donald Cameron, who, although a Republican, went down to defeat after the battle of 1896 because of his advocacy of bimetallism, and Matthew S. Quay (a great favorite of Mr. Wolcott's), both of Pennsylvania; Preston B. Plumb and John J. Ingalls, the one practical and the other brilliant, of Kansas; John H. Mitchell, of Oregon; and Leland Stanford and George Hearst, two multi-millionaires, of California.

There were many reminders of the Civil War era throughout the Chamber. The "Rebel Brigadiers," as the ex-Confederate officers in Congress were designated by some partisans, far outnumbered the Federal officers against whom they had fought; but some of the Republican Senators had held important rank on the Union side and many others of them had seen service in the War of the Rebellion. The time had passed, however, when in the North men were chosen to office because of their war records, and those of the ex-Union officers who held commissions as Senators had come into their possession for other reasons. Probably the most distinguished of them were Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, and Charles F. Manderson, of Nebraska, both of whom had seen much military service and had attained high rank. Others of lesser rank were numerous, and Mr. Wolcott was one of these.

Of great lawyers there were not a few. They included

George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, and George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, both of whom had served as members of the Electoral Commission in 1876, and the former of whom was then Chairman, as the latter was destined to be, of the great Senate Committee on the Judiciary. New York was represented in part by William M. Evarts, who had occupied a place at the head of the New York Bar for a third of a century, and who to an already great name had added distinction by his service as counsel for Andrew Johnson in his impeachment trial and for Rutherford B. Hayes in his contest for the Presidency with Samuel J. Tilden before the Electoral Commission, in both of which contests he had been successful. In this class should also be included Mr. Wolcott's colleague and mentor, Hon. Henry M. Teller, who had been the leading lawyer of Colorado from the time of the organization of the Territory; Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, a distinguished writer on legal topics, who, was to be Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations during the Spanish War; John J. Ingalls, of Kansas; the accomplished and versatile John C. Spooner, of Wisconsin; the staid and reliable Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut; George Gray, of Delaware, later on the United States Circuit Bench; and Daniel W. Voorhees and David Turpie of Indiana, the latter as remarkable for his solid legal attainments as was the former for his forensic ability and power as a jury advocate. Nor should the fact that many of the Southern Senators are to be spoken of in another connection prevent the mention of their names here, for at that time the legal profession of the South had every cause for self-felicitation over its representation in the Senate, including, as it did such names as Daniel, of Virginia; Vance, of North Carolina; Vest, of Missouri; Coke, of Texas; George, of Mississippi; Morgan and Pugh, of Alabama, and Faulkner and Kenna, of West Virginia.

If the possession of a war record entitled one to distinction, as then was willingly conceded by the South, there were many to claim the honor. Of the fifteen Southern States, Maryland alone was unrepresented by a Senator who had distinguished himself in some way in the Southern Confederacy, and both Senators from eight of those fifteen

States had borne arms against the Union. Of the Southern statesmen of martial record, a number had risen to the rank of Major-General. Senator James K. Jones, of Arkansas, bore the proud distinction of having been the only private in the list. There was one ex-member of Jefferson Davis's Cabinet, and another Senator who had been at different times a member of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Confederacy. A number of the Southern Senators had seen service in their earlier days in the Mexican War, and one of them, Senator George, of Mississippi, had then been a member of the regiment commanded by Jefferson Davis while an officer in the Regular Army. Senator Joseph E. Brown had been known as the war Governor of Georgia, and for a time, Senator Vance, of North Carolina, had occupied that position in his State.

Alabama was represented by John T. Morgan and James L. Pugh, both ex-Confederate officers, for the statesmanlike qualities of the former of whom Mr. Wolcott acquired a high respect; Arkansas by James K. Jones and James H. Berry, both of them men of solid attainments, and one of whom, Mr. Jones, afterward became Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, holding the office during the Bryan campaigns of 1896 and 1900; Georgia, in addition to Governor Brown, by Alfred Holt Colquitt, who had attained the rank of Major during the Mexican War, who was a member of Congress as early as 1855 and who became a Major-General on the Southern side in the war of 1861; Kentucky by the brilliant orator Joseph C. S. Blackburn and the distinguished economic statesman James G. Beck; Louisiana by Randall Lee Gibson and James B. Eustis, both lawyers of distinction, and the former an especial favorite of Mr. Wolcott because he claimed Yale as his alma mater; Mississippi by George and Walthall, the latter a dashing brigadier of the Southern Confederacy, whose courtly manner was often the subject of remark by the young Colorado Senator; Missouri by Francis Marion Cockrell and George Graham Vest, the former as distinguished for his conscientious attention to detail as was the latter for his phosphorescent oratory and apt repartee; North Carolina by Zebulon B. Vance, the best of story-tellers, and probably the most popular man

who ever sat in the Senate, and Matt W. Ransom, of distinguished appearance and courtier-like manner; South Carolina by Wade Hampton and M. C. Butler, each of whom bore the scars of the interstate conflict and had attained the rank of Major-General in the Southern Army; Tennessee by William B. Bate, a Mexican and Civil War veteran, and Isham G. Harris, who was Governor of his State at the time it seceded from the Union, and who had the reputation of being the best parliamentarian in the Senate; Texas by John H. Reagan, the real author of the Interstate Commerce Law, who had served both as Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of Jefferson Davis, and Richard Coke, a rugged, but profound, lawyer; Virginia by John S. Barbour and John W. Daniel, the latter then, as for many years afterward, in the Senate; and West Virginia by Charles J. Faulkner and John E. Kenna, men of strength and popularity.

William B. Allison, of Iowa, was the Chairman of the Republican caucus, and Arthur Pue Gorman, of Maryland, of the Democratic caucus. Mr. Allison made no attempt at individual rule, but Mr. Gorman directed his forces like a commanding general on a field of battle. He was recognized by all as a thoroughly astute party leader, as a perfect organizer, and withal, as a patriotic citizen and a fair foe. He and Wolcott were friends from the start, and the friendship soon was to be more closely cemented by their cooperation in opposing the Force Bill.

This was the arena which the young Senator was to enter. These were his peers, and his antagonists. From these he must win laurels, or at their hands go down to defeat. The work before him was no child's play. If he was to maintain his reputation he must have not only brilliant, but staying, qualities. That he "made good" was the verdict of all who served with him, and is still the opinion of the few that are left.

It is saddening to recall that of the strong men here enumerated, and there were many who have not been mentioned, the names of only five were still found in the list when the roll was called at the beginning of the Sixty-first Congress, twenty years later. These were: Hale, Frye,

Cullom, Aldrich, Daniel; and Daniel died a few days after the close of the first regular session of that Congress.

The House was correspondingly strong. Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was about to be chosen Speaker and to begin his crusade in favor of more effective rules for the control of the House and the conduct of its business. It was in the Fifty-first Congress that a quorum was first established by counting.

Heading the list of the Republican membership on the floor was William McKinley, the chief rival and yet the principal lieutenant of the big Speaker. Mr. McKinley was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and was soon to distinguish himself by bringing in and passing the McKinley Tariff Bill, which created such a wave of prosperity as to lift him into the Presidency, and put him in position to be a powerful friend of the young Colorado Senator, who from the start was a strong favorite of his. Hon. James S. Sherman, subsequently elected Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with Mr. Taft, was at that time and for almost twenty years afterward a member of the House.

On the Democratic side and at the head of the column sat Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, who was to succeed Mr. Reed as Speaker, while interspersed in the assemblage were the venerable ex-Speaker, Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts; Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, "Silver Dick Bland," then at the height of his fame as the champion of the double monetary standard; William C. P. Breckenridge, the "silver-tongued orator of Kentucky"; Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio; Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, who afterward, as Speaker, so endeared himself as to become everybody's "Uncle Joe"; John G. Carlisle, who had held the office of Speaker, and who became in succession a Senator from Kentucky and Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Cleveland; Amos J. Cummings, of New York; Sereno E. Payne, of New York, who was to become Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and attain fame as the author of the Payne Tariff Bill of 1909; John Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; Nelson Dingley, of Maine, author later of the Dingley Tariff Law; David B. Henderson, who preceded

Mr. Cannon as Speaker; Robert R. Hitt, of Illinois, a diplomat, and for many years Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; William S. Holman, universally known as "the watch-dog of the Treasury"; ex-Speaker M. C. Kerr of Indiana; "Pig-iron" Kelley, of Pennsylvania; Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia; Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, author of the Mills Tariff Bill; former Speaker Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, whose position as leader of the Northern Democrats was unique; William M. Springer, of Illinois, who held a prominent place on the Democratic side; and General Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, who after quitting the Confederate Army as its senior Cavalry Commander fought in the Spanish War, when he served under the Stars and Stripes.

Included in the list were many Representatives who afterward were promoted to the Senate, among them being John H. Bankhead, of Alabama; N. C. Blanchard, of Louisiana; Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan; Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Thomas H. Carter, of Montana; J. P. Dolliver and John H. Gear, of Iowa; H. C. Hansbrough, of North Dakota; A. J. Hopkins, of Illinois; Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; Louis E. McComas, of Maryland; James B. McCreary and Thomas H. Paynter, of Kentucky; Roger Q. Mills, of Texas; Benjamin F. Shively, of Indiana; William J. Stone, of Missouri; Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming; John L. Wilson, of Washington; and Fred T. DuBois, of Idaho.

Not only did Mr. Wolcott find that he had entered a Congress of big men, but also that he had become a member of a body inclined to "do things." It was to be a Congress of action. The executive session was followed by one of the longest regular sessions in the history of Congress. Beginning on the 2d of December, 1889, the first regular session of the Congress continued until the 1st of the following October, or ten months lacking one day, making it, with one exception, the longest continuous session of Congress in the history of the country. Within two months more came the second session, ending on the 4th of March,

1891, with which the Fifty-first Congress came to a close.

The Tariff Bill was only one of many important measures which received attention during the Fifty-first Congress. Probably the Federal Election Bill, which was popularly known as the Force Bill, was even more discussed in the press and by the public than the tariff question. That measure was fraught with especial importance to Mr. Wolcott, for he was destined to associate his name with it in such a way as materially to extend his reputation as a man of decision and moral courage. It was also during this Congress that the Sherman Anti-Trust Bill, prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade, which has performed so important a part in Government proceedings against railroads, was enacted into a law. The General Copyright Bill was passed before the close of this Congress. Following close upon the heels of Montana, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota, the States of Wyoming and Idaho were admitted into the Union. Largely at Mr. Wolcott's instance, the Court of Private Land Claims was created, and soon afterward entered upon the duty of determining the equities in the numerous extensive grants of land which the United States had inherited through the acquisition of Mexican territory as a result of the war of 1848. Mr. Wolcott also gave much attention to the creation of the United States Circuit Courts of Appeal, which was the result of an act approved on the last day of the last session of the Fifty-first Congress. Other laws of importance which originated in this Congress were these: Providing for the purchase by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month, which became known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Law, and was destined in the Fifty-third Congress to receive much attention; authorizing contracts for the carrying of the ocean mails; making a new apportionment of members of the House of Representatives under the Eleventh Census, by means of which Colorado's representation in that body was increased from one to two; amending and materially changing the immigration laws; providing for the official inspection of American meats for exportation; and directing the payment of the French Spoliation claims, growing out of

the Revolutionary War. In addition, many other measures of importance were placed on the statute books, and still many more were introduced, to be considered, and either passed or defeated by subsequent Congresses.

FIRST LEGISLATION

Mr. Wolcott lost little time in beginning his activities. Previous to his entry into the Senate there had been an unwritten rule that young Senators should remain quiet in their seats for at least two years, and it is still remembered, if not observed. Mr. Wolcott did not comply with this rule. No one expected, and apparently none desired, him to do so. There was much anxiety to hear him, and important questions in which he was interested and in which his section of the country was concerned were pending. There was, therefore, no great degree of commotion when, after he had occupied his seat for only a little more than a year, he arose to address the Chair, and proceeded to deliver a set speech.

The speech was on the silver question, then, as for some years afterward, a burning subject, and it won for him much praise, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the theme in some sections. Previous to that time he had introduced a number of bills, had taken up his duties on committees, and had well established himself as a working Senator.

His first bill was a private measure for the relief of Horace A. W. Tabor, a man whose reputation as a multi-millionaire and a United States Senator from Colorado for the brief period of thirty-three days still survives. Mr. Tabor had come into the possession of a large fortune as the result of a number of lucky mining ventures made at Leadville in the early days of that camp. Even before he "struck it" in the mines, he was the most prominent citizen of the place, and he was made postmaster of the new town. The community grew so rapidly that it was impossible to prevail upon the Government to furnish sufficient mail facilities for the accommodation of the population, and Mr. Tabor took upon himself the responsibility of supplying the defects of the service. After a few years

the rich man's money disappeared. He then recalled that he had expended a few thousand dollars in the service of the Government, and he asked Mr. Wolcott to assist him in recovering the sum. The promise was given readily, and no time was lost in putting into operation the machinery for keeping it, and while his bill did not become a law during Mr. Wolcott's first Congress, it subsequently received the endorsement of both Houses and the approval of the President.

The settlement of the complications growing out of the Spanish and Mexican land grants in the Southwest was the first general subject to receive the attention of the new Senator from Colorado, and his first public bill had that end in view. There were a number of such grants in Southern Colorado, and still more in New Mexico and Arizona. They comprised millions of acres, and in very few instances were these vast areas free from dispute or entanglement of some kind. Many of the grants had been made by the Spanish Government and were almost a century old, and their lines, vague in the beginning, had in some cases been lost. Others, created by the Mexican Government or by its various states, had been carelessly described. The inevitable consequence was that boundaries were indefinitely marked, and in many instances locations poorly understood. Frequently, there were multiplied claimants, and in almost all cases the public stood clamoring for the demarcation of lines in order that the adjacent public lands might be known and entered upon. Fresh from the active practice of the law in the vicinity of these grants; a master of the intricacies involved, and possessed of a disposition which prompted him to put all things in order, Mr. Wolcott was just the man to take hold of this problem and give effective assistance in bringing about its proper solution.

He also at the same session introduced a bill for the admission of New Mexico into the Union, but it scarcely need be stated that in this measure he was not so successful as in getting legislation for the disentanglement of the land-grant question in which that Territory was so vitally interested. Success in that direction was postponed for twenty years, until 1910, when New Mexico and Arizona

were lifted into statehood, thus leaving no other State to be created, at least from contiguous territory.

FIRST SPEECH FOR SILVER

Silver was the uppermost topic of Mr. Wolcott's discourse during his twelve years of service in the Senate, and it supplied the theme for his first address in that body. Afterward he made numerous speeches upon the subject. In another connection in this work his advocacy of bimetallism is treated at length, and it is not the purpose to give attention to the question as such at this point. It is now desired to speak especially of his first appearance in the Senate as an orator.

The fact that the new Colorado Senator was to address the Senate on the 17th of June, 1890, had been known some days previous to that date, and when, soon after the Senate had been called to order, he arose from his seat and began his first formal remarks in that body, there was a full attendance, both on the floor and in the galleries. Never half so much at ease when speaking as he appeared to his auditors to be, Mr. Wolcott was perceptibly nervous on this occasion. He had, however, thoroughly prepared himself according to his custom, and, having his subject well in hand, he was not long in gaining the close attention of his audience and regaining his own confidence. Instinctively, he knew just how to adjust his voice so as to render his words perfectly distinct in all parts of the Chamber, without at the same time speaking so loud as to mar the pleasure of listening to him. As usual with him, he indulged in comparatively few words of introduction; but the departure from his rule was more marked than ordinarily.

The occasion for his speech was the fact that the bill providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month and the issue of Treasury notes was under consideration. This bill, which was destined to be known as the Sherman Law, had been passed by the House earlier in the session, and had now reached the Senate for consideration. It had been reported in modified form from the Committee on Finance, and, as reported, did not meet

the approval of the free-silver advocates, including Mr. Wolcott. The speech was not of long duration, and as afterward printed in the *Record* covered only about two pages of that publication. It dealt somewhat with the merits of the silver question, but in the main it was a presentation of the human side of the subject rather than a collection of statistics and quotations, which was somewhat contrary to the ordinary silver discourse of the time. Indeed, there was no quotation, and whatever was presented was the unadulterated production of the speaker. He used his own language, and that language always was so terse and so well chosen that it must of necessity in itself command the admiration of the auditor. The present speech had, as usual with the Colorado Senator, been written in advance and committed to memory, so that while nothing was lost in the animation of delivery, every word was made to count.

"Mr. President," he began, "there would seem to be little excuse for my fretting the time of the Senate upon the bill under discussion, even under the shortened rule contemplated for further debate, within which I shall endeavor to confine my remarks. The subject has been practically exhausted." Referring then to the fact that Senator Morgan of Alabama had opened up a new line of discussion, he lost no time in proceeding to show his loyalty to his Colorado colleague, Senator Teller, by complimenting him. "I have," he said, "the good fortune also to be associated with a colleague who, almost since Colorado was admitted to the sisterhood of States, has stood as the exponent of the views of an intelligent constituency upon this great subject, and who has left nothing pertinent unsaid."

As was his wont, Mr. Wolcott "went after" his antagonists. He began by making a direct thrust at the opponents of the cause for which he stood, and in doing so he immediately put himself forward as the champion of the great silver-producing region of the country. Later in his speech he avowed himself a bimetallist on principle and because of the demand for a greater volume of money than the gold stock of the country could supply. Still, he could not get away from the circumstance that the production of silver was an important industry in the intermountain States, and he re-

sented to the uttermost depths of his loyal nature the fact that some of the press and people of the East were charging the Westerners with selfish motives, while at the same time they were not above asking protection and encouragement for their own sectional interests. He had not left his first paragraph before this point received attention.

When [he said] Senators opposed to the views which some of us entertain charge us who live in silver-producing States, directly and by imputation, with holding sordid and unworthy and unpatriotic opinions, and aver that the people who are demanding that silver be again recognized as a coin of the land equally with its sister metal are adventurers and speculators, and assert that they are indifferent to the true welfare of the country, I must be pardoned for feeling that I have the right to claim the attention of the Senate long enough to protest against such intimation and against such a method of conducting debate.

If, however [he proceeded, putting his opponents on the defensive], it were true, as it is not, that the people of the silver-producing States were governed in this matter by a desire to protect the product upon the value of which their prosperity depends, large warrant for such a course is being furnished us by some of the Eastern States.

Referring then to the Eastern policy of a high protective tariff for manufactured articles, he added:

The prosperity of the mountain States and Territories must ever rest chiefly on the product of their mines; yet we who are less benefited than any portion of the Union by a high protective tariff are asked each session to stand by the duties which the East formulates; and when we ask that our silver shall also be protected, and have behind us the wishes and desires of the vast majority of the people of the United States, we are called speculators and told that our ideas are those of a dissatisfied and visionary people.

He did not fail in this speech to take cognizance of the Senate rule placing new Senators in the domain of the mute. Saying he had read all the speeches on the subject, he proceeded:

I should have been more satisfied to listen to the spoken word, but that has been impossible. Instead of seating the newer Senators in the front rows where they could hear and profit by the words of wisdom and of eloquence which flow with tolerable frequency from the lips of the older members of this body, we are relegated to the rear, where we have to be content with the stimulus of gesture alone.

This was not considered by any one as much of an apology for coming into the contest; but no one had expected an apology, and all were so magnetized by the method of the new man, if not pleased with his subject, as to be quite satisfied to have him proceed. Entering then into a discourse upon the merits of the question and dealing at some length with the history of the demonetization of silver and with the subsequent efforts to remonetize it, he declared that a bill for free coinage would some day become a law regardless of the influence of business interests and Executive interference.

Proceeding to an enumeration of the difficulties in the path of the silver-coinage advocates, chief of which he reckoned the influence of the Harrison Administration, he declared the situation to be not entirely hopeless. He closed with the following words:

Administrative influence is strong and far-reaching; the inducements it can offer are great, very great. Its friends, when it has any, are supposed to bask in the sunshine of Executive patronage; those who, although of the same political faith, cannot agree with it must sit in outer darkness. Cabinet officers with patronage, soliciting support to a Government measure, are almost omnipotent, but not quite. We do not despair. The large majority of Senators on the other side were uninfluenced by the utterances of the last Chief Executive; a number of the Senators on this side of the Chamber feel able to form their own opinions. A bill for free coinage will become a law because the country is in favor of it, and in the end the wishes of the majority govern, notwithstanding the personal desires and efforts of the Executive. The measure is of vast importance; of far greater importance than a new election law, an anti-gerrymandering law, or a tariff law. So great are the interests involved that, in view of them, party lines are obliterated and

forgotten, and the South and West meet on common ground, animated by a common and patriotic purpose.

The speech was received with a spontaneous outburst of applause which was not confined to the galleries, but which was very general on the floor of the Senate. Senator Frye, the presiding officer, who, like the other officials, had been captivated by the deliverance of the young Senator, did not, as is usual in such cases, interfere with this manifestation of approval. Practically all of the Senators on both sides of the Chamber sought Mr. Wolcott out, and extended their congratulations. The papers of that afternoon and the next morning were generally loud in praise of the speaker, while, of course, failing in many instances to coincide with his views. The *New York Sun* published the speech entire with highly laudatory comments. From that time forward the reputation of Mr. Wolcott as a Senatorial orator was fixed, and very slight announcement of a speech by him was necessary to fill the galleries and insure attention.

SPANISH GRANTS

Three months elapsed before Mr. Wolcott again addressed the Senate for any purpose other than the transaction of routine business. His second speech was made September 17th, of the same year. The Senate had been in session during all of the summer months, and still was plodding along, giving much attention to the Tariff and to financial questions, and also occasionally taking up other subjects. When at this time he again took the floor, the bill establishing the Court of Private Land Claims was under discussion. A measure had been reported from the committee having the private land grants in charge, which was somewhat different from the bill introduced by Mr. Wolcott, and he was not pleased with some of its features. He did not hesitate to express his disapproval, and he did so in such pointed language as to bring him into sharp controversy with several other Senators, thus introducing himself as a debater as well as an orator. He had not made as careful preparation for this speech as he had made for his address on silver, but still his language flowed freely

and his manner was even more effective because of its spontaneity.

Beginning by offering an amendment providing that no grant should be confirmed or patent issued for a greater quantity of land than originally was ceded, he entered upon an explanation of the interest of the people of the Southwest in the settlement of the land-grant subject. Much, however, as he was concerned about the proper determination of all interests in the land grants, he still was unwilling to compromise to the extent of placing in jeopardy the equities of any claimant, and much less to enact legislation which would pave the way for fraudulent manipulation in the interest of land-grabbers. "It is," he said, "infinitely better for the people that no bill should ever be passed than that a bill as unjust and inhuman as this one should become a law."

A general exchange of views ensued, and for the first time in his Senatorial career Mr. Wolcott found himself in combat with his colleagues. The discussion was general, and was participated in by such leading members of the Senate as Edmunds, of Vermont; Plumb and Ingalls, of Kansas; Ransom, of North Carolina; Stewart, of Nevada; Reagan, of Texas; Dolph, of Oregon; Gray, of Delaware; Hoar, of Massachusetts; Hawley and Platt, of Connecticut; Morgan, of Alabama; Davis, of Minnesota; Blair, of New Hampshire; Spooner, of Wisconsin; Evarts, of New York; and Teller, of Colorado.

It at once became evident to the advocates of the pending bill that in Mr. Wolcott they had an opponent who was not only intensely in earnest in behalf of the people for whose welfare he stood, but who also knew his subject and knew how to present it. He especially criticised the fact that the bill provided not only for an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, but for a retrial in that court of any given case. Commenting on that point, he said:

> When the case comes to Washington this bill provides that the Supreme Court of the United States shall act as a *nisi prius* tribunal; shall take testimony in the case as if it came first before it; and the holders of these grants, large and small, in the

far West, gaining nothing whatever by the first decision, which may have been rendered in the locality where they reside, as if the case had never been decided, their rights blotted out entirely, are compelled to come here to Washington and go before the Supreme Court of the United States and try their cases, exactly as if they had never been tried before. No greater injustice could be inflicted upon the owners of these Spanish grants in the West than a provision of this sort.

He also found fault with the fact that the bill as reported provided for what he considered an injustice in authorizing interference with grants which were not questioned, and he presented the facts regarding one of the Colorado grants as confirmatory of this view. The grant in question consisted of 96,000 acres of land, and speaking of it, Mr. Wolcott said:

The testimony concerning this grant was taken before the Surveyor-General. It was found to be perfect, and nobody has ever questioned the title. The grant lies in a couple of counties of Colorado, has always been taxed to the owners, titles have been granted out of it, portions of it have been subdivided. It has been treated as any patented land would be treated. Its title has been considered sacred by settlers throughout the State of Colorado, and nobody has ventured to trespass upon it. Here comes the Government of the United States, and by this bill provides that within two years from the organization of the proposed court every person claiming under a Spanish grant must file his petition setting forth his title or be forever barred; that if he shall not within two years, unless he suffers under legal disability, present his claim, he shall be deemed and held to have abandoned all right to his grant. This seems harsh, but it may be right, because it tends to the settlement of titles, provided no legal disability exists.

The consideration of the subject consumed several days, and Mr. Wolcott was to the forefront whenever the measure was under consideration. He indulged, on one occasion, in rather sharp criticism of the course of the Committee on Private Land Claims in bringing in a bill which, according to his opinion, did not meet the requirements of the situation. Incidentally he mentioned the

fact that he had not been present at the meeting of the committee at which a decision to report the bill had been arrived at. This specification had the effect of bringing to his feet Senator Ransom, chairman of the committee, who practically stated that if Mr. Wolcott had been absent from the committee meeting, his absence had been the result of his own choice. These remarks from the North Carolina Senator precipitated the first personal controversy in the Senate in which Mr. Wolcott took part. His reply was sharp and to the point, and, as was his custom, he immediately took the offensive position.

I had not intended [he said] to go into the details of that matter, but if my memory serves me aright I was informed by the chairman of the committee that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Edmunds] was absent from the city. It would never do to hold a meeting of the committee in his absence, as any bill that might be reported without his approbation could never hope to pass this body. For that reason, as I understood it, the meetings were not held for a number of weeks. I may have misunderstood the Senator from North Carolina. If so, I shall apologize to him.

Replying, Mr. Ransom stated that, as Mr. Edmunds had been chairman of the committee previous to his own incumbency, he had hesitated to have the bill reported in that Senator's absence even though Mr. Wolcott was present. The explanation was satisfactory to the Colorado Senator, and he passed to the consideration of other points in the bill, taking especial exception to the limitation of all grants to eleven leagues regardless of their original size. Senator Stewart championed this provision, explaining that it had been inserted because in its colonization law of 1824, the Mexican Government had limited grants to eleven leagues. "So," he said, "there is no grant made since 1824 that can exceed eleven leagues."

Exactly [responded Mr. Wolcott with promptness]. Now suppose [he went on] there is a grant, as in Colorado there were grants issued before that time and for more than eleven leagues;—under what theory of equity or justice do the com-

mittee propose to limit to eleven leagues grants that have been reported on by the Surveyor-General as being in every way perfect, that have never been questioned by the people living in the neighborhood in the State, that have always been considered valid, the titles of which have passed as valid? Under what theory do you propose to cut them down to eleven leagues?

Mr. STEWART. I have never known a large grant that was not questioned by the people.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I am telling the Senator of one.

After much discussion, extending over five months, the Senate on the 24th of February, 1891, finally passed a bill which was considered a compromise measure. While it still retained the eleven-league clause, Mr. Wolcott concluded not to stand longer in the way of placing in on the statute books. Explaning his attitude, he said:

The bill has passed the House of Representatives creating a tribunal for the trial of these land claims. If any measure is to pass this Congress, it must pass the Senate within the next few days. I am now, as I was then, unalterably opposed to the eleven-league clause; but I have before me a letter from the Delegate in Congress from New Mexico and from commissioners appointed by the Governor of New Mexico to attend in Washington to enlighten Representatives in Congress as to the desires and needs of New Mexico respecting this measure, asking that opposition to the eleven-league provision be withdrawn. In view of their belief that the courts must protect claimants having valid grants under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo for more than eleven leagues, and in view of this expression of their wish, being desirous that some measures shall pass, I withdraw any objection I made in the Senate some months ago and in committee up to the time of its last meeting, and hope that this measure, while not all that the people of New Mexico need and all that they should have, may yet pass this body in order that vast tracts of land, where the title is not clouded, may be opened up to entry, and in order that the material interests of the country may have a chance to grow and prosper.

CIRCUIT COURTS

Other questions to which Mr. Wolcott gave attention during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress were bills

providing for United States Circuit Courts of Appeal, and regulating contracts with alien laborers, both of which measures became laws. Incidentally, he also spoke in advocacy of measures looking to the increase of the salaries of judges in the United States Courts.

In the course of his remarks on the Circuit Court Bill he took occasion to advocate the creation of an additional circuit, making the number ten instead of nine. This was one of the subjects which he followed up to some extent during his Senatorial career, although without success. He was firmly convinced that the eighth and ninth circuits were too large. Speaking at one time on that subject, he said:

> I think there can be no doubt in the mind of anybody familiar with the condition of litigated matters in the West that there is certainly very great injustice and very great injury being worked by reason of the territorial boundaries of the present circuits. I think the greatest inconvenience and injustice come from the present territorial arrangement of the eighth circuit, extending from St. Paul on the north to Little Rock on the south, and from St. Louis in the east to Denver in the west. We all realize that in view of the admission of the new States and the great growth in the West there must soon be a complete change in the boundaries of the circuits, and perhaps two or more circuits added. . . . If anything is to be done, I think the amendment of the Senator from Kansas should be taken up, and that we should patiently go into the question as to how these different circuits may be divided, how many additional circuits should be created, and what shall be their boundaries. But in view of the importance of this bill, it seems to me that those of us who live in circuits which suffer by reason of the utter impossibility of business being transacted, owing to the onerous duties of the judges and the large tracts of ground covered by the circuits, had better endure the ills we have than in any possible way imperil or postpone the passage of this bill, which is of such supreme importance.

POLITICS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Probably Mr. Wolcott's frankness and courage in oppo-

sition to forces which might operate to his disadvantage as a public man never were better illustrated than in his last speech of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress made on the 27th of September, just four days before adjournment, in connection with the Alien Labor Contract Bill. The entire speech would be well worth reproducing, but one extract will suffice to show its tenor and afford an idea of his manner of handling subjects which most public men generally touch very delicately. Declaring that the real reason why the bill should become a law had not been mentioned, he proceeded to give what he conceived to be that reason; but before doing so said that it could not be because the people to be brought in are foreigners, "for," he said, "a large majority of the federations which are pressing the passage of the bill are themselves foreigners, and this legislation, if it passes, does not affect more than three or four per cent. of the immigration which comes to this country." Nor could it be because the people were poor, because, he declared, ninety-nine per cent. of all foreign immigrants are poor. Then why the reason? It was bluntly and plainly stated, as follows:

> The real reason why this bill is pressed for passage is because labor all over the country is very properly seeking organization, and the only way they can enforce their claims is by drawing all labor into their organizations and thereby compelling employers to meet their just demands; and they have found that employers, driven to the wall, go abroad and employ labor in quantities to come over here. These new laborers in time invariably join their organizations, but until they get acclimated, until they learn what these labor organizations mean, they make some trouble to these organizations, and therefore it is sought to keep them out.
>
> Each political party desires the vote of these labor organizations, and therefore we cheerfully and unanimously pass all these measures which they present. This may be a perfectly good reason, and I by no means mean to intimate that it is not, but to my mind it is not the best reason. The best reason is that a measure of this kind serves even in some small way to limit and to scrutinize the importation of foreign labor. It is true we are commencing in a curious fashion. We are saying to the

people who come over here with employment already at their hand, who are to scatter all over the country and find work at once, "You cannot come"; and we are saying to the hundreds of thousands of other people who come here with hardly money enough to keep them a week and with no immediate prospect of work, "You are welcome, and you can come"; and while into this country there come every few years without contract many men of the best possible material for good citizenship, it is nevertheless true that there also come thousands who are aliens in race, in language, in thought, and in habit, who seek the slums of the great cities, and swell our criminal list, always taking the first steps towards citizenship in order that they may receive certain police and political protection.

Then he proceeded to outline his views of the test that should be applied to foreigners seeking to find homes in America, saying:

But this bill is yet a step toward limiting the importation of these laborers; slight, indeed, but yet a step, and therefore should become a law. If the ballot is to have value and is to have intelligence back of it, it seems to me that the time has come when we should say to all foreigners who come here: "If you come loving liberty and because you want to live under a free Republic and obey its laws and help build up its institutions, you are welcome to our shores; you may come here, and you shall have the protection of our flag, and your children born upon the soil may cast their votes, but otherwise you are not wanted." And we should give notice to foreign nations that the vicious, the degraded, the ignorant, the fugitives from justice are not welcome to these shores, and that we offer no haven and no refuge to the anarchist and the socialist. I would, if I could, like to amend this bill by including not only the parson and the fiddler and the singer and the teacher and the skilled laborer in new industries; I should like to see also included every intelligent and right-minded man who came here because he loved our institutions and wanted to grow up under them whether he had a contract before he came or not, and to keep all others out. The test is by no means impossible. Every intelligent and upright judge, before he bestows the final token and badge of citizenship on men of foreign birth, first exacts from them some knowledge of our institutions, some evidences

of patriotic motive in asking to share with us the privileges of American citizenship.

SECOND SESSION

The subjects which received the attention of Mr. Wolcott during the second session of his first Congress were even more numerous and more varied than those with which he was occupied during the first session. In addition to the coinage question, on which he spoke on more than one occasion during the short session, he also discussed the claims arising under the Eight Hour Law, the French Spoliation claims, Indian Depredations, International Copyright, the Limitation of Debate and the rights and interests of the Maritime Canal Company, which controlled the Nicaragua Canal route. Having become Chairman of the Committee on Civil Service, he championed the measures in the interest of the Civil Service Commission, and found occasion in other connections to attack some of the practices of the Government, in which attacks he persisted throughout his term of service.

It was during this session that Mr. Wolcott came to the rescue of the Southern Senators by entering a motion which effectually and finally disposed of the much discussed Force Bill, and this motion was preceded by a speech of some length, which, made several days before his motion was presented, should have been accepted as a warning of what was to come.

This action came early in the session, and in a way gave him a prominence in the Senate to which he had not previously attained. It showed him to be a man, not of words alone, but of decision and of action. Henceforth, he was to be reckoned with in every way. He was not only a speaker who could entertain, but a Senator whose antagonism was to be feared as much as was his support to be valued. His connection with the Force Bill will be the subject of later consideration, and it is only referred to here for the purpose of recounting the steps by which he attained his position of prominence in the Senate.

In his discussion of the claims arising under the then

new Eight Hour Law, Mr. Wolcott was quite as outspoken as on the subject of the importation of contract labor. As every one knows, the labor side always is the popular side in legislation. Mr. Wolcott understood this fact quite as well as any one, but his knowledge did not deter him from taking the opposite view. He had the old-fashioned idea that some one must look after the interests of the Government as well as the interests of the laboring man, and at times he assumed that championship. "Every member of this body," he said, in beginning his speech, "who has expressed himself on this subject has declared with the laboring man. I fancy," he added, "we all have the same sympathy and the same measure of it, but," and here is the significance of his statement, "I think it is time somebody had some sympathy with the Government of the United States." Then, after dealing with the auditing difficulties of adjusting the claims, he added:

> There never was a man employed upon any work, public or private, who did not know when he went in how many hours he would have to work. There was not a Government employee during all these years who did not know when he sought employment—and they were all seeking it, fifty for every one who got it—that he would have to work ten hours and get ten hours' pay for it; and now we are asked to go back and say: "If you knew how much you were to get and how many hours you were to work, then you are to be paid; but if you are fool enough to come up and say you worked under a contract, express or implied, and did not know it, then you shall not be paid." The bill is throwing a duty on the accounting officer which he cannot carry out, and the bill is an absurdity.

He closed with a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Education and Labor, which motion prevailed.

CIVIL SERVICE

Mr. Wolcott was a consistent advocate of the classification of the Civil Service, and he found early opportunity to expound his views on that subject. He had reported from the Civil Service Committee a measure authorizing the Civil Service Commission to employ its own clerks, instead of

depending on the executive departments for a detail of help. There was the usual criticism of the Commission, when, on the 27th of February, 1891, the bill came up for consideration. Mr. Wolcott defended the measure throughout, and in the course of the consideration of the bill found it necessary to reply to a speech by Senator Stewart, in which the Nevada Senator had spoken of the difficulty of obtaining official positions in the executive departments. Referring to Mr. Stewart, Mr. Wolcott said in part;

He may not be aware of the fact that, until the Civil Service Commission was created, more than one half of the appointments came from the District of Columbia, but that now they are fairly divided, irrespective of party proclivities, based upon the population of the different States in the Union. The names of eligibles from each State are kept in an open book where each applicant for office can see them, and gradually vacancies are being filled up from this eligible list. Instead of being compelled to wait here, as under the old plan they were, until some examination with a "pull" could give them a place, they may go back to their duties and wait until the vacancy comes, and then they are appointed to the position whether they are on the ground or not.

But the Senator from Nevada says heads of departments should appoint. Heads of departments, Mr. President, do not appoint. It is the Senator or Representative who will vote for an appropriation who appoints. I do not know whether the Senator from Nevada is in this trouble with regard to Congressional influence or not. I know I am in every department of this Government absolutely powerless to secure the appointment or removal of a single official of the Government. I am glad of it. I think the matter may be a great deal more intelligently left to this Civil Service Commission than to any other branch of the Government at this time.

FRENCH SPOLIATION CLAIMS

The Colorado Senator did not exactly fall in with the idea of paying the French Spoliation claims, many of which were almost a century old. The bill then before the Senate called for the appropriation of about $400,000 for the settlement of a number of these accounts, and while he did not

at that time make specific objection to payment, he did take exception to the summary disposal of the bill by the Senate.

The reading of the names of the various claimants had been omitted by the clerk, and Mr. Wolcott understood that all mention of the claims themselves had been avoided. This course he objected to. "When," he said, "we came to the eight or ten pages constituting more than ten per cent. of this bill, these items were not read. If unanimous consent was obtained to skip them, it was done when many Senators who were on and about the floor knew nothing about it."

The statement brought out a protest from Senator Hale, who was advocating the passage of the bill, and who assured Mr. Wolcott that only the names had been omitted. He added that such a course was frequently followed in the Senate, as nothing could be gained by the mere reiteration of a number of names. Then, he said: "If the Senator from Colorado had had more experience in the Senate, he would have learned that this has been done repeatedly, and it is not so enormous a thing as it stands in his picturesque mind. It has been done repeatedly, time and again, and it will be done hereafter." The retort to the veteran Senator from Maine was sharp and must have been a surprise. Here is what Mr. Wolcott said:

> It needs no picturesque mind to inform me, nor very long service in the Senate to inform me, that four or five gentlemen in the closing days of the session, after taking care of their own States, absolutely dispose of the rest of legislation of this kind; that as to amounts and pages and details they and they alone absolutely determine questions; and that if any of us, as a matter of favor, try to get something which we believe a certain section of the country ought to have, and beg hard enough for it, they throw it to us as a bone is thrown to a dog. My mind is not required to be very picturesque to understand the situation perfectly, and I do not think I am misinformed as to the circumstances under which these French Spoliation claims were skipped in the reading of them.

To avoid possible misunderstanding, the statement should here be made that the incident was not permitted to mar the friendship between the two Senators. On the contrary, it

was soon forgotten, and they were on terms of close intimacy during Mr. Wolcott's whole term of service. Both were "fighters," and, whether for or against a measure, each expressed himself with frankness. This occasion was no exception, and the personal allusions were disposed of with the subject itself.

To a Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* we owe a graphic picture of the young Coloradoan at the close of his first Congress. Writing of him in the *Herald* of February 8, 1891, the correspondent said:

Senator Wolcott actually wears a sack coat and a brightly colored four-in-hand tie. He has a round, jolly, handsome face, a compact form, and cares not a rap for the traditions of the Chamber or the traces of his party. He votes as he pleases, talks as he pleases, gives out his opinions with breezy independence, carries his hands in his pockets, laughs out loud when he wants to, and dearly loves a good horse-race. It is said that he has even been known to laugh at the modish old ladies, who exemplify the dignity of the Chamber, and there are people depraved enough not to blame him. Mr. Wolcott was one of the Republican Senators who voted and spoke against the Force Bill, and for this and other reasons he is looked upon with severe disfavor by Senator Hoar and others. But Mr. Wolcott does n't care, not he. He knows that none of these nice old people want to cross swords with him in debate. He gets in on his adversaries with a quickness and a strength of expression that makes them stare. Mr. Wolcott is the gentleman who declared in the Senate that "President Harrison's public utterances had been few and of no importance," and he has taken no pains to conceal his contempt for the present Administration. He is also the gentleman who distributes his winnings at the race-track among messenger-boys and hotel porters. So, altogether, it would be hard for any man to be more popular in Washington than Senator Wolcott.

It only remains to be added concerning the Fifty-first Congress that when, after the 4th of March, 1891, Mr. Wolcott returned to his home in Colorado, he found that he had materially enhanced his fame, and he was welcomed by a constituency which was as capable of appreciating his work as it was proud of his achievements as a legislator.

THE FORCE BILL FIGHT

MR. WOLCOTT was a prime factor in killing the Federal Election, or "Force," Bill, and by his instrumentality in that work attracted much attention to himself early in his Senatorial career. The event occurred toward the close of the Fifty-first Congress, when he had occupied his seat in the Senate less than two years. The result was accomplished by the adoption by the Senate of a motion made by the Colorado Senator to take up the bill making a reapportionment of members of the House of Representatives in accordance with the figures on population gathered by the Census of 1890. The motion prevailed by a majority of one, and the action had the effect of displacing the Election Bill.

That bill was the last of the Reconstruction measures. It owed its fate to the fact that it was born out of time. A few years earlier there probably would have been no Republican vote against it, and even when it was before Congress the party demand for its enactment into law was almost irresistible.

It was variously regarded. Republicans generally looked upon it as a conservative effort to insure fair elections, which they considered the crying demand of the time. It was contended by them that from forty to sixty seats in the House occupied by Democrats would be filled by Republicans but for the fact that the negro vote was excluded in the elections in the Southern States.

The Republican National Platform in 1888 had reaffirmed "unswerving devotion . . . especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native-

or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted"; had declared "a free and honest public ballot and just and equal representation of all the people" to be "the foundations of our Republican government," and had demanded "effective legislation to secure integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority." It also was charged by the same document "that the present administration [Cleveland's] and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal stultification of the Constitution and the laws of the United States."

Commenting afterward on these declarations, Senator Hoar, who had presided at the Convention by which they were adopted, outlined his conception of the party feeling regarding the question in the following language:

> Republicans might be men who favored a high tariff or a low tariff, free raw material or a duty on everything that can profitably be produced here, silver currency or bimetallism; but these resolutions relative to elections were accepted everywhere as constituting the very definition of Republicanism. It is believed that a Republican constituency could scarcely have been found in the country within the past fifteen years which would have elected to any considerable political office, State or National, any man who denied them.

Democrats, and especially Southern Democrats, saw in the measure the possibility of extreme interference, going to the extent of the use of the Army, in elections.

The apprehensions of the Southern people were due, not so much to the character of the bill itself, as to their then very recent experiences. It had not been so long since the days of Reconstruction, when "Carpetbaggers" and negroes completely dominated the South. That period had witnessed many extreme acts by both sides to the bitter controversy that raged through the Southern States, and there can be no doubt that the native whites suffered many indignities. Since 1876 the Democratic party had been in control of the lower branch of Congress, which fact had had the effect of

affording the Southern people protection against Federal interference of the character feared.

With the restoration of the Republican majority in the House by the election of 1888, and with that party in complete control in all branches of the government, the fear of a return to old conditions at once took possession of the Southerners. To their minds the introduction in the House of a Federal Election Bill early in the first session of the new Congress provided full justification of their worst fears. Recalling an earlier and more formidable measure, they appropriated its name for the new bill and called in the "Force Bill."

By the time the bill reached the Senate after its expeditious passage through the House under the new Reed rules, the South was highly excited. The general and remote menace was lost sight of in the fear of what was believed to be actual and immediate peril. All kinds of descriptions of its contents and the wildest prophecies of its effect were indulged in by Southern writers and speakers. To them it meant the overthrow of most of the legislation in the various States for the control of the ballot by the whites, and the restoration of negro supremacy at the polls, with the many horrors, real or imaginary, that such a condition would impose. Speaking for the minority of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, Senator Pugh of Alabama said that the enactment of the proposed law would be resisted by every possible parliamentary device. He declared that its passage would result inevitably in the shedding of much blood and the end of peace in the Southern States. The fear was that any Federal recognition of the rights of the negroes would so embolden the more ignorant of them as to cause them to assert their power, not only in the use of the ballot, but in many other and more distressing ways.

While they did not have the same cause for personal concern, the Northern Democrats sympathized with their Southern brethren and gave them all the aid and comfort possible. They also joined with the Southerners in criticism of the bill as an invasion of the rights of the States. These objections appealed also to many Republicans in and

out of Congress, and when the action of the House was followed in the fall of 1890 by a radical change in the political complexion of that body, the prospects for the defeat of the bill in the Senate were greatly improved.

Mr. Wolcott based his objections to the measure on the ground that it would be impossible to differentiate between the Federal and the local offices in the matter of supervision. Holding that there should be no interference with State elections by the Federal authorities, he did not permit the demands of the Republican platform and of Republican orators to cause him to refrain from performing his duty as he saw it, which was to assist in preventing the bill from becoming a law. He did not stand alone among Republican Senators. There were six others, viz.: his colleague, Teller, of Colorado; Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Jones and Stewart, of Nevada; Washburn, of Minnesota; and Ingalls, of Kansas. There also were others whose votes could have been had if needed to insure the defeat of the bill. It was believed at the time that Stanford, of California, would have voted for the motion if he had been present and it was asserted by Mr. Wolcott and others that he had so pledged himself; but in his absence the friends of the bill refused to allow him to be paired against it. Senators Quay of Pennsylvania and Sawyer of Wisconsin were regarded as unfriendly to the Election measure.

It also should be stated that from Mr. Wolcott's point of view there was an element of practical politics involved in the fate of the bill. President Harrison was a persistent supporter of the measure, and he and the Colorado Senator were not friendly. It was the expectation of Mr. Harrison's friends that the passage of the bill would aid, not only in giving him the renomination, but in insuring his re-election. Both results were contrary to Mr. Wolcott's wishes, and while he would not have opposed the bill without other reasons, it is not unreasonable to suppose that his attitude toward the President did not detract from his satisfaction over its fate.

The measure provided for the extension to counties and Congressional districts of the law of 1870 authorizing the appointment by the United States Circuit Courts of Federal

supervisors in cities of more than 20,000 population for the observation of the elections of members of the House of Representatives. In cities and Congressional districts such appointments were to be made upon the request of one hundred petitioners, while fifty names only were necessary to insure appointment in counties. The Federal supervisors were to serve jointly with local officers, not only in the observation, but also in the supervision, of elections, and they were to represent the two leading parties at the registration booths and at the polling places. The appointment of a board of canvassers by the Circuit Courts was also provided for.

After a heated debate of a week the bill had passed the House on July 2, 1890, while the first session of the Fifty-first Congress was in progress; but because of the crowded condition of the Senate calendar and doubtless also because of some manœuvring, it failed to get recognition in the Senate until the following session, the short session of the same Congress. Indeed, there was a formal agreement for postponement which it was stated was due to the pressure of other legislation, the principal items of which were the Tariff and the Silver bills. These measures were so strong that it was recognized from the beginning that any effort to displace them with the Election measure would result in inevitable failure; and if there had been no merit in those bills themselves, there was a sufficient number of enemies of the House bill to effectually prevent the reaching of a vote on that measure. So that, after a thorough canvass and much beating of the bush, it was abandoned for the time; but with an iron-clad pledge to future action, which it was believed would certainly insure not a vote only but an affirmative vote at the short session, which was to follow the long session with an interval of only two months. This agreement was reached at a Republican conference, whose members went to the extent of attaching their names to it. Following is the text of that document as preserved by Senator Hoar:

We will vote: 1. To take up for consideration on the first day of the next session the Federal Election Bill, and to keep

it before the Senate, to the exclusion of other legislative business, until it shall be disposed of by a vote. 2. To make such provisions as to the time and manner of taking the vote as shall be decided, by a majority of the Republican Senators, to be necessary in order to secure such a vote, either by a general rule like that proposed by Mr. Hoar, now pending before the Committee on Rules, or by a special rule of the same purport, applicable only to the Election Bill.

There is no record showing whether Mr. Wolcott was present at the conference or whether, if there, he gave adherence to the pledge. In an article in the *Forum*, Mr. Hoar said that it was signed by "a majority of the entire Senate." As the Senate was quite evenly divided between the two parties, practically all of the Republican members must have been included among the signers. But, even though the document did receive the signature of the Colorado Senator, he was in no way bound by it to give his support to the bill. He had merely agreed to its consideration and consented that at the beginning of the next session it should be given first place on the calendar and kept there until disposed of —whether passed or defeated. This was no pledge to vote for the bill. Presumably his mind was at the time open on the subject. Supposedly, like a juror entering upon the trial of a case, he was prepared to hear the testimony and record his verdict in accordance therewith. Hence his first committal was not material. It is sufficient to know that, after the bill began to receive the serious attention of the Senate, he and a few other Republican Senators found themselves unwilling to give adherence to its provisions, and ultimately joined with the Democrats in sending it to its grave—a grave from which it was not to be resurrected.

In accordance with the understanding, the Senate had no sooner convened in December than, on the third of that month, Senator Hoar, who as Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections had reported the bill, called it up, and moved its consideration. Ordinarily bills are taken up by unanimous consent; but it was understood that course could not possibly be followed on this occasion, for, while it may not so soon have been known that any Republican

would oppose the measure, there was no secret of the fact that, to a man, the Democrats would antagonize it in every way and at every turn. Under the skilful leadership of Mr. Gorman they had held many secret meetings during the long session and had laid plans of operation, the details of which probably never will be known. They moved so quietly that representatives of the press failed to obtain even an intimation as to what they were doing. The writer remembers having heard the late Senator Jones, of Arkansas, refer several years afterward to the privacy of these meetings. He did not even then divulge what had been done, but he did allow the conviction to prevail that the postponement of the subject until the short session was one of the results of this planning, and he spoke with much satisfaction of the ultimate defeat of the bill. The secret meetings were held under the guise of dinners. Seated around the social board, Senators could talk and plan without attracting the attention of the press.

It is a favorite plan in the Senate to force an objectionable measure over from a long session until the succeeding short session, which expires by Constitutional limitation on the following 4th of March, with the idea that, if necessary, opponents of the measure then can talk on it until the end of the session, when every measure introduced during the Congress necessarily must die. There can be no doubt that the Democrats had this plan in mind. But they did not depend entirely upon it. It is significant that the programme for the long session was outlined by Senator Quay and that this programme did not include the Election Bill. When the test came Senator Quay did not vote with those who favored the displacement of that measure, but his colleague, Senator Cameron, who was very close to him, cast his ballot in that interest, and Senator Wolcott indicated after the question had been settled that he had understood the attitude of the Pennsylvanian Senator. Mr. Quay had been Chairman of the Republican National Committee, as Mr. Gorman had been of the Democratic National Committee, and his reputation as a planner of coups was quite equal to that of his Maryland colleague. Notwithstanding the fact that they were of op-

posing parties they were personal friends. It is not intended to indicate that there was any understanding between the two men on this occasion, but such a condition would not have been unnatural.

That, whatsoever his vote may have been, his influence was against the bill there is some testimony to be found in the eulogies delivered upon Senator Quay's character after his death. In his address on that occasion Senator Morgan spoke as if he was of the opinion that Quay actually had cast his vote against the bill, and Senator Daniel tells us that he "exercised an independent and powerful influence against it." [1]

Moreover, it should be recalled that the tariff bill and a bill in the interest of silver coinage were both prominently before the Senate during the long session, and while it should, of course, be understood that "trades" are never made in the Senate, there is no public body in which the amenities are more strictly observed or where personal obligation goes farther. During the long siege over those two important bills the Democratic Senators were able, without greatly violating their political principles, to cast many votes or assist in many movements that would be helpful to this or that faction contending for or against this or that idea, in connection with the two measures. It was frequently charged that the Republican Senators who were favorable to the free coinage of silver had made a compact with the Southern Democrats, under the terms of which they were to assist in destroying the Force Bill in return for aid in promoting their own cause. That there

[1] That Mr. Quay's influence was antagonistic to the measure the author has received indisputable proof. Both he and his colleague were convinced of the inadvisability of the proposed law, and it is known that, if his vote had been necessary to defeat the bill, it would have been cast against it. Mr. Quay's position was that the enactment of the bill into law would injure the Republican party, but his political supporters did not take that view, and as his campaign for re-election was soon to come on, he was persuaded not to cast his vote against the measure. He was the more ready to acquiesce in view of the certainty of the displacement of the bill without his vote. In addition to Senator Daniel there is excellent authority for the statement that if his vote had been needed to lay the bill aside, he would have joined his colleague in open support of the displacement resolution. His opposition to President Harrison had much to do in influencing his attitude.

was such an understanding has many times been denied, and it is certain that there was none. For most of the Democrats to vote for free coinage was in accord with their convictions, and Western Senators ever have been proverbial for their independence. The West never had the same ideas about the South that New England had, and the Force Bill was essentially a New England production. It is true that the greater part of the Republican support given to the antagonists of the Force Bill came from the silver Senators, Senator Washburn, of Minnesota, being the only anti-silver Republican who cast his vote for the displacement of the election measure; but the reasons for their support were other than a bargain in the interest of silver.

Whether or not for any reason, there had been any general understanding with Republican Senators during the long session, which might have prevailed without approaching a "bargain," there is no doubt that there was a getting together on the Force Bill early in the short session; for we have evidence that Senator Wolcott had an agreement with Mr. Gorman as to the time that he should enter his displacement resolution. This motion, however, came after the short session had been in progress almost two months, and before we reach that point it will be necessary to go back and gather up the threads of the story.

Mr. Hoar's motion, made on the 3d of December, to proceed to the consideration of the bill was carried by a vote of 41 to 30, which was a party vote. Even Mr. Wolcott and the other Republicans who afterward stood with him in opposition to the bill cast their ballots favorably to considering the measure at this stage of the proceeding. The passage of the bill was not urged then, however, and other matters were permitted to come up for consideration. These did not occupy a great deal of time, and, after the usual Christmas holiday recess, with the Senate reconvened, the Force Bill was again taken up, only to be set aside temporarily on the 5th of January to promote the consideration of the bill relating to coinage. There was, however, no great significance attached to that move as the Coinage Bill had strength of its own, and took the right of way by force of circumstances.

The first important test came when on the 14th of Janu-

ary, after the passage of the coinage measure, Mr. Hoar again moved to proceed to the consideration of the Election Bill. Hitherto, apparently the Republicans had stood almost as solid for the bill as the Democrats had stood against it, but this vote to proceed to consideration contained a surprise for the advocates of the measure. It stood 33 to 33. Senators Wolcott and Teller, of Colorado; Jones and Stewart, of Nevada; Stanford, of California; and Washburn, of Minnesota, voted with the Democrats in opposition to the motion of the Chairman of the Committee on Elections. There being a tie, a quite unusual occurrence in the Senate, the Vice-President, Hon. Levi P. Morton, cast his vote in the affirmative, and declared the motion carried.

The debate then proceeded until January 22d, when, so persistent had the friends of the bill become, that night sessions were resorted to, and when the Democratic Senators showed their intention of defeating the bill at any cost by entering upon a filibuster in opposition to it. The immediate occasion for this filibuster was the reporting by Senator Aldrich from the Committee on Rules of an amendment to the Rules providing for the closure of debate. The Aldrich suggestion aroused much opposition, and the discussion on it proceeded until January 26th, when the bill itself and all questions pertaining to it were indefinitely postponed by the adoption of Mr. Wolcott's motion to proceed to the consideration of another measure.

Previous to this time the Colorado Senator had given unmistakable signs of his position on the Election Bill by both public and private speech. As early as December 30th he had made an elaborate argument against it. He went into detail relative to his position, but as his speech will be found entire in another part of this volume it is necessary to refer to it here only for the purpose of making the narrative complete and to supply an explanation of his final action on January 26th.

At the outset he announced his determination to vote against the bill, not because other measures were clamoring for attention, nor because he considered it harsh or unconstitutional. He did not doubt the right of Congress to interfere in the election of its own members. Furthermore,

he did not regard the bill as especially sectional, and he believed that if fairly administered it would prove an efficient aid in insuring the purity of the ballot-box. Nor did he object to the measure because there were no abuses to correct.

> Notwithstanding the elaborate evasions of Senators on the other side, there is probably not one of them [he said] who would not at once admit in private conversation what everybody knows to be true, that, wherever in the South the colored vote outnumbers the white vote, the colored vote is not permitted to be cast, or, if cast, is not permitted to be counted. The old days of secret organization and midnight marauders seem for the time to have passed, but the vote is as effectually suppressed as in those times of horror and bloodshed.

Summing up, he found the bill one seeking to right an undoubted violation of law, constitutional in its scope, not unduly severe in its provisions, and yet a measure which in his judgment it would be most unwise and unpatriotic to enact into law. His reason for opposition was then given in very succinct terms. He said:

"The bill, Mr. President, should not become a law because it involves the Federal interference and espionage at other than national elections, and such interference is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and an obstacle to the right enjoyment of our liberties."

If a measure could be framed making the day for the election of members of Congress separate and distinct from any local election, and the officers appointed to supervise such election could be so limited in their powers and tenure of office as to insure impartiality in the exercise of their functions, he would favor it; but any Federal meddling with State elections was to his mind intolerable. He then stated that the law authorizing cities to call for Federal supervision had been tried in Denver unsatisfactorily—a fact which undoubtedly had much to do in determining his attitude. He declared that the Denver people had been humiliated by the experiment, and, being an advocate of fair play, he did not believe in subjecting others to conditions which his own people had found disagreeable. Declaring

then the conviction that in a question involving the races a western community would take such a course as to insure government by the whites, Mr. Wolcott found in the then budding general industry of the South the strongest reason of all for his position.

> For a quarter of a century [he said], out from poverty and despair, the South has been reaching forth in an effort to plant its foot on the solid rock of material prosperity; and, in view of the marvellous growth and transformation now taking place in the Southern States, I believe it would be unwise and unpatriotic for us to interfere in the conduct of its internal affairs.

He was not deluded by any hope that at an early day the men in control of the destinies of the South would permit the counsels of the Republican party to have weight in the shaping of its future. He had no hope for the immediate political regeneration of that section, but these considerations did not affect the question. Drawing a picture of the improved conditions, he said so eloquently as to elicit loud applause:

> Slowly, but surely, and, as confidence grows, with accelerating speed, are the people of the Southern States not only regaining their old prosperity, but are leaving it far behind. Under changed conditions, unused to effective labor, handicapped with countless disadvantages, they have yet come out and up into the light. They have won the confidence of Northern capital, and enlisted the aid of Northern enterprise; and there is no section throughout this wide land that to-day blossoms with brighter promise than the South. The history of mankind has shown no such wonderful growth and awakening. And, rejoicing in the prosperity of every portion of our common country, I am unwilling with my vote to intrude upon that people at this time a measure which means to them but the renewal of strife and bitterness and which is foreign to the spirit and dangerous to the freedom of republican institutions.

The end was a surprise when it came. True, the supporters of the bill were not sanguine of success in passing the measure, but their apprehension was that it would

be talked to death rather than that it would be killed by a direct vote or sidetracked in the interest of another measure. The struggle had come to be intense, and, with long sessions at times extended far into the night, and once through the night, it looked as if the fate of the bill might be determined by the power of endurance of the two sides respectively.

Mr. Wolcott's opposition was perfectly well understood, but apparently no aggressive move was expected from him. Just how the final act was accomplished is simply and succinctly told in the following letter from Hon. James H. Berry, then a Senator from Arkansas, written to the author from Mr. Berry's home at Bentonville, Arkansas, on the 30th of May, 1909:

Senator Morgan was occupying the floor, discussing the Rules and the Force Bill. Senator Wolcott sent a page to me and asked me to come over to his seat. I did so, and he informed me that he had told Gorman that some time during the day he would ask Senator Morgan to yield the floor to him, and that he would then move to proceed to the consideration of the Apportionment Bill. He said also that Morgan had promised to yield whenever he made the request, and he asked me to tell Gorman that he would make the motion at fifteen minutes after two o'clock. He suggested that Gorman should see that the Democrats were all in the Chamber at that time. He added that he [Wolcott] would look after the Republicans who were going to vote with us. I reported to Gorman, and he asked Senator Faulkner and myself to look out for the Democratic Senators. We had some difficulty in finding Senator Pasco, but we did find him in the Library, and I told Gorman all were there.

A few moments before the time I saw Gorman nod his head to Wolcott. Wolcott immediately asked Morgan to yield the floor, and thereupon made the motion to proceed to the consideration of the Apportionment Bill. Every one in the Senate knew this was a test question, and all understood that if the motion was adopted the Force Bill was dead, as it would displace that bill as the Unfinished Business. There was much excitement. Senator Hoar attempted to speak, but the Chair informed him that the motion was not debatable. When he attempted to con-

tinue Senator Harris insisted that the Secretary should proceed with the roll call.

Wolcott's motion was carried by one majority, and that was the last of the Force Bill.

The first vote came on a motion by Senator Dolph, of Oregon, to lay on the table Mr. Wolcott's motion to take up the Apportionment Bill, which was defeated, 34 to 35. All the Democrats voted in the negative, and they were supported by Wolcott and Teller, of Colorado; Jones and Stewart, of Nevada; Cameron, of Pennsylvania; and Washburn, of Minnesota, Republicans. Ingalls, of Kansas, was paired for the motion. This result had the effect of immediately forcing a direct vote on the Wolcott motion. This vote was the exact reverse of the previous ballot, and the motion prevailed. The bill was killed by this vote.

In the letter quoted, Mr. Berry attempts to clear up the point about Senator Stanford's pair, which at the time was a matter of sharp dispute. On that question he says:

During the roll call Senator Daniel announced that he was paired with Senator Squire of Washington, who was absent, but said he would transfer the pair to Senator Stanford, of California, and vote "aye." Senator Aldrich asked Daniel by what authority he said Senator Stanford would vote with the Democrats, and he replied that he was acting on the authority of Senator Stewart, of Nevada. Aldrich insisted that Stewart had no right to pair Stanford, and Stewart contended that he was duly authorized. Thereupon Daniel said that pairing was a question of honor, adding that where there was a doubt a man should always determine a question of honor against the way he wanted the matter to go. Hence, as Aldrich denied Stewart's authority, he would withdraw his vote, which he did, and Stanford was not paired. Stanford afterward stated that he did authorize Stewart to pair him and said that if he had been present he would have voted for Wolcott's motion, which was against the Force Bill.[1]

[1] There are Senators still living who at the time knew Senator Stanford's position, and one of them has supplied a complete account of the occurrences in so far as he was involved. He tells the story thus:

Senators Gorman of Maryland, Faulkner of West Virginia, and

Many expressions of gratitude from the South came to Mr. Wolcott and his Republican colleagues for their assistance, and the feeling was voiced in the Senate on more than one occasion. Writing almost twenty years afterward, Senator Berry said:

Gray of Delaware constituted a sort of Steering Committee for the opponents of the bill. They had counted noses, and feeling confident of their strength decided to bring the question to an issue on the 26th of January. That day fell on Monday, and on the Sunday preceding they started out to round up their forces, the three men apportioning the task among themselves. To Gorman was assigned the work of making the final arrangement with Wolcott for his displacement resolution, while Faulkner and Gray were to see that their supporters were all in attendance.

The only man relied upon for help who could not be located in the city was Stanford. He had gone to New York. Senator Stewart, who was in sympathy with the opposition, was appealed to to get positive authority to pair the Californian. He had told the Nevada Senator that, if away from the Senate Chamber when the vote was taken, he desired to be paired as against the measure, but fearing that such authorization would be questioned on a close vote on so important a subject as this was, the leaders urged that he be telegraphed to for direct authority. The telegram was forwarded, but owing to some mishap no response was received. Consequently, the opposition was somewhat embarrassed when objection was made to recording the California Senator as opposed, and it was sufficient to prevent such record being made. He was not recorded at all.

But the proceeding did not end there. The friends of the bill conceived the idea that Stanford could be induced to change his attitude and support the measure, and with this change they were confident of success on a motion to reconsider and on another vote on the bill, which then evidently was contemplated. They therefore decided to send an envoy to see Mr. Stanford, and for this mission selected one of the most active and influential of their number, who was to lose no time in getting a personal interview with the man whose support meant so much. The vote had been taken comparatively early in the day. The messenger was to take the four o'clock train of the same day, reach New York that night, go immediately to Mr. Stanford, if possible prevail upon him to come out for the bill, hurry back, and be prepared to revive the bill at the first favorable opportunity.

Senator Faulkner either definitely learned or accurately surmised these plans. Senator Stewart was informed by him of the situation and requested to proceed to New York in the hope of heading off the emissary from the other camp. The Nevada Senator made hurried preparation, succeeded in getting the four o'clock express, and thus travelled northward by the same train which conveyed his rival.

Arrived in the city, both Senators took carriages for Stanford's hotel, and both reached it simultaneously. They entered the office together and, sending up their cards by the same messenger, both were

Senators Wolcott and Teller were both strongly against the Force Bill from the start. I do not think the Democratic Senators presented Wolcott with a silver service, as has been stated, but all were deeply grateful to him, as I once said in a public speech in the Senate during the Quay contest. We always felt that Wolcott had rendered the South a great service. He was a wonderfully brilliant man, and personally most agreeable.

The following description of the preceding incidents and the scene in the Senate Chamber is from the *Denver Times* of January 29th, under a Washington date line:

It may as well be understood in the beginning that Mr. Wolcott is the man who manipulated the *coup d'état* of Monday.

I was in Senator Teller's room Monday morning before the Senate met, when Wolcott rushed in in his impetuous manner and began to open up his plan of campaign to the senior Senator. He thought, he said, the Election Bill and its kindred measure, the Cloture Resolution, had already consumed enough of the time of the Senate. He felt satisfied, he said further, that the people at large did not want the bill to become a law.

On the other hand it was important that the Apportionment Bill should be taken up so that Legislatures now in session could act intelligently in redistricting their States and many matters be adjusted. By the passage of the Apportionment Bill, Colorado would double her representation in the national House of Representatives. Surely that was a desideratum worth working

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refused admission on the ground that the California Senator had sustained an accident and could not be seen. Undeterred, both started to his room, mounting the stairs side by side. Outside his door they were met by Mr. Stanford's private secretary, who, repeating the message that they could not see his chief, exhibited a copy of the latter's telegram in response to Stewart's, which had been sent but not delivered.

In that telegram Mr. Stanford gave explicit authority to arrange a pair for him as against the bill. Satisfied with this evidence of the California Senator's position, both Senators retired. The effect was to put a final quietus on the measure. No effort was made to revive it. The supporters realized that no longer was there any possibility of passing the bill. Nor, indeed, would there have been even with Stanford's aid, for at least two more votes had been pledged to the opponents of the measure if needed. One of these was that of Senator Quay, and the other that of a Northwestern Senator who always sought to keep secret his real attitude toward the Force Bill. The unnamed Senator kept close watch upon the tally as the vote proceeded, and gave constant assurance of a negative vote if the exigencies should demand it.

for. All this he outlined in a quick, nervous, jerky, earnest way and in much fewer words than I have used.

To this Mr. Teller assented, and then they fell into a discussion of ways and means. There was Stewart of Nevada; he was all right and could be counted upon. Ingalls was paired against Cloture and against the Election Bill. Stanford was away. It was uncertain what he would do, if here. If away, it was uncertain what would be done about his pair. Cameron could be depended upon. Wolcott felt sure of Washburn's opposition to the bill, but had not been able to consult with him. That was another element of uncertainty, and it would be useless to move without him. Jones of Nevada could be depended upon to vote all right if his presence in the Senate could be assured. The thing to do, then, was to make sure of the vote of Washburn and the attendance of Jones. With this done, Wolcott was to make his motion to lay aside the Cloture and take up the Apportionment Bill.

Half an hour later, glancing through the glass door to the Republican cloak-room of the Senate, I saw Wolcott and Washburn in conference and they were apparently enjoying themselves to the utmost. Wolcott was talking and laughing; Washburn listening and laughing. It was evident that the proposition met with Mr. Washburn's eager approval. That was another point made.

The Senate was never moving along in a more harmonious manner in all the course of its dignified existence. Senator Morgan, after having talked all day Saturday, had taken the floor at the opening of the session Monday morning, and it was understood was to continue his discourse during the entire day Monday if Providence did not intervene in some way to relieve him. No one was in the least anxious about Morgan, but there was considerable concern for the other Senators and for the crowds in the galleries.

Senator Beck once said of Morgan that talk rested him. Certainly the man never breathed who could put words together with less effort. The color of his face and the tone of his voice on Monday indicated that he was prepared to take a long "rest" of the character indicated in Senator Beck's remark.

There was not a quorum of Senators present on the floor. Not one of them was paying the least attention to the "orator of the day." The press gallery was empty. Teller sat quiet in his chair. Stewart moved about uneasily. Cameron walked around stroking his moustache. Wolcott moved here and there

with the celerity of a cat, smiling blandly to his Republican colleagues who knew nothing of the spring that he was about to make upon them. He was looking for Jones—Jones of Nevada. He had not come, and without him the whole scheme so carefully hatched must fall to the ground.

He was exceedingly restless. He took his seat a dozen times and then got up again. He rushed from Teller to Stewart and from Stewart to Teller, and had two or three hurried conferences with the Democratic leaders. A half-dozen pages were sent out in rapid succession and evidently returned with unsatisfactory reports. Then a newspaper man was called into consultation. He disappeared with considerable celerity, and when he returned brought Jones with him. A hurried consultation ensued between Jones and Wolcott.

Would the Senator from Alabama suspend for "a moment" for Mr. Wolcott to move to lay aside the Cloture Resolution for the Apportionment Bill? Such was the question. Certainly, the Alabama Senator would be only too happy.

The Senate was transformed in a minute. The Senators present pricked up their ears and began to stir about. Absentees flocked in at every door. There was a general buzz throughout the galleries. The newspaper men poured into their gallery in a swarm.

Senator Platt of Connecticut was in the chair and the Vice-President absent, as on a former memorable occasion—gone to lunch again. He was hustled in in a jiffy and was prepared to vote if called upon. Aldrich and Hoar took rapid stock of their votes present and, having stood off the crisis as sturdily as they could, braced themselves for the shock.

Everybody knows the result of the vote. It was an hour of intense excitement, an hour in which history was made.

That the advocates of the bill were surprised is evidenced by the following from another newspaper writer who was on the ground:

There is no doubting the fact that although the advocates of the Cloture rule believed themselves capable of successfully repelling any surprise movement on the part of their adversaries, they were nevertheless taken completely unawares to-day. In fact they had no idea that Senator Wolcott's motion to take up the Apportionment Bill could by any possibility prevail, and hence, when the issue was sprung, they felt supremely confident

of defeating it by a motion to table. They had reckoned, however, without their host, never taking into account the probability that, when Wolcott made the motion, he must have known exactly what he was about. It was a clear case of understanding an adversary, with the result that the Force Bill Senators were driven from their vantage ground which is now held by the opponents of the Force Bill. Senator Edmunds was white with rage and Senators Hoar and Aldrich were terribly rattled by the *dénouement.*

The same authority describes the scene in the following language:

The scene in the Senate was exciting to a degree, probably more so than has ever occurred before in times of peace. The strategy of the Democrats and the Republican adversaries of the Force Bill and Cloture, was simply magnificent, and too much praise cannot be awarded the generalship that brought about the result.

The news that the Force Bill had been displaced by the Apportionment Bill was promptly carried to the House, where the announcement was made by Representative Roger of Arkansas. Cheers followed that shook the glass roof above the Chamber, and the Democratic members fell to shaking hands with each other in the most enthusiastic manner. Speaker Reed sat in his private room behind the main lobby, and he at once despatched messengers to learn the cause of the hubbub. The Speaker's face fell when the report reached him, but he maintained his characteristic philosophical bearing and tried to look as if nothing unpleasant had happened.

In an interview given out on the day of the Senate's action, Senator Wolcott said:

I believe to-day's action is final, both as to the Cloture and Force Bill. It was a proposition so clear to my mind that I did not hesitate a moment about what I should do. We had either to go on fighting day in and day out without results or else we had to change the programme and take up a measure upon which we could make some progress. The Apportionment Bill is of the highest importance to the country, and I feel fully justified in voting to give it a right of way at this juncture. As matters now stand we have a fair prospect of transacting all

of the necessary business before Congress adjourns on the fourth of March and thereby avoiding an extra session.

Mr. Wolcott's action was widely commented upon by the press of the country. His speech was especially commended by the more liberal papers. A fair example of this expression was that of the *New York Sun*, which said:

The speech delivered in the Senate last week by the Hon. Edward Oliver Wolcott of Colorado was strong in argument and clear in style, and it was full of that sublimated common-sense which is the highest eloquence in a speaker who seeks to persuade by reason and not to mislead by rhetoric. This speech shows that Mr. Wolcott must be classed with the first-rate men of the Senate; and if any of the old hands are inclined to tackle him they should prepare for a hard job. In parliamentary precedents and devices they are, of course, his superiors; but in facility of thought, force of expression, wit, and the ability to see a thing as it is and to say just what he thinks of it, his superiors are not so numerous. The conventionalities and flummeries of the Senate are highly decorous, and in the eyes of adepts worthy of veneration. To the country, however, a Senator like Mr. Wolcott, who is not awed by mysteries and mummeries, and who has not had time to learn to be patient with humbug, is an attractive figure. He has spoken his mind freely and he has made a reputation.

Senator Wolcott is an orator, and we should not be surprised if he turned out to be somewhat of a statesman. We judge so, not because he opposes the Force Bill, but from the character of his speech. And in that admirable speech there is one passage in particular which deserves attention, as showing that he is a moderate and not a nationalist Republican. "It is better," he said, "that local and State elections should be attended with fraud and dishonesty than that they should be kept pure by Federal interference." This is the utterance of a man who respects the Constitution and has no sympathy with the Republican tendency to make the Central Government everything and cut off forever the rights of the State and the individual.

There were some other allusions to the speech which were not so complimentary. Generally, however, the press received the announcement of the Colorado Senator's views as in the line of enlightened government, and whatever of

censure there was came from individual Republican politicians. Some of them were extremely severe, and the Michigan Club, a Republican organization of Detroit, went to the extent of practically withdrawing an invitation to speak on Washington's birthday, which had been tendered before the delivery of the speech.

The venerable Massachusetts Senator did not accept defeat complacently. Writing in the *Forum* for April, 1901, he declared that the Republican party would keep its promise to insure honest elections by the exercise of Federal authority.

> The question will not down [said Mr. Hoar eloquently]. Nothing is settled that is not right. It is to be hoped that when, in 1892, a new appeal shall be made to the conscience and understanding of the American people, they will put forth strength enough to throw off the nightmare which oppresses them, and that it will still be in their power to vindicate in peaceful ways the rights which otherwise will surely be asserted through convulsion and in blood.

In this instance Mr. Hoar did not prove a prophet, and even before his article was printed he knew that so far as the Senate was concerned the bill had been buried beyond resurrection. Its fate was pronounced at a dinner given to the Republican Senators by Senator Stockbridge, of Michigan. The dinner was a cover for a caucus, and after the meal had been despatched, the question of again bringing the bill to the front was taken up. There is no record of this meeting, but the author has been informed by one who was there that there was a very animated controversy. Some of the advocates of the bill charged its Republican opponents with a disregard of the party wishes. Senators Hawley of Connecticut and Wilson of Iowa were especially insistent upon the reopening of the subject in Congress, but Senator Hoar spoke in more conservative tone. Wolcott, Teller, and Washburn replied, and when they were charged with a disregard of party pledges in voting to displace the bill with the apportionment measure, defended their course as in no wise more censurable, even from a party point of view, than the displacement of the bill in the interest of

the Tariff Bill, for which they said their antagonists had stood in the previous session. They also attacked the Force Bill as vicious in principle and weak in policy.

No vote was taken at this conference, but the opposition of some of the Senators as there manifested was so strong and the indifference of others, supposed to be favorable to the bill, so marked, that then and there it was definitely, if not officially, abandoned.

The bill was dead as the result of Wolcott's displacement resolution, and within a few years it practically had passed out of mind, showing that there had been no real demand for its enactment into law. Feeling absolutely assured of the correctness of his position, the Colorado Senator did not permit either the words or the actions of his adversaries to ruffle him. He never ceased to felicitate himself and the Republican Senators who stood with him on their attitude toward the measure.

Mr. Wolcott made an allusion in the Senate to the vote on the Force Bill after it had been taken. This occurred two years later, when the Silver Repeal Bill was under consideration and when Senator Voorhees of Indiana, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, was engaged in an effort to get through another Cloture Resolution, which had for its purpose the expedition of the vote on that measure. Mr. Wolcott then said:

> The Senator from Indiana the other day referred at length to the Force Bill. For the first time since I had the honor of voting upon that measure, I make direct reference to it. The Senator from Indiana stated that the bill was not talked to death; that it was voted to death. That is true; but does the Senator from Indiana for a moment believe, and did he believe when that measure was introduced, that there was a majority of Senators in this Chamber opposed to the measure? Does the Senator not know that the long debate and exhaustive arguments and splendid presentation of the facts and the time for reflection were what caused the changes in the vote on that measure? Does the Senator believe that if that bill had been put on its passage on the day it was introduced it would have failed of passage? I know the Senator from Indiana will not so state. . . .

I do not refer to these force-bill days by way of criticism, but only to emphasize the fact that fine distinctions breed nice differences, and to insist that in view of the few months that have passed since that somewhat memorable event, and the character of that contest, the utterances of some of the Southern Senators have been uncalled for and out of place. Most of them stood nobly by their Western brothers, but a few of them developed bitter hostility towards our section and our interests. We who are from States where silver is produced claim and have claimed no especial consideration growing out of the fate of that measure, but I confess we had expected that the struggle for very existence which we have made on this floor would bring us sympathy and not denunciation from representatives of a section which not long ago made an appeal on similar grounds, and did not make it in vain.

The displacement of the Force Bill was accompanied by another legislative accomplishment, which probably was just as far reaching and even of more general importance. With that bill went the famous Aldrich Cloture Resolution, the last attempt from that time to this to limit debate in the Senate.

Realizing that under the existing rules of the Senate, permitting unlimited debate on any proposition, the Democrats might be able to carry their filibuster forward interminably, the Republican leaders decided, much against the will of many of them, to make an attempt to place a limitation upon discussion. They were greatly encouraged to this effort by the success of the rules of the House, which, under the leadership of Speaker Reed, had been adopted at the first session of that Congress. Accordingly they prepared a resolution looking to the amendment of the rules so as to provide for the close of debate by ordering the previous question after reasonable time had been consumed in discussion.

To Senator Aldrich as Chairman of the Committee on Rules was assigned the task of presenting this amendment. It was resisted quite as determinedly as the Force Bill itself, and it really helped the Democrats by affording them another subject for discussion. Their protests against the new rule met a more sympathetic response from the Repub-

lican side than did their opposition to the Force Bill. As a matter of fact many Republican Senators regarded the attack upon the rules with distrust, and while they were committed to the support of the resolution a large number of them really were anxious for its defeat. Throughout its history the Senate had been a forum in which any subject could be discussed exhaustively and unrestrictively, and most of the older Senators, regardless of party, were of the opinion that the system was a desirable one and should be maintained.

Technically it was the Aldrich Amendment that was under consideration when Mr. Wolcott offered his motion to take up the Apportionment Bill. Senator Morgan was talking to that question when interrupted by the Colorado Senator. The adoption of the Wolcott motion thus had the effect not only of putting a quietus on the Election measure, but of heading off the Cloture Amendment, and thus leaving to the Senate its proud distinction of being the only forum of unlimited debate in the country.

MONROE DOCTRINE AND ENGLISH FRIENDSHIP

OF all his speeches in the Senate, Mr. Wolcott regarded with most favor his remarks of January 22, 1896, on the Monroe Doctrine delivered in connection with the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain. The controversy arose during the second Cleveland Administration, and was so intense that for a time open hostilities between this country and Great Britain were threatened. It appealed to his practical nature as quite unnecessary because it was based on a false understanding of conditions, and a belligerent message by the President was the subject of his especial condemnation. This message stirred Mr. Wolcott deeply.

The address dealt not only with the Monroe Doctrine, but with the relations of the United States to Great Britain, and formed the forerunner of many utterances on the latter subject. The immediate object of the speech was a resolution by Senator Sewell of New Jersey, in effect declaring that Mr. Cleveland's Venezuelan message went too far. Mr. Wolcott supported the resolution, and opposed resolutions by Senator Davis sustaining the President and practically extending the application of the Monroe Doctrine. His speech was based on the theory that a proper construction of the Doctrine did not require that the United States should pick a quarrel with such a close relative and good friend as Great Britain every time one of the hot-headed quarrelling South American states got into trouble with some European nation. It was a direct challenge to the statesmen who were afflicted with Anglophobia, and elicited much bitter criticism. It marked an epoch in the Senate,

and was the beginning of a change of sentiment in the United States toward the Mother Country.

Mr. Wolcott was charged by some with being unpatriotic as well as unstatesmanlike in his utterances, and his enemies in Colorado dubbed him "Cousin Ed," as if speaking from the standpoint of his English friends. When a few months later the McKinley–Bryan campaign came on and Mr. Wolcott was called upon to stand almost alone in Republican leadership in the State, his attitude toward England was made to share with the silver question the opprobrium that was heaped upon him.

That Mr. Wolcott had counted in advance the cost of making the speech and that afterward he was willing to take the consequences may be inferred from the following letter of February 6, 1896, to C. A. Chisholm, his Denver secretary:

"The Colorado newspapers, I see, generally assail me for my Venezuelan speech. I knew they would. I took my position deliberately and from a sense of duty, and am glad to abide by it. I would not have foregone making the speech for all the honors in the world, because I have no doubt that I am right."

He spoke to other friends about the speech and told them that he was prouder of it than of any other of his forensic efforts. He knew that he had expressed the correct view of the situation, and doubtless he also appreciated that he had displayed courage in taking his stand at a time when the current of public sentiment was running strongly in the other direction. Upon the whole, therefore, he was disposed to felicitate himself upon the speech. That his position was justified, public sentiment long since decided.

Speaking at the Wolcott Memorial services in Denver, of this speech, Mr. A. M. Stevenson said:

> Senator Wolcott despised the jingo statesmanship that appealed to the galleries and sought to create ill-will and trouble between the people of Great Britain and the United States. A marked instance of his unusual courage in matters of this kind was the speech he made in the Senate following the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland. The President had declared in

language, not temperate, that in negotiating for the settlement of her boundary dispute with Venezuela England threatened a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and that her conduct, if persisted in, would menace the peace and safety of the United States. The country had gone wild in approving the action of the President, and Congress (Senator Wolcott being absent) unanimously followed his recommendation for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the points of difference between the two Governments. The situation was serious and many believed that trouble between the United States and Great Britain was imminent. Only a brave man would face such a storm. Senator Wolcott called a halt, and appealed to the sober second thought of the American people.

The speech is given complete in another connection and only brief extracts will be inserted here. Not the galleries alone, but many Senators applauded the following passage:

There is no drop of blood in me, Mr. President, that is not of English origin, and I have no ancestor on either side since 1650 who was not born on the soil of New England; but my heart beats faster when I recall the glorious deeds of Clive and Lawrence and Napier and Wellington —

> "England's greatest son;
> He that gained a hundred fights,
> And never lost an English gun;"—

of Drake, and Hawkins, who fought the Spaniard and swept the Spanish Main, and of the unconquerable Nelson; and my pulse quickens when I realize that the splendor of their achievements is part of our glorious heritage, and that the language of Burke and of Chatham is our mother-tongue.

Blood is thicker than water, and until some just quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same speech and language and traditions stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace, and awaiting the coming of the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Seldom has a more lucid or more satisfactory outline of the Monroe Doctrine been given than was presented by Mr.

Wolcott on this occasion. It was brief, and is worth repeating. He said:

The few remarks I shall make will be chiefly to the effect that the so-called Monroe Doctrine has been misapplied in the pending controversy; that so much of President Monroe's message as referred to the colonization of portions of America by European powers could have no applicability to any boundary dispute now existing in South America; that the hostility to the extension by European powers of their systems to any portion of this hemisphere, as expressed in that message, had especial reference to the systems of government which were based on the divine right of kings, and which were directed to the overthrow of all republics, wherever existing; that the Monroe Doctrine was in no wise intended as insisting upon Republican forms of government in this hemisphere, or as committing this Government to maintain the Doctrine outside its own borders or except as its own integrity might be affected; that this country is embarking upon a new and different policy from the one laid down by our fathers, and that from 1823 until now Congress has uniformly declined to define the so-called Monroe Doctrine or to adopt it as a rule of action. . . .

Not only, Mr. President, was the Monroe Doctrine intended simply as a declaration of limited scope and purpose, as I think I have shown, but the circumstances under which it was given to the world were far different from those which now exist; and under present conditions its assertion and maintenance to the extent claimed by the present Executive have ceased to be of paramount importance. It was essentially a doctrine of self-defence, promulgated for our own preservation and for no other purpose. Our country, in 1823, was sparsely settled, and its boundaries but vaguely defined.

Conditions change from year to year. The policies of to-day become inapplicable to-morrow. For the past seventy years Congress has wisely refrained from placing the seal of its sanction upon the Monroe Doctrine. These resolutions cannot help us to a solution of existing difficulties, and at this moment of excitement and of passion we are not in the best condition to frame a policy which shall guide our country for all future time.

Planting himself on even a broader doctrine than that laid down by President Monroe, Mr. Wolcott added:

Our right and duty to interfere in every South American and Central American question that in any wise affects our interests are undoubted; but that right and duty do not rest on the message of President Monroe, nor are they strengthened by legislative announcement. The adoption of the resolutions at this time can do no good and perhaps little harm, but their introduction only adds another fagot to a fire which ought not to be permitted to longer burn.

The speech was printed entire in the *London Times* and it was the subject of much comment both in this country and in Europe.

In the course of his Senatorial career Mr. Wolcott made frequent references to England and always in terms of admiration. He found justification of his position in England's partiality for the United States as manifested in connection with our war with Spain. A good specimen of his utterances in that connection is found in his speech in the Senate supporting the ratification of the Spanish peace treaty, when he said:

We owe a debt to our kin across the sea that perhaps we may some day partially pay. When the war clouds lowered and the air was full of hate, our brothers in race, language, and destiny, in quiet English fashion, took their place beside us, elbow touching elbow, and back of us were the services of their trained diplomacy and their genuine and unqualified friendship; and had it not been for the moral support which Great Britain gave us during this conflict we would not have emerged from it without an international contest of larger or smaller dimensions.

The other side of the picture was presented in the same speech in two sentences and should be shown to make plain the reason for the gratitude which was felt toward England, not by Mr. Wolcott alone, but by the country generally.

Bar England [he said], there is not a country in Europe that is not hostile to us. During all this war they stood in sullen hate, hoping for our defeat and that disaster might come to us; and to-day they wait with eager and rapacious gaze,

hoping that some event may yet prevent our reaping the fruits of the treaty which has been agreed upon by the commissioners of the two countries.

In his speech at Colorado Springs, on September 16, 1896, Mr. Wolcott took cognizance of the criticisms of his position on the Monroe Doctrine and his attitude toward England.

The question [he said] is one upon which patriotic men may and do differ. All I care to say about it is that the Davis resolutions which I opposed are dead, and will never again be revived, and that no person who has read, in full, what I said will ever dispute either the patriotism or the Americanism of my position. I contended and still contend that the right of the United States to interfere everywhere in the whole world where her rights are assailed is inherent, and does not depend on the Monroe Doctrine or any other doctrine, and that the so-called Monroe Doctrine does not require us to interfere in every South American squabble with some European Government, where our interests are unaffected, and where we become thereby the champions of a semi-civilized lot of bravos, whose governments for a century have been based on assassination and bloodshed, and who, so far, have only demonstrated their absolute unfitness for self-government. And the position which I took and to which I adhere has the approval and indorsement of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster.

WAR WITH SPAIN AND ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINES

THE short but decisive war with Spain was fought about the middle of Mr. Wolcott's last term in the Senate. It began and ended early in the year 1898. Quickly following the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor at Havana on the night of February 15th of that year came many appeals from all over the country for action by the Executive and by Congress showing the feeling of this country on account of the treatment which for so many years had characterized Spain's course toward her helpless subjects in Cuba.

President McKinley had known enough of the Civil War to dread any conflict of arms, and he withstood the pressure as long as it was possible to do so. At last, unable to hold out longer, on the 11th of April, he forwarded a message to Congress which was such a sharp arraignment of the European monarchy that it was everywhere construed as an invitation to declare war. Both Houses responded promptly, but the Senate was much more belligerent than the House. In the preamble to its resolutions, the Senate referred to "the abhorrent condition in Cuba," which it was declared for more than three years "had shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States," and which was characterized as "a disgrace to Christian civilization." Reference was made also to the sinking of the *Maine*. The declaration was then made that "the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent." Demand was made upon Spain to relinquish at once its authority in Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces. In con-

clusion, the President was empowered to use the military forces of the United States to carry the resolutions into effect.

April 21st, Admiral Sampson sailed for Cuban waters. The war was on. Less than three months afterward Santiago and Manila fell and Cervera's fleet was sent to the bottom of the sea. The war was over. Cuba was free. The Philippines and Porto Rico had become American territory.

Upon all points in connection with the war Senator Wolcott stood with President McKinley. With the President he sympathized deeply with Cuba in the island's struggle for independence. With the President he deprecated all steps looking to the provocation of hostilities with a friendly power, as was Spain; with the President he insisted that if there must be war it must be only for the justest cause and the surest reason, and with the President, when the war was once under way, he stood for the best possible fight. His support was given to the Government at every step. Even before hostilities opened, we find him standing out in open and aggressive defence of the Navy Department. This defence was made in deprecation of a remark by Senator William E. Mason, of Illinois, in support of a resolution of his directing an inquiry into the sinking of the *Maine*. Understanding Mr. Mason to have reflected upon the officers of the vessel, Mr. Wolcott entered protest, which was none the less vigorous for being evoked by his indignation at the course the discussion was taking at the moment.

I desire [he said] to resent as utterly unfounded the suggestion that there is a patriotic citizen in the broad confines of this land who has not the fullest and most splendid and glorious confidence in every department of this Government, and in the Department of the Navy in particular, and it has been true in every administration since the time of Washington. The people of the United States have never yet been called upon to distrust one of the co-ordinate branches of this Government, and they never will while the flag floats. Least of all is it decent, in my opinion, that in this Chamber there should be insinuations cast at this critical and calamitous time that there is a lack

in the minds of the people of the United States of confidence in the American Navy.

Mr. President, from the time of Paul Jones until now our ships have sailed in every war, facing always the foe. The records of our naval battles constitute the most glorious page in the history of any country for the last one hundred years and more; and from the earliest days until now there has never been a step backward, and to-day, as always, the officers of our Navy are honorable, courageous, upright men. And, above all, they tell the truth. . . .

The captain of this ill-fated battle-ship was walking his deck at 10 o'clock on the night of the 15th when this awful explosion happened. It may be that his public career is ended forever,[1] but the terrible disaster that overtook the ship under his command will count for nothing by comparison with the degrading insinuations made here that an officer of our country, under his oath and with the flag above him, would lie and cast responsibility for disaster where it does not belong.

Ah, Mr. President, we can stand much profitless debate in this Chamber without serious injury; we can endure much of public discussion when there should be silence; but there is one thing to which the citizens of this country will never submit, and that is to listen quietly and without resentment to an insinuation that the officers of our Navy are not men of honor and integrity and truth.

The officers appointed to investigate the causes of this tragic disaster will do their duty. I do not know what purlieus or slums the Senator from Illinois may have dragged to find the expression of an opinion that there is lack of confidence in the personnel of our Navy, but I know he cannot find an honorable or a decent or a patriotic citizen who will stand up before the country and indorse for an instant the utterances which the Senator has made.

I do not underrate the importance of this legislative branch of the Government. I believe in its dignity and its wisdom and in the openness of its discussions of public questions; but what we need now, in my opinion is a decent and dignified reticence in the face of the appalling calamity which has fallen upon our people. There are times for speaking, and there are times for silence; and at this time, when we face the awful event that has overtaken us, we should restrain any expressions of opinion

[1] This officer was Captain Sigsbee. He afterward became a rear-admiral.

or of our belief as to the causes of this terrible disaster until in a proper, regular, and formal way an investigation may be had by the Department of the Navy, which we all know will be conducted with uprightness and the utmost integrity.

Then came a word of wise caution followed by a picture of the horrors of war, which well deserves reproduction. He said:

Mr. President, I speak as one who sympathizes deeply with the citizens of that unfortunate island now engaged in this deplorable conflict.

I yield to nobody in my desire to see the conclusion of that war, but I do say if ever there was a moment when we should abstain from outrageous and gratuitous insult to a friendly nation, that time is to-day. If ever there was a time when we should lend our help to every department of the Government, it is to-day. If ever there was a time when we should refrain from unjust and ignorant criticism, it is to-day.

Ah, Mr. President, war may come; I think myself its day may be not far distant, and when it comes we will fight it alone, for there will be no other nation to lift a hand to fight with us. When that day comes our cause must be eternally grounded in the right, and until it comes there is nothing which so belittles this people, in my opinion, as these unjust attacks upon a friendly Government. Mr. President, war is grim-visaged, and, when it comes, it must come based upon such clear and righteous cause that the people of the world, whether they fight with us or against us, must at least respect our conduct and our position; and above all it must come under circumstances which make us respect ourselves.

Events followed each other in rapid succession. War was inevitable from the beginning. The sinking of the *Maine* precipitated hostilities, but it cannot be said that that catastrophe, awful and unexplained though it was, caused the conflict. The war was the result of the atrocities of the Spaniards in Cuba and of the chivalrous and humane feeling of the American people. President McKinley exhausted every resource at his command to stay the demand for battle, and his supporters, in Congress and out, did all they could do to sustain him. Senator Wolcott was among

those. Until almost the very last, he stood out against a resort to arms in response to the clamor of the ignorant and the sensational. He blamed largely what he habitually characterized as "the yellow press" for much of the unreasonable precipitancy.

After much deliberation and careful counting of the cost, the Committee on Foreign Relations, with Senator Cushman K. Davis at its head, had brought in its war resolutions, and this declaration had been before the Senate for some days before the Colorado Senator would assent to it. It was not that he did not consider the cause just, but that he dreaded conflict for any reason, and especially because his manly nature revolted at the idea of engaging in mortal combat with so weak a foe as he knew Spain to be. Attempting to outline President McKinley's attitude, he presented his own when he said: "Brave himself, he abhors war; but he abhors unrighteousness more."

The incident which decided him was a personal attack on the President, whose gentle nature and just disposition appealed to him as to a big brother. He had not intended to speak on the subject until these assaults were made, and to them we owe one of his strongest and most characteristic addresses. This speech is a clear exposition of the better thought of the time and it is given elsewhere in this volume in full; but a few extracts are also presented here for the purpose of emphasizing the character of their author.

First came his defence of the President, whose confidant he was and whose every shade of feeling he understood perfectly. Entering immediately upon his presentation of this phase of the question, Mr. Wolcott asserted that the people generally were behind their Chief Executive, and added:

> His position, frictional and difficult at best, has been administered by him as became an incumbent of that high office. Brave himself, he abhors war; but he abhors unrighteousness more. He has dealt in most courageous fashion with that popular clamor which would have been so easy for him to follow—a popular clamor natural and patriotic and loyal, but unnecessarily uninformed and unreasoning. He has been compelled to contend with the disgraceful conduct and utterances

of a degraded journalism which has, I regret to say, found influence among those in high station—a journalism which would cheerfully and gladly plunge this country into war to-morrow if it could increase its circulation a few copies.

He has had to contend with the impassioned utterances which have taken place in both Houses of Congress; utterances, Mr. President, which we have no right to criticise. . . .

All these influences in these long and arduous and trying and difficult days the President of the United States has met with that splendid conservatism which comes to all good men when responsibility and power are imposed upon them. He has met them not alone with the courage of a man who has known the smoke of battle, but he has met them with the fortitude and courage of the Christian who desires to save, if possible, the lives of every American committed to his charge; and, Mr. President, that confidence and that affection and that respect have been reflected for weeks in the forbearance and tolerance and courtesy of this body throughout all these trying weeks.

In the same speech he discussed the effect upon the popular American mind of the *Maine* disaster. In that calamity he found the inciting cause of the nation's eagerness. Hear him:

For myself, Mr. President, however much of expenditure or debt or outlay it might have entailed, I would far rather have voted right and left and mortgaged the property, and thus necessarily mortgaged the labor, of every citizen of the United States to a reasonable extent if that would have secured peace in Cuba. It might have been successfully accomplished, although it seems as if Spain would not, and could not, yield that which is the essential condition of our ceasing our insistence.

But, Mr. President, when added to that there came the awful explosion in the harbor of Havana, a friendly port, in time of peace, the die was cast. After that, what could be said? If that had stood alone, it is possible it might have been adjusted without war, but not by any method which the Spaniard has yet attempted. When such an outrage was committed there was but one duty left, and that was the duty of exculpation, if they could exculpate themselves. If not, the only course of a self-respecting people must be to invoke the god of battle. . . .

But, Mr. President, because of that disaster, unatoned for

and unexplained, the determination is burned into the hearts of the American people that war must come or Cuba be made free and independent. No other answer will be accepted.

Mr. President, this national honor which we evoke is intangible; it is inchoate; it is unwritten and unexpressed. But it has within it the force and the violence of the whirlwind and the storm. It is "that chastity of honor which feels a stain like a wound." The existence of it makes nations survive and fit to live. The loss of it, or the trading upon it, or the abandonment of it, makes nations fit to die and perish from the face of the earth.

Pointing out the impossibility of material gain from the war; showing that we would not only obtain no aid from Europe, but might provoke hostilities there, and especially disavowing any desire for the acquisition of foreign territory, he continued:

It has been said upon the floor of the Senate, and it has been heard much elsewhere of late, that unless a nation fights it decays and deteriorates; that

"Honor sinks where commerce long prevails";

that it is essential to the race that it raise its young on wars, or else it goes to decay. If that is true—and I do not believe it—it is a pitiful statement to follow two thousand years of the teachings of Christ; and if it is true, it applies to a contest with equals.

. . . . . .

No, Mr. President, this way is one which can bring us no material gain. It will bring us the loss of millions of dollars in our commerce. It will sweep our ships from the seas. It will be followed by that lessening in morality which always accompanies the conclusion of a war. We will leave thousands of our young men dead of fever or by the bullet in the tropics in the Island of Cuba, and we shall be fortunate if we are not compelled to face serious complications with other European countries.

All these things we must count in advance, and we have counted them. And when the day of the result shall come, and Cuba is free, as we must make her free, we will have fought a country which can never indemnify us by land, for we want

no land beyond our border; a country which can never indemnify us in money, for she has got no money. We must find our only satisfaction, and it must be the supreme satisfaction of a free people, in this, that we have poured out our blood and our treasures to relieve the cry of suffering humanity.

The war which is already upon us, whatever the phraseology of our resolutions, must be fought, because it is the manifest destiny of this Republic to stand forever upon the Western Hemisphere a sentinel of liberty. It must come, because if we fail to listen to the voice of the suffering or the cry of the downtrodden upon this continent, we shall be untrue to those principles of liberty, humanity, and Christianity upon which this country is founded as upon a rock.

After this speech a remarkable incident occurred. Stirred by their own emotions and by the orator's strong appeal, the occupants of the galleries of the Senate Chamber, which were packed to suffocation, broke into an outburst of applause which the Chair found great difficulty in subduing. Any expression of approval is unusual in the staid and steady Senate, and the elders were utterly shocked over this explosion. Senator Cockrell was their spokesman. Under a rule of the Senate he moved that the galleries be cleared.

"No! no!" shouted the galleries in open defiance and vehement protest. "No—not on your life!"

This demonstration added insult to injury. The Missouri Senator was not moved by any spirit of envy. He was Mr. Wolcott's friend and was in sympathy with the spirit of his speech. But he was an old Senator and felt that the dignity of the Senate had been disregarded—its traditions trampled under foot. "I move," he went on as soon as he could be heard, "I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution in secret session."

"No! no!" again from the gallery. The adoption of the motion meant the closing of the doors and the exclusion of the public, and the public was interested. The protest was vehement and effective. The doors remained open.

By this time officers of the Senate were moving about among the turbulent throng and had succeeded in restoring

a degree of order. Mr. Cockrell then concluded his remarks, saying:

> We have tried to stop this matter; we have appealed to the galleries not to give any signs of approval or disapproval, and they seem determined to pay no respect whatever to the Senate. I do hope the Senate will not permit itself to be turned into a mere bear garden, where everything that is pleasing to the audience shall be clapped and applauded and whatever is disagreeable shall be censured and reprobated.

Wolcott's speech attracted much attention abroad and elicited from his warm personal friend, John Hay, then American Ambassador to Great Britain, the following letter of commendation, dated May 9, 1898:

> My Dear Mr. Wolcott:
>
> As you may well imagine I have not much time to read nowadays, but I have read your speech on Cuba twice over, and write to thank you for it most cordially. It is as true as it is eloquent—noble in substance as well as in manner. "Oh, that 't were possible" to have a majority like you, or two thirds of the Senate at least. It would be a less tangled world.
>
> Thanking you again, I am
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> (Signed) John Hay.

When the time came to consider the means of raising funds with which to carry on the war, Mr. Wolcott was a member of the Committee on Finance, and as such gave conscientious attention to the best means of accomplishing this end. In that work he demonstrated his ability to grasp the details of administrative finance, and no member of the Senate showed a better knowledge of precedent or a more comprehensive understanding of principles.

In a speech made in the Senate, May 28, 1898, he went into a detailed presentation of the necessity for more money, not only for the war time, but to meet the increased expenditures on account of the Navy, coast defence, etc., which he foresaw must inevitably be the result of the war, and must continue after its close. Discussing the then existing tariff law, he showed it to be incapable of afford-

ing the requisite revenue and then entered upon an analytical examination of all the means of increasing receipts, concluding in favor of compelling the fixing of stamps on certain articles, the issuance of bonds and the coinage of the silver seigniorage in the Treasury. Only very brief extracts will be made.

Meeting the contention that Spain was a fourth- or fifth-rate Power, and that this war could not be serious, Mr. Wolcott pointed out that it would be very troublesome and declared that with the exception of Great Britain there was no other country with which a war would cost so much. This was due to the fact that Spain's dependencies were so located that transports were needed to reach them. He did not consider it probable that the United States would ever again be called upon to fight under such disadvantageous circumstances. "It never happened, and it can never happen again," declared the Colorado Senator, pleading for liberal provision for such an emergency.

Defending the proposition for a bond issue, Mr. Wolcott said in part:

> Many of us estimated in committee that the annual war expenditures would be about $400,000,000. Upon the presentation of that fact, the committee—and I am violating no confidence of the committee—by a majority vote determined that this generation should pay $150,000,000 of that amount, or whatever amount it might be necessary to raise. Since this Republic has been created we have had five wars, and in every one of them there has been a bond issue, and in every one of them descendants of those who fought their wars have gladly and cheerfully and loyally and patriotically assumed the burden of that obligation and have been glad to pay it. We furnish the lives of our best and our bravest; we are willing to tax ourselves and to spend and to be spent for our country's prosperity and our country's honor, and posterity will never object that we call upon them to bear their fair share of the war's burdens and obligations.

Entering upon a defence of the stamp tax, he supported it not because of its necessity as a revenue producer, but because of its effect as an incentive to patriotism.

The Committee [he said] determined that the great advantage of a tax was in its universality. People say that taxes by stamps or other methods are vexatious. Of course they are vexatious. But that attention of almost every citizen in this country is called daily and in the ordinary vocations of life and in the work of every day to the fact that he is taxed to support this country in a war which it is waging is a fine and splendid and reasonable and seasonable reminder to every citizen of this country that the responsibility rests upon him as well as upon his fellow-citizen to provide the revenues for the carrying on of the war. It is also a stimulus to patriotism.

It is easy to say that there are great aggregations of wealth in this country and they ought to pay all war expenses, and that the average man should not know there is a war going on. There never was anything in this country or in any country in any time worth having that did not come through a sacrifice. Whether it be the ordinary relations with your fellow-citizens or your relations to your country, you are not contributing anything that has value unless you contribute it through sacrifice, and there is no such stimulus to patriotism as for every citizen, poor as well as rich, to feel that he is bearing his share in the burden and heat of the day, and that his contribution, a mite though it be, is yet something toward the support of his Government in its day of trial and for the maintenance of the honor of the flag.

So we determined that these taxes should be made as universal as possible.

Closing, he referred to the debt the war must impose upon future generations, but expressed confidence that the burden would be most willingly taken up by those to follow. Why? Let him state:

If we are true to those principles of humanity which have so far animated our action, and which have made this war inevitable, we shall transmit to those who are to come after us that which will make this financial load seem trifling and light of burden, for they will cherish, while the nation endures, the proud consciousness that this people, in this year of grace, were intolerant of oppression upon this hemisphere and counted no sacrifice of life or commercial prosperity too great that brought freedom to the downtrodden, even while their own liberties were unassailed. And, Mr. President, unless all means fail, we shall

leave as well upon the pages of history the glorious truth, to serve for all time as a warning and an illustration, that in the world's struggle for freedom and for right the English-speaking people stand shoulder to shoulder, alike devoted to the principles of eternal justice and indissolubly linked in one common and immortal destiny.

Before the war, Mr. Wolcott had reprobated the idea of acquiring any of the territory of Spain, but when the time came for the ratification of the Peace Treaty, which was negotiated at Paris, and by which the United States took over Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam, he was found supporting it. Not that he had changed his mind, for evidently he still had apprehensions regarding the policy; but because, as he viewed the situation, expediency made the course necessary. He was convinced that, if the treaty should not receive the sanction of the Senate, technically a condition of war with all its uncertainties would continue. He also found the compact to be in the line of England's desires, and, believing that England had been of vast advantage to us in keeping other European powers from interfering during the war, he was most willing to serve her in turn.

He spoke on the treaty on the 4th of February, 1899, and while his language gave it support, it is quite evident that there was no little uncertainty in his mind as to the ultimate wisdom of the course. Referring to the fact that before the beginning of the war the prospect of it had had no charm for him, he began by saying that "in common with millions of the American people, I move with reluctant feet along the path which our national duty seems to point, not because I do not recognize the necessity of following it, but because it is new and untried."

He added:

If the commissioners appointed by the President of the United States had brought us a treaty by the terms of which we were to relinquish all the Spanish islands in the Pacific, I should have voted to ratify it. If they had brought here a treaty which reserved us a coaling station and gave up the rest of the islands, I should have joined in a vote to approve their

action. In their wisdom they have agreed upon a treaty which retains all those islands, and I see before me but one duty, and that is to stand by my Government and by the action of these commissioners. . . .

For my own guidance, Mr. President, I recognize a vast difference in the moral obligation I owe my country when I come to deal in the Senate with a commercial treaty, when this country is at peace, and the attitude I owe our Government when I am called upon to pass on a treaty of peace solemnly negotiated for the purpose of closing actual hostilities with a nation with which we are at war.

We here quote only one additional point from this speech. It relates to the policy of taking over and retaining possession of the Philippines. Under that heading, Mr. Wolcott said in part:

Mr. President, no matter what any man may say, this war was a war solely of humanity. It cannot be too often reiterated that it had its inception in unselfishness, and it finds its conclusion in equal unselfishness. The course of events, unexpected and necessarily unforeseen, leaves us at the conclusion of this war charged with a duty toward 9,000,000 people in far distant seas. We found them cruelly oppressed by Spain. No man with bowels of compassion would want to turn them back to that country. We know but little about them. We have reached only the very fringes of our knowledge of that country, its topography, its people, their character, and their possibilities. But it is believed by men at least as wise as we that there exists there a condition extending over a generation, with its accompaniment of bloodshed and murder and rapine; and that the people there are as yet apparently unfitted for self-government.

More than this, they realize that if we to-day abandon those islands as a derelict upon the face of the waters we leave them open to the land-hunger and the greed of the countries of Europe that are now seeking to colonize land the wide world over, with the probability that our action would plunge the world in war.

Mr. President, for one I am not unwilling to face the responsibilities of this treaty with all that its terms imply. We shall not put our hands upon that people except to bless them. American institutions mean liberty and not despotism, and our

dealings with those islanders, be they brief or be they for all time, can serve only to lift them up nearer into the light of civilization and of Christianity.

Mr. President, it has also been frequently said in the progress of this discussion that our continued occupancy of those islands is contrary to the spirit of American institutions. Who shall say this? This Republic represents the first and only experiment in absolute self-government by the Anglo-Saxon race, intermingled and re-enforced by the industrious of all the countries of the Old World.

Who is to say that in the evolution of such a Republic as this that the time has not come when the immense development of our internal resources and the marvellous growth of our domestic and foreign commerce and a realization of our virile strength have not stimulated that Anglo-Saxon restlessness which beats with the blood of the race into an activity which will not be quenched until we have finally planted our standard in that far-off archipelago which inevitable destiny has intrusted to our hands?

It may well be that this people have found, through the outlet which the results of war with Spain compelled us to take, the one course which shall lead to the perpetuity of our institutions and the safety and stability of the Republic.

Time alone can determine and make clear the duty we owe ourselves and the people of the Philippines. To-day we face the question of rejecting or emasculating the conclusions solemnly reached by the commissioners of Spain and the United States or of standing loyally by our Government. For myself there is but one path; to my vision, in that way alone lies honor.

As was true at the close of most of Mr. Wolcott's speeches, the applause in the galleries was so pronounced on this occasion that the presiding officer was compelled to caution the occupants that expressions of approbation were not allowed under the rules of the Senate.

That the treaty was ratified and that the United States took over the Spanish islands the world knows.

In his campaign speeches in Colorado in 1898, Mr. Wolcott dwelt at length upon the achievements of the war, but from them one brief extract must suffice. In his speech in Denver, at the close of the campaign, he said:

The war lasted one hundred and fourteen days, from April

21st to August 13th, when the peace protocol was signed; one hundred and fourteen days, fellow-citizens, and the most glorious war that ever was fought since civilization has existed, and for the highest, noblest principles, because it was fought for the lives and liberties of others, when our own liberties were unassailed. And out of it we came with an unextinguishable honor, and without a defeat. We find ourselves to-day with our flag moved an empire westward; a great nation under our fostering care, and waiting to be made free men and women, under the flag which floats forever over free men, and free men only.

He also gave much attention to the Philippine question in his speech before the Philadelphia Convention of 1900 nominating McKinley for the second term, saying among other things:

When this war ended and we faced our victory in all its completeness we found 8,000,000 people living upon uncounted islands delivered into our hands. Abandonment of them would be confession that while the oppression by Spain of 1,500,000 Cubans demanded our armed interference, greater barbarity and cruelty to millions of Filipinos, less able to protect themselves, was a subject of no concern to us. No civilized nation in the world, no Christian nation, could have turned these people back to Spain. Our commissioners, when they insisted upon the return of the Philippines, voiced the sentiment and the wishes of the American people, and this nation has assumed with open eyes and with full realization of the difficulties which may be encountered, the grave responsibilities imposed upon us by the Treaty of Paris. . . . We have n't been there long, but long enough to reach two conclusions. One is that the very first thing we intend to do is to suppress the Tagal insurrection and establish law and order throughout the archipelago. That is the first thing we shall do. And the last, the very last thing we intend doing, is to consider, even for a moment, the question of giving up or abandoning these islands.

Evidently he had become wholly reconciled to the retention of the far-away islands. He had come to see that in this course there was a vast opportunity for the development of a people and for the extension of American trade—for benefits both to Americans and Filipinos.

THE COXEY GOOD-ROADS MOVEMENT

MR. WOLCOTT was in the Senate in 1894 when General Jacob S. Coxey, of Ohio, marched his "Good-Roads Army" to Washington. The so-called "Army" consisted in the main of as choice a lot of hoboes and tramps as ever was gathered together, and the fact that there was a large number of them was not permitted to detract much from the peculiarities of the individual members of the organization.

Mr. Coxey was a man of property and he was not devoid of education. That he was earnestly solicitous for the welfare of the millions of people who had been thrown out of employment by the panic of 1893 there can be no doubt. He belonged to that contingent of American citizenship which believes, or professes to believe, that by a tug at its boot-straps the Government, metaphorically speaking, can lift itself over any obstacle. He held to the theory that the National Treasury could be so used as to supply employment for all who were out of work, and he advocated a general movement for the improvement of the highways of the country as the best means of utilizing the governmental activities. The Government was to pay for all of this labor by issuing non-interest-bearing bonds, and by such other means as might suggest themselves to the liberal-minded statesmen of the Populistic type with whom Mr. Coxey affiliated.

As the national authorities did not appear to respond with alacrity to this demand on the part of Mr. Coxey and his fellow-dreamers, the Ohio man started a propaganda for a movement against Washington. Believing that Con-

gress and the executive officials would be more impressed by the living presence of the men behind him than they would be by letters and petitions, which might be curtailed by the lack of stamps with which to mail them, he began his movement in the interest of a march of the unemployed upon the National Capital. Probably the instigator of the movement had no idea in the beginning of the number of men that would be attracted to his standard. All over the country, and especially through the West, all the way to the Pacific Coast, there were many from Eastern States, who, when the panic of 1893 came, found themselves out of a job and far from home. Throughout this whole broad section there were also, as in all other places, many idlers: men who would not have accepted employment if it had been tendered them. People of both classes responded to the call. The unemployed of the better class wanted to get East, where they hoped to find bread if not work, and the professional loafers were willing to go anywhere to kill time. No doubt all of them expected more or less assistance from the sentimentalists who sympathized with Mr. Coxey, and probably some of them counted reliantly upon the influence that would be exerted upon the railroads by the strength of the column in the interest of free transportation.

Be all this as it may, Coxey went to Washington with a large number, though by no means all of those who had joined him in the beginning of the march across the continent. It was the intention of the leader of the movement to assemble his motley followers on the Capitol grounds and to have them addressed from the east steps of the building. This privilege was denied them and about the only glory they achieved through the movement was that of being permitted to camp on the outskirts of the City of Washington, where, remaining for a few days, they were fed by the charitably-inclined people of the capital. They soon dispersed, and, scattering over the country, were speedily lost to view with the movement that brought them together.

Not so, however, with Mr. Coxey himself. That gentleman apparently lost nothing of his standing by his quixotic appeal to the National Treasury. Fifteen years afterward, when seen in Washington by the writer, he stated

that he was without regret concerning his movement, and he added that under similar conditions he would repeat the experiment.

The subject of the Coxey expedition was brought before the Senate by Senator Allen, a Populist, of Nebraska, who, on the 25th of April, introduced the following resolution as expressive of the rights of the members of the "Army" as citizens:

WHEREAS, It is currently reported that unarmed, law-abiding, and peaceably disposed, but unemployed citizens of the United States of America are about to "peacefully assemble" in the City of Washington, and "to petition the Government for a redress of their grievances"; and

WHEREAS, Threats of arresting such persons have been made upon their entering the District of Columbia, and the City of Washington. Therefore,

Resolved, That under the Constitution of the United States of America, citizens of the United States, regardless of their rank or station in life, have an undoubted and unquestionable right to peacefully assemble and petition the Government for a redress of their grievances at any place within the United States where they do not create a breach of the peace or of the law, menace or endanger persons or property, or disturb the transaction of the public business or the free use of the streets and highways by the public.

Speaking to this resolution on the following day Mr. Wolcott said:

I am at a loss to understand the purpose of the introduction of this resolution, which seems to change no existing law, but which, taken in connection with its preamble, seems to extend a cringing invitation to some thousands of people, calling themselves unemployed laborers, who, if the newspaper accounts be true, are preparing to invade this capital—some peaceably and on foot, some by stolen railroad trains, some by beggary, and all of them to no useful purpose.

The only inducement which has been given to such an invasion, which is unheard of in the history of our country, has been the utterances of men in high place holding office, members of this body, who have spoken of "a servile police force" and "a paid soldiery," as if men sworn to do their duty were to

be denounced in the Senate of the United States because of their loyalty; and the attention devoted to them by governors of certain States, who have invited them to make their descent upon the capital of the United States. Our own State of Colorado is now suffering from such a Governor,[1] whose vagaries and whose antics have brought discredit and dishonor upon our commonwealth, to the injury of our credit and our standing and the soiling of our fair name.

Mr. President, I am tired of this method of dealing with these demonstrations. The times are "out of joint." The origin of this condition may be attributed to one cause or to another. Those of us from the West have attributed it to the appreciation of the value of gold. We believe we are right; but whether we are right or wrong, that discussion has now no place in the consideration of the welcome which it is proposed we shall extend to these strolling bands who intend to visit Washington.

It is a fact that while great sympathy has gone out all over the country apparently to these men, you will find it is evinced largely by citizens of one State who desire to see these men safely delivered from their borders over into the borders of another State, so that they shall not be a charge upon them. Many of these men are honest men. They are led by leaders who are either insane or cranks or vicious.

There is a solution of this grave question of relief for the unemployed. It will come not by wandering bands visiting Washington; it will come through the beneficence of mankind, which gradually, as the world grows better, makes men more humane and more kind. There should be no man suffering for food for himself or his family in the broad domain of the United States who is willing to work. It is my solemn conviction that, bad as the times are, and worse, as I fear they may become, there is to-day no man who sincerely desires work for the support of himself and his family who cannot get either work or bread to put into the mouths of himself and his little ones until work can be found.

I am tired, Mr. President, of this talk of a national demonstration. The States wherein these men reside owe them the charity of their support until work can be found for those who are willing to work. In Colorado to-day, crushed and humilated as she is by the action of Congress, I venture to say that no man is starving because he cannot find work or willing hands

[1] Governor Davis H. Waite.

to help him or willing friends to assist in supporting him until work can be found for him.

I believe that the time has come when those of us who are in public life ought to begin to cultivate more a regard for the perpetuity of Republican institutions and to pander less to that miscalled portion of the labor vote whose labor is with their throats, and never with their hands; that it is time we stood for the rights of American manhood, the right of a man to work if he wants to, even if it takes the whole Army of the country to sustain him in doing it—the right of every man to equal liberty with another—and that means that he shall have such liberty as is not inconsistent with the equal rights of his neighbor; the right to hold and to enjoy the property which the laws of this country have enabled him to secure.

It is time, Mr. President, that we had the courage to stand together against socialism and populism and paternalism run riot, which is agitating and fermenting this country, and which must end, if they are not checked, in the destruction of the blessed liberties which the laws and the Constitution give us; liberties that should be dearer to us than life itself.

I am opposed to the consideration of this resolution, with its untruthful preamble.

Replying briefly at the time to Mr. Wolcott's address, Mr. Allen said:

I want to say, in answer to the Senator from Colorado, that this is not a socialistic or a populistic movement. I know not whether any Populist is engaged in it. I understand it to be a spontaneous uprising of American citizens of all political opinions, who are oppressed and wronged by the conditions which exist in this country, to remove which no effort has been made.

While the Nebraska Senator was on the floor he was interrupted by Mr. Wolcott with the following question:

"Does the Senator apply that comment to the 'Army of the Commonweal' which stole the train at Butte and killed two deputy marshals, and whom the troops of the United States are now seeking to capture?"

Mr. Allen replied: "The Senator from Colorado will not be able to entice me upon the ground of his choice. When

these resolutions were introduced in the Senate, it was not known in this city or in this Chamber that any depredation had been committed on the Northern Pacific Railroad."

The Senate did not act on the resolution.

THE CASE OF SENATOR QUAY

IN his effort to procure a seat in the Senate at the beginning of the Fifty-sixth Congress in 1900, through the appointment of the Governor of his State, Senator Quay had no more ardent supporter than Mr. Wolcott.

Mr. Quay had been a member of the Senate from Pennsylvania for twelve years when, in 1899, his term expired; but the Legislature of that State failed either to re-elect him for a third term or to choose a successor, as was explained by the following extract from the report of the majority of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections:

> Prior to March 3, 1899, Mr. Quay was a Senator in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania. His term of office, to which he had been elected by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, expired by efflux of time on the 3d day of March, 1899. The Legislature of Pennsylvania convened in regular session on the first Tuesday in January, 1899. On Tuesday, January 17, 1899, it began balloting for the purpose of selecting some one to succeed Mr. Quay and fill the vacancy which would occur on the 3d day of March, 1899. Daily ballots were taken in obedience to the provisions of the Act of Congress of July 25, 1866, and of the Pennsylvania statute of January 11, 1867, from that date until April 19, 1899. The Legislature adjourned April 20th without effecting an election. Thereafter, on April 21, 1899, the Governor of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. Quay to represent the State of Pennsylvania in this body until the next meeting of the Legislature.

Commenting on these facts the Committee stated its conclusion briefly as follows:

It will thus be seen that the vacancy, which the Governor of Pennsylvania has here attempted to provide for by a temporary appointment, was one which was foreseen, one which was caused by the expiration of a prior term, one which occurred while the Legislature of Pennsylvania was in session, and one which that Legislature had an opportunity of filling before it occurred, and also after it occurred, in the interim between the date of the occurrence and the appointment by the Governor. Under these facts we think that the appointment is invalid.

On behalf of Mr. Quay it was insisted that whenever a vacancy in the Senate exists during the recess of a Legislature, the Governor may appoint, no matter when or how it occurred, and no matter how often the Legislature may have had an opportunity to fill it. The majority of the Senate Committee refused to accept this view, holding that whenever the Legislature has had an opportunity to fill a vacancy, either before or after it begins, the Executive cannot lawfully appoint.

Mr. Quay's credentials, consisting of a certificate of appointment from Governor William A. Stone, of Pennsylvania, were properly presented in the Senate by his colleague, Senator Penrose, on the 4th of December, 1899. In this document the Governor certified to the existence of the vacancy caused by the expiration of Mr. Quay's term of office and the failure of the Legislature to elect a successor. The certificate was duly referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and on January 23, 1900, Senator Turley, of Tennessee, a Democratic member of the Committee, presented the report of the majority of its members, which was condensed in a resolution declaring that Mr. Quay was "not entitled to take his seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania." The majority report was signed by the four Democratic members of the Committee, consisting of Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana; E. W. Pettus, of Alabama; Thomas B. Turley, of Tennessee; and W. A. Harris, of Kansas; and by one Republican member, Julius Cæsar Burrows, of Michigan, who afterward became Chairman of the Committee. The minority report declaring Mr. Quay to be entitled to his seat was signed by the other four Republican members of the Committee, namely,

George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts; William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire; Jeter C. Pritchard, of North Carolina; and Louis E. McComas, of Maryland.

The report of the Committee continued intermittently to receive the attention of the Senate until the 24th of April, 1900, when it was adopted by a majority of one, the vote standing 33 for and 32 against.

Mr. Wolcott was in the thick of the fight from beginning to end. The elderly Pennsylvania Senator and the young Colorado Senator had been mutually drawn toward each other during their service together. Each found in the other much to admire. Ordinarily silent and reserved, Mr. Quay was known to his intimates to be a man of education and of refined tastes, full of delightful traits and possessed of a rare fund of general information. With his family and in his library he spent much of the time which was popularly supposed to be given to manipulating the Pennsylvania vote. Those who knew him best testify that he loved his books much more than he loved politics. These characteristics were soon discovered by Mr. Wolcott, who also was doubtless drawn to him because of the enemies he had made as Chairman of the Republican National Committee and as an active politician of many years. A man of practical politics himself, Mr. Wolcott knew how much undeserved criticism might be directed toward one who had "played the game" and played it on so big a scale as had the Pennsylvanian. He knew how many of the charges against the man were untrue, and he knew, too (as in the matter of the speculation in sugar while the Sugar investigation was on in the Senate), that Mr. Quay was not the man to conceal a transaction simply because it did not meet the approval of the excited sense of some one else. Whatever the reason, he found in the Keystone State leader a man more attractive and more worthy than did the uninformed public; and, believing in and trusting him, he gave him his unstinted support when he came asking for it through gubernatorial designation rather than legislative election.

A perusal of the records of the time shows that his advocacy of Mr. Quay's cause was apparently based on personal rather than constitutional and legal reasons. He did not

ignore the legal arguments or the precedents in Mr. Quay's favor, but he did not rely so much on them as did other Senators. Mr. Wolcott was ever a pleader, and he liked to appeal to the personal side. That was his way, and he pursued it in this case. There had been great delay in taking up the resolution and therefore there was a basis for the charge of unfairness. Mr. Wolcott made the most of this circumstance in his effort to arouse sympathy and to get votes for his friend.

Wolcott's chief speech in the case was made on the 4th of April, 1900, and was a plea for action. Saying that the resolution of the Committee on Privileges and Elections had been on the Calendar for more than two months, he urged a vote. But while he pleaded for promptness he did not neglect to point the way as he saw it. He was now, as always, a partisan.

Speaking of the case as one of "the highest privilege," a phrase which seldom fails to appeal to the Senate, he said that it had naturally been assumed that it would take its due course and be soon considered. Admitting that some of the postponements had been unavoidable, he proceeded:

> But, Mr. President, we have waited day after day ever patiently, and we have heard intimations and statements of speeches to be made respecting the case again and again and yet again. On one day a Senator has had to go to New Hampshire; then on another day another Senator was not quite ready; and these have been invariably Senators who are opposed to the seating of Mr. Quay. We have waited and postponed very good-naturedly from time to time the consideration of the case for the convenience of those Senators until there has come to be a general feeling in the air, an intimation in the press of the country, and a conviction in the minds of thousands of people that this case of the highest privilege is intended to be buried in the Senate without consideration.

One of the measures used to antagonize the Quay resolution was the bill providing a form of government for the Philippines. Mr. Wolcott contended that the Quay case should have been given precedence. Entering upon the injustice

done to Mr. Quay's State by depriving it of its rightful representation in the Senate, he said sententiously:

Mr. President, when you consider that here is a State with 7,000,000 people, with almost as many intelligent American citizens in it as there are Tagals and other savages in the Philippines, it does seem as if some sense of justice should prompt members of the American Senate to vote upon the question as to whether this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is or is not entitled to two Senators, in this body; so that if we vote against her contention she may take such legislative action as she sees fit. It is not a question of seating Mr. Quay; it is not a case of voting that he shall be entitled to a seat, but it is a question of giving a great State fair consideration.

Touching then upon that delicate and much vaunted "courtesy of the Senate," he proceeded directly to his personal argument in Mr. Quay's behalf, saying:

We talk of the courtesy of the Senate! What Senator is there here who, if he had been in a similar way named by the the governor of his State, having served in this body for twelve years, and who found his fellow-Senators day after day postponing the consideration of his case and refusing him a hearing, would not feel himself outraged?

Here, we have, Mr. President, the case of an honorable Senator, useful and strong, endeared to the people of his Commonwealth, overwhelmingly supported by them in election after election, with whom some of us have served for many years, and to whom we have become attached by ties of affection and respect; and we find that week after week and month after month excuses that seem paltry to some of us stand in the way of a fair consideration of his case.

Mr. President, it is not difficult to understand why this great opposition comes. There is an opposition to him, not alone upon constitutional grounds, but upon party and political and personal grounds. He has been subjected to more overwhelming and disgraceful attacks than any man who has been in public life for a generation, and he has survived them all; and it will be cruel and wicked if this Senate—in which he served honorably for twelve years—shall add the final stab to his reputation and to his character.

Mr. President, he is attacked principally because, first, he

has been chairman of a great political party in its national elections. There never yet has been a chairman of a great party, who has had the disbursing of the necessary funds for the management of a political campaign, who has not come out of it as the centre and the target of all the opprobrium and ill-will of political opponents and the discontented people in his own party.

I know no national chairman of a great political party in the last twenty years, since I have known anything of public life, who had not suffered by just that sort of attack. I think the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Jones] has come out of it freer from suspicion than anybody else; but he has had probably fewer funds to handle, and the chances are, Mr. President, if he is continued in that position, and his party adheres to the course it seems to have adopted, he will come out of the next election absolutely unsmirched. But the moment a man accepts the chairmanship of a national committee he becomes the centre of attack upon his character.

Senator Jones, to whom the reference in the closing paragraph of the quotation was made, was one of Mr. Wolcott's favorites on the Democratic side. He was Chairman of the Democratic National Committee in the two Bryan campaigns of 1896 and 1900, when, on that side of the controversy at least, cash was conspicuously scarce.

The next paragraph in Mr. Wolcott's speech on this occasion suggests a mystery, which there is an effort in another chapter to clear up. He refers to Quay as an opponent of the Force Bill, but it is certain that whatever the Pennsylvania Senator's attitude toward that measure may have been he did not vote with Wolcott and the Democrats to displace it. That Mr. Wolcott understood the attitude of his friend is evident from his speech. On that point he said:

It is said—with how much justice I do not know—that some attitude of Mr. Quay at some former period respecting what is known as the Force Bill has led to certain hostility, unexpressed, by certain members on this side of the Chamber to the consideration of his case. He took his political life in his hands in whatever action he may have committed himself to respecting that bill. There was no vote, no bargain, and

no agreement; but some of us who have served here for many years have learned that kindnesses and benefits are soon forgotten. Whatever may have been his attitude respecting that measure or any other, there is no sort of obligation resting upon anybody that in consideration of it he should be voted a seat in this Senate; but I submit to Senators on the other side of the Chamber who are interested respecting that and other measures that if there is one drop of red blood in their veins, they ought to stand as one man to see that this fellow-Senator has a vote as to whether he is entitled to a seat here or whether he shall remain out of the Senate.

The next mention also was personal in bearing. It had unmistakable reference to John Wanamaker, the Philadelphia merchant, who had been Postmaster-General and to whose aspirations to succeed Mr. Quay as United States Senator was the latter's defeat attributable. He said:

It is also true, Mr. President, that the public press of certain of the cities of this country find that the receipt of a great annual income for the publication of the long advertisements concerning "Heart to Heart Talks on Ginghams" and the like are coupled with the condition that they shall oppose by fair means and foul the seating of Mr. Quay. That consideration, I regret to say, has been sufficient to overcome in certain instances the ordinary courtesies of life. But, Mr. President, if there is any fairness left to us, we ought to permit his case to come to a vote.

Coming back to the question of Senatorial courtesy he added to what he already had said:

We talk of the courtesy of the Senate! We are polite with each other; but sometimes it becomes a thin veneer, and sometimes, if you look under it you will find it is all because we serve on different committees; that each of us has measures we desire to have passed, and find it more convenient to treat in a spirit of mutual concession than otherwise all our brother Senators. But it is a pity, Mr. President, if the courtesies of the Senate die with the official life of a brother Senator. It would almost seem as if in politics and the struggle for power men resembled rather a pack of wolves, which, in pursuit of the chase, stop when a fellow-member of the pack is wounded

or injured, only long enough to consume and eat him up, and then follow the quarry.

He closed with an appeal for a vote and for a vote on the merits of the question:

For my part, Mr. President, I do appeal to members of the Senate that we at least be men and vote upon the question, and by no paltry spirit of delay, by no subterfuge, and by the intrusion of no unreasonable request, that we come to some fair understanding as to whether or not Matthew S. Quay is entitled to a seat in the Senate.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Chandler] has given notice that he will let the question go over until Monday; but in a spirit of fairness I do trust that the Senate will at least acquit itself like an honorable body and vote fairly upon the merits of the question.

In explaining his necessary absence from the city and the Senate, Senator Gallinger characterized the Wolcott exhortation as "a veritable Colorado thunderstorm." But, however vivid and strong, the speech did not lure the vote of Mr. Gallinger nor insure the seating of Mr. Quay.

After holding a waiting-place in the Senate business for almost five months the case was brought to a vote on April 24th. Senator Chandler, who was Chairman of the Committee, forced a vote by moving to strike the word "not" from the resolution of the majority declaring Mr. Quay *not* entitled to take his seat. The resolution was voted down by the narrow margin of one, the vote standing 32 to 33.

Without intermission the vote was then taken on the Committee resolution which was adopted by the same vote reversed, the majority again being one. Thus Mr. Quay was definitely declared not to be entitled to his seat.

It is interesting to recall that on the day of his rejection Mr. Quay was renominated for the Senate by the Pennsylvania Republican State Convention, which chanced to be in session, and that when the State Legislature met in January, 1901, he was re-elected. He continued to serve in the Senate until his death, in 1904.

While this case was pending in the Senate, there was

a sharp exchange of words between Senator Lodge and Senator Wolcott,—the only occurrence of the kind in a long friendship between them.

The incident grew out of one of those peculiar institutions of the Senate known as a "unanimous consent agreement," under which the Senators as a body of gentlemen bind themselves to do a certain thing, such as taking a vote at a given time. In this instance the agreement was to give precedence after appropriation bills to the bill providing a form of government for the Philippine Islands. As Chairman of the Committee on the Philippines, Senator Lodge was in charge of this measure. He interpreted the compact as excluding the Quay resolution as well as other business, while the friends of Mr. Quay contended that because his case was one of "the highest privilege," concerning the personal rights of a Senator, it was entitled, under all circumstances, to first consideration as opposed to any other measure.

On the 3d of April, Mr. Lodge sought to have the Philippine Bill made the "Unfinished Business" on the calendar, thus giving it preference. The friends of Mr. Quay antagonized the motion, alternately moving to go into executive session and to adjourn, thus indicating determined opposition. The proceeding continued for an hour or more until, apparently becoming somewhat exasperated, Mr. Lodge said:

I desire to say that it is perfectly obvious that by attempting to hold the Senate here I shall attain no good result. I have no desire to do that. The purpose of the friends of Mr. Quay is plain, which is all that I desire to disclose. I have no objection now to either adjourning or going into executive session, but I desire to say that I consider the unanimous-consent agreement to be at an end so far as I am concerned.

The remark had not been intended as a reflection on the course of other Senators, but at the moment it was so regarded by Mr. Wolcott, who replied hotly:

I did not suppose that I was giving way for the purpose of an offensive remark. I do not know where the Senator from Massachusetts counts himself, whether as an enemy of Mr. Quay

or as a friend of Mr. Quay. But, Mr. President, when there is any suggestion or intimation made that there was any unworthy or unrighteous purpose in pressing the consideration of this case—a case of the highest privilege—anybody who makes the suggestion goes far out of his way to state that which is unqualifiedly false.

I change my motion to a motion that the Senate now adjourn.

Mr. Lodge replied:

I made no charge of any kind. I said that I had been deprived of a right which I thought I clearly had under the unanimous-consent agreement. I am not going to press it; I am not going to hold the Senate; but if the unanimous consent is broken, of course that is the end of it. It cannot bind one and not bind another.

In accordance with Mr. Wolcott's motion the Senate adjourned.

Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Lodge soon afterward shook hands and both forgot the unpleasant incident of the day. Indeed, Mr. Wolcott went to Mr. Lodge's house before retiring that night, saying that he valued too highly the friendship of the Massachusetts Senator not to seek a reconciliation before the end of the day.

INDIANS

DURING his service in the Senate Mr. Wolcott gave much attention to questions in which the Indians were involved. When, in 1871, he went West, the western third of Colorado, which since has become one of the most prosperous agricultural sections of the State, was inhabited only by the warlike Ute tribe. Georgetown, where he resided, was within fifty miles of some of their favorite resorts. As a consequence of this proximity, and because of his general knowledge concerning Western subjects, Senator Wolcott never entered upon the discussion of the Indian question that he did not throw light upon it. His especial attention was given to the permanent settlement of the Southern Utes on, or their removal from, their reservation in Southern Colorado.

As the result of the uprising of the Northern Utes in 1878, in which "Father" Meeker, the White River agent, and several assistants were murdered by the Indians and their women carried into captivity, the White River and Uncompahgre Utes were removed to Utah, while the Southern bands were located on a strip of land only fifteen miles wide which extended one hundred and fifteen miles eastward from Utah through Southwestern Colorado. The shape of this reserve was especially unfortunate. It was in the way of the progress of white settlement and was peculiarly subject to invasion, which was apt to cause conflict. Senators Wolcott and Teller gave much time to the adjustment of the questions growing out of this condition, and both were frequently heard on the subject.

Mr. Wolcott's summary of the reasons for desiring the removal of the Indians, or, in the face of difficulties in that

direction, of having them settled on lands in severalty, as made in a speech delivered in the Senate on January 28, 1895, was very concise and clear in its explanation of the troubles liable to result from the shape of the reservation. Speaking of the reserve, Mr. Wolcott said:

It lies in a peculiar situation. To the east and to the north of it are great mountain ranges, a spur of the Sierra Madre coming down from the north, the great back-bone of the continent. To the west and through this narrow reservation must be the approach of the great mining sections of the San Juan region. It was necessary for the railroad which enters the San Juan country to traverse the reservation for seventy miles. There are wagon roads crossing it and recrossing it on every side. It is the gateway to a vast and rich mineral country. It is needed by the white man in order that he may cross it and get to the source of his wealth and to the towns where the mining industries are carried on. It is not needed and is not utilized by the Indians.

In the same speech in another connection he said:

If the eastern end of the reservation, which is theirs by treaty and is not utilized by them, is to be crossed and recrossed by wagon roads and railroads, with the constant danger of the intercourse which the Indian is to have with such civilization as he is apt to meet there, we cannot protect him. There is in Colorado no desire to shift from itself the burden of its duty of citizenship. We of the West have to take these Indians within invaluable territory. We have to be forbearing in our treatment of them. The East extends its resolutions of sympathy to the Indian. We meet them upon a basis of practical Christianity. We propose to continue to do so. But it is not fair for the Congress of the United States to continue to these Indians a reservation which they do not want and ought not to have and prevent its appropriation to the white man, as it is the gateway to a great and rich and fertile country.

Participating freely in the discussion of the bill providing for the opening to entry of the asphalt lands of the Uncompahgre reservation in Utah, Mr. Wolcott on March 18, 1896, gave the reasons in favor of the bill.

I desire [he said] to call the attention of the Senate to the

fact that the effect of the joint resolution is merely to require the Secretary of the Interior to carry out existing law, and that the effect will be not to give away these lands, which may have minerals upon them, but to give them where they belong, to the public, and when they become public lands there is thrown around them the safeguard of the law. We are supposed to have sufficient and adequate laws applicable to the public domain. We provide as to coal lands that, if they are so near a railroad, so much shall be paid for them; if they are more remote from a railroad so much less shall be paid. As to mineral lands, we provide that form of entry, the form of preemption; we provide the work that must be annually done; we provide as to how these different deposits shall be stated and placed on the maps; we provide how much shall be paid for them, and we grant patents for them only after the expenditure of $500 worth of work upon a claim. The effect of the opening of these claims is to bring all this vast wealth, if it exists, to the public. Nobody is benefited by it but the public and the prospectors whom the law encourages to go upon the public domain.

I apprehend [he continued] that there would be no objection to this resolution if it were fully understood that what is being done in the Department of the Interior is not for the purpose of conserving the public interest and holding these deposits, be they valuable or worthless, from the public or from public entry, but it is that a law providing for the allotment of lands to the Indians shall not be so complied with as to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from continuing these lands in Utah, which ought to be public lands, from being opened to public entry and public occupation.

It is not, Mr. President, as if there were a scheme to give somebody something out of the public domain. It is to open the land to the public, where the prospectors, whom the law encourages to go upon the public domain, may give to the public and to the citizens of our country the fruits of their intelligence, so that this land may become valuable and help to contribute to the revenues of our country.

In a talk on a bill providing for the payment of claims on account of depredations committed by Indians, Mr. Wolcott discussed the relative merits of the Indian and the white man as witnesses, saying in part:

It may be that Indians who leave the tribal relations, Indians who hold their lands in severalty, Indians who are trying to be decent, who do not go on the warpath and scalp and murder periodically, should be able to give testimony that a judge or a jury ought to believe; but it by no means follows that the Sioux, Apaches, or other Indians who haunt the mountains, who are sullenly brought on their reservations, and who rob and steal and murder whenever they have an opportunity, should have this right given them by Congress.

Should these men, not citizens of the United States, no more citizens than wild animals are citizens, so far as the rights of citizenship go, come into court and have the same right to testify and the same right to have their oath believed? It is easy to say that they face a judge and the judge gives their testimony the weight he thinks it ought to have; but any honest judge, as I have said, is bound to find that those witnesses tell the truth if they are not impeached upon their testimony; or if their testimony be not contradicted.

For one, knowing something, though vaguely, and fortunately recently at a distance, of the sort of violence settlers are subjected to, I am unwilling by my vote to say that an Indian, it may be fresh from the warpath, may come in and testify before a court that he has suffered some injury at the hands of a white man and that the judge shall give his testimony unsupported the same weight that he would give to that of a respectable white American citizen.

That he did not fail to give due regard to the humanitarian side of the Indian question Mr. Wolcott made evident in many of his speeches. As early as March 29, 1892, in his first speech in the Senate on the Indian question, which pertained to the removal of the Southern Utes, he manifested a deep concern for the welfare of the red man, not failing, however, to give first place to the claims of the white settler. Speaking then of the attitude of the people of Colorado with the intent of showing their capacity for "benevolent assimilation" under right conditions, he said:

We in Colorado are not unfriendly to the Indian. When we were first organized as a Territory we found within our borders thousands of Mexicans who came to us by conquest,

aliens in race and language and traditions and habits. We have assimilated them to us and they are now rapidly adopting our language and our methods. They have become good, intelligent citizens, and many of them are now occupying important positions of trust in the State of Colorado.

Had the Indian offered the slightest evidence of capacity for civilization he too would have been taken by the hand and lifted up and planted on the firm ground of citizenship. No effort has been spared in this direction, but the Southern Ute Indian who now lives in Colorado is not capable of civilization in this generation or in this century.

In all the legislation that has been sought, due regard has been uniformly had to the interest of the Indian as well as the white; and if the population surrounding the present reservation did not exist, if the two reservations stood with no white man within a thousand miles of either of them, the same reasons for the removal of the Indians from the one reservation to the other would still largely exist.

Briefly outlining his views as to the solution of the Indian problem, Mr. Wolcott continued:

There is, in my opinion, Mr. President, but one way of reclaiming these Indians, and that is from within, and not from without. You have got to make the Indian a better man, you have got to get the love of Christ in his heart, you have got to teach him humane principles, you have got to make him feel a responsibility for his acts. You do not reform him or reclaim him by giving him a plough and a harrow and ten acres of land, and telling him to work or starve. You can accomplish that end by going in among his people and treating them kindly, working with the younger members of the tribe, and gradually bringing them to a realizing sense of man's duty to his fellow-man.

Mr. President, the future of the Indian races in the United States seems almost as much of a problem now as it did one hundred years ago. They are not appreciably diminished in numbers, nor are they, except in isolated instances, making material progress toward civilization. The solution of this great question rests with the West as well as the East, and the one section may be trusted to deal with it with the same wisdom and humanity as the other. The lessons taught the Indian in the earlier days of the colonies have been transmitted from sire to

son and communicated by tribe to tribe, and add to the difficulties of the situation. The history of the Indian was for years an almost continuous story of cupidity and overreaching by one race and rapine and slaughter by the other.

The Colorado Senator then returned to his plea for removal, and in doing so found much in the course of his State to praise:

> If Congress in its wisdom determines that they shall continue to occupy this gateway to Southern Colorado, to their own detriment and to the infinite injury and retarding of the growth and development of a great section of our common country, we shall still exercise that integrity in our dealings with the tribe which characterizes an intelligent and law-abiding people.
>
> I am unwilling to believe, however, that so great a wrong will be put upon us. The bill now in committee is consonant with the unanimous wish and the highest and truest interests of the Indians, and affords the people of Colorado the relief they so greatly need.

He did not succeed in having the shape of the Ute reservation changed, but the lands were divided and parcelled out to the Indians in severalty, and many of the evils growing out of proximity to the whites were gradually removed.

POSTAL AFFAIRS

SENATOR WOLCOTT became a member of the Senate Committe on Post-offices and Post-roads during the Fifty-first Congress. The membership continued until he left the Senate at the close of the Fifty-sixth Congress, and he was its chairman during the last six years of his service. That committee deals with all matters pertaining to the postal service and is one of the most important of the Senate's working sub-organizations. Indeed few of the committes are required to give attention to detail to such an extent as is this one, as there is not a question regarding the administration of the Post-office Department, however trivial, which is not liable to present itself in one way or another to the committee in the course of a year. It deals not only with the carrying of the mails, ocean and inland, but also, if necessity requires, with the keeping of mail-bags in condition and the compensation of the fifty-dollars-a-year postmaster of the farthest frontier.

To all of the varied subjects coming before him because of his relation to this committee, Mr. Wolcott gave the most attentive consideration. He permitted no bill to go from the committee with which he was not in all respects familiar. His patience and industry in this work were the marvels of many of his friends, but to those who knew him best these traits of his character were no revelation. They knew well enough that he did not love work for work's sake, and they knew that drudgery was as an abomination to him. But they knew also that, having undertaken a task, he would perform it at whatever degree of discomfort to himself. He regarded all the work of the postal committee as

a part of the work of a great subdivision of the government, and, thus looking at it, gave it his closest attention, and really seemed generally to enjoy it.

It was while Mr. Wolcott was chairman that the committee was first required to handle annually the bill making appropriations for the support of the Post-office Department. The change was made in 1900. Previous to that time, the Committee on Appropriations had dealt with this as with all the other appropriation bills. The system caused much annoyance and loss of time, because the members of the Appropriations Committee were necessarily unfamiliar with many of the questions pertaining to special lines of government service, such as the Post-office Department, the Army and the Navy, and Indian affairs. The change was not brought about without a struggle—a struggle which really continued over several years. Generally speaking, the contest was between the older and the younger members of the Senate. The Committee on Appropriations was composed in the main of the oldest and most conservative Senators, and, whether through love of power or real conservatism, they stubbornly resisted the transfer of any of their authority to other committees. At last, however, by the logic of the situation and by the persistence of the younger men, they were compelled to yield and to consent to the distribution of the appropriations among the committees.

The first appropriation bill to go to the Post-office Committee was that of the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, and it added vastly to the labors of the committee and its chairman. That, however, it was made the subject of painstaking labor by the committee and that the committee's chairman mastered its intricacies, a study of the *Congressional Record* of the time abundantly reveals. As chairman of the committee it was Mr. Wolcott's duty to report all bills favorably recommended by the committee and, when consistent, to be spokesman for them in the Senate. As will be seen, he was not in accord with his committee at all times. When he was not so, he would turn over to some other member the particular item which did not receive his approval, and then combat the provision as strenuously as if it had originated in some other committee. Conspicuous

examples of this policy are found in his treatment of the fast mail subsidy and the pneumatic-tube system.

Mr. Wolcott's first speech as Chairman of the Post-office Committee was made January 29, 1896, in resistance of a resolution introduced by Senator Kyle of South Dakota, instructing the committee to investigate a charge made by the *Washington Times* that the employees in the mail-bag repair shop in Washington were poorly paid, and that some of the work was done by convicts. Regarding the investigation as unnecessary, Mr. Wolcott opposed the resolution. Seeking first to prevail upon the author of the measure to refrain from pressing it, the Colorado Senator sought to convince him that the information might be obtained in an easier and simpler way.

If [he said] the Senator from South Dakota had taken the pains, or would now take the pains and the time, to call at the corner of Seventh and E streets [then the location of the Post-office Department] and ask the Postmaster-General, or any one of the Assistant Postmasters-General—any of whom would be quick to see the Senator from South Dakota, if he should present himself in person or by his secretary at their offices—as to whether or not the mail-bags are made by convict labor, as to whether or not the people who repair them are people who are poorly and insufficiently paid, as to whether or not the people who repair them are compelled to do such menial and unwholesome work that their health is endangered, he would receive a prompt and courteous and full answer.

Of course, the Senator comes here fortified by the statement which frightens every Senator, that the Federation of Labor, representing forty thousand different organizations, I believe, met last night and indorsed this resolution, which is, of course, an appalling and overwhelming statement, and makes one hesitate to stand for a moment and interpose even the slightest objection to any resolution backed by such an important body of intelligent citizens.

The Senator, however, states that he relies entirely upon a letter in the *Washington Times*. I understood the Senator to disclaim any sort of personal information on the subject. The Senator from South Dakota is one individual; he is overworked, it is true; but he must sacrifice his life in the public service. If he would only go to the office of the *Washington Times* and

find out what authority it has for its statement, he could then come here armed with some kind of knowledge that would be better than an anonymous editorial.

Here Mr. Kyle interrupted to say that he had given personal attention to the subject and knew the facts in the case. He added the statement that the editorials in the *Times* were not anonymous communications, but the product of the pen of the editor, a former member of the House of Representatives, "who," he added, "has a bank account sufficient to substantiate the statements he makes if charges are brought against him." He stated that these circumstances rendered the newspaper man the equal of the Colorado Senator.

The immediate response did not deal with the subject of mail-bag repairs. Mr. Wolcott said: "I should like to suggest to the Senator from South Dakota that, if the editor has a bank account, he is superior to the Senator from Colorado." The remark caused a roar of laughter.

Still insisting upon the adoption of his resolution, Mr. Kyle suggested that Mr. Wolcott's opposition was based on the circumstance that as chairman of the committee he did not like to work.

Mr. Wolcott replied:

I will say to the Senator from South Dakota that because I was chairman of the committee I called the attention of the Senate to the character of his resolution, and I will say to the Senator that I do not like this kind of work, because it seems to be entirely unnecessary and uncalled for, not alone for myself, but for my ten associates on the committee. That was the reason for my objection.

The resolution was not adopted.

Mr. Wolcott was an ardent advocate of the consolidation of post-offices when practicable. Speaking, April 2, 1896, on an amendment to an appropriation bill looking to that end, he said:

The reason for the amendment is very easily understood if a word of explanation is given concerning it. It has for some

years been the belief of many incumbents of the office of Postmaster-General that the present organization of the Department was unfortunate so far as concerns the securing of economy and safety and celerity in the transaction of the business of the Department. There are something more than sixty-eight thousand fourth-class post-offices, all the postmasters of which report directly to Washington. They are like an army of privates with no intermediate officers. When each one of them desires stationery, or stamps, or supplies of any character, he communicates with the home office at Washington. Whatever supervision is extended over him reaches from Washington to the possibly remote place where he may be filling the little office of postmaster in some small community.

When the subject was before the Senate again a few days later, on April 6th, Mr. Wolcott gave further attention to it, discussing not only the wisdom of a change that would give better supervision, but defending the Administration of Mr. Cleveland against the charge of seeking political control through the post-offices and at the same time putting in a good word for Civil Service regulation.

Taking up first the business side of the question, he said:

Mr. President, do you know that we are now making fourth-class post-offices, and have done so for the last ten years, at the average rate of two thousand and thirteen a year? At fifty thousand of the fourth-class post-offices of the United States the postmaster has an annual compensation of less than $50. It is utterly impossible under present appropriations to make any sort of investigation and inspection of all these offices. I am told that there are offices where for fifteen years no inspector has been able to go, because there are too few inspectors. They are called upon to report as to the changing of routes, as to the construction of new buildings, and as to a thousand other things; but as to the general inspection of this great army of seventy thousand postmasters it is utterly impossible that from this main office, where there is no intermediate authority to supervise and to inspect and to govern, there should be any sort of efficient management of those offices.

Meanwhile from the central office at Washington there are seventy thousand separate accounts to be kept, increasing, as I have said, at the rate of something like two thousand a year; and it goes not only to the supply of stamps and stamped en-

velopes, but if there is twine needed, or wrapping paper or cancelling stamps, or the thousand and one little items that go to make up the small business of a postmaster in a little town, he is compelled to send his requisition here to the Post-office Department, which has to open a separate account with him, sometimes four or five thousand miles away, with the same particularity and the same precision and the same separateness with which it would be compelled to deal with the postmaster at San Francisco. All this is to be averted and avoided by putting in central communities an inspection power, a supervisory power, which is to reach out and take in these postmasters.

He contended that there was no politics in the proposed change. "Politics," he said, "cuts not the least figure in it in the world; it is efficiency of management. Of all business in the world which the Government conducts, there is none which should be so free from political taint as the post-office. It is essentially a great, huge business."

Proceeding on the same line:

What earthly difference does it make in these little towns in the country whether or not a man who lives there is a postmaster, or whether or not the business of the office is in charge of some efficient clerk, whose business is solely that of looking after his duties as a post-office clerk, and is not that of a merchant seeking trade, who does not want to gather in the poor people who come after letters in order to sell them molasses or rum, but who wants to give them the benefit of delivering their letters promptly and receiving those written by them, and nothing else? In the great business of the Post-office Department, which represents an expenditure of so many million dollars and the loss of so many million dollars, what is there incongruous with the system of our institutions if these people can be better employed, because they are intelligent and they give their whole time to the business of the post-office? Why may we not say: "Mr. Postmaster-General, employ as many in that way as you want; you cannot look personally after seventy thousand people when they want a bundle of twine or a package of wrapping paper; take these people and put them under competent heads who can supervise them and manage all these small details"? That is the theory.

Now, I am very proud to say that the Post-office Department under this Administration is sought to be properly conducted,

so far as I know, and it has been, so far as I have observed, since I have been in public life. I am not by any means friendly with this Administration or with the administration of the Post-office Department; I have nothing to do with them, but I know that the affairs of that office are ably and intelligently conducted, and that the object of this movement is to remove it from politics, and not to make it more political. Those who want the loaves and fishes need not be afraid, for, if they worked night and day, they could not take in a thousand offices between now and the time when there will be a change of Administration. We are establishing two thousand post-offices a year and more. There is nothing political in this provision. It simply means better and more efficient service.

I tell you I think this love and appreciation of civil service is an acquired taste, and I think, when you once get it, it never leaves you. I think, further, that any man who can stay here in public life during four years of an unfriendly Administration in his own party, and who finds whenever he goes to seek appointments to office, even when "Yes" is said to him, it is said in the most offensive fashion; and when he is in public life, with an Administration opposed to him, he sees appointed in the State, whose interest and welfare he has at heart, unworthy men who are not fit to hold office, men whom their own fellow-citizens would never elect to office or put into a place of public confidence, discharging these important duties, unintelligent and unprincipled as many of them are, and even people who are receiving the reward for political dirty work done in some other States than the States in which they are appointed—I say that when he sees all this, he cannot fail to appreciate from a selfish point of view some of the beauties of civil-service reform.

I should be very glad, for my part, if this business could be taken from us and from patronage, and given where the public could get their letters more promptly, where they could have greater facilities for obtaining post-office accommodations, and where the business could be conducted more like a business and less like a political job.

That Mr. Wolcott did not regard as an unalloyed benefit the return postal card, which since has been adopted and come into limited use, was made evident on more than one occasion. Opposing on February 18, 1901, an amendment from his own committee to the Post-office Appropriation

Bill providing for a test of these cards he declared it to be "an old friend with a new face," saying:

It is the old economic postage scheme that has been hawked about the Senate for the twelve years I have been here, always a patent, always to be used by the Department upon royalties which are not disclosed, and, until this session of the Senate, uniformly condemned by every Postmaster-General who has occupied the chair. . . .

The theory of this proposed law is that somebody has invented a card and has a patent whereby you send through the mail a card similar to a postal card. The Government carries the burden of its carriage and pays for it just the same. Upon one side it states that the coupon is to be detached by the postmaster and that postage is to be paid on it when delivered to Richard Doe, the person whose name is stamped upon it. Then each postmaster and letter-carrier who receives it is to open a set of books, and he is to show that Richard Doe, in the coal business in Washington, has received twenty patent envelopes, and he is entitled to present these to the office of an association or to the Postmaster-General and pay twenty cents, and there is an association which guarantees that he will do it. So if Richard Doe wants me to buy a ton of coal and would otherwise send a postal card, he may, doubting my willingness to buy his coal, send one of these cards; and if I do not answer Richard Doe, who sent me his postal card, the Government has carried it through under ordinary postage, and if I answer the man, must have a cent.

It means an enormous amount of bookkeeping; it means entering into contracts with patentees; and it means all through the ramification of the Post-office Department, as each of the Postmasters-General has shown, the employment of a vast number of additional clerks and accountants and intricate confusion.

At a later stage of the proceeding Mr. Wolcott gave attention to the fact that the Post-office Department had come to the Senate Committee with a request to insert the provision instead of going to the House, and in doing so touched upon what is still a practice with all the departments. They seem now as they did then to go on the theory that the Senate is "easy." On that point he said:

I have a natural and instinctive prejudice against this sort of an amendment, and one or two others that have come to us, owing to the fact that they have been before Congress for a long time when recommended by the Department and recommended before the commencement of the present session of Congress. The other legislative Chamber first considers an appropriation measure. That is known as the popular body of Congress. Whenever new schemes or new plans are sought by either the public or a Department to be adopted into law, every theory of good morals and good conduct demands that we should require that the Department (if it be a Department) should first go to the House of Representatives, and to that body present its amendments. After this bill and other bills come over here, and we are supposed simply to deal with the provisions of the House, along come important and vital amendments which a Senate Committee is supposed to tack on the bill and which we are to fight through both Houses of Congress in a conference committee. I confess, Mr. President, it does not leave a clean taste in the mouth. I would much prefer that where there is a difference in these matters they should be fairly presented to both legislative chambers, and they should have a chance to discuss them.

During the Fifty-fifth Congress there was appointed a commission which was composed of members of the Post-office Committees of the Senate and House whose duty was that of investigating the question as to whether the method of weighing the mails carried by the railroads did not result in giving the roads a larger degree of compensation than they earned. Mr. Wolcott's place at the head of the Senate Committee caused him to be chosen Chairman of the commission, and he gave close attention to its proceedings. These inquiries involved much difficulty in obtaining desirable witnesses and many complicated hearings.

Senator Butler of North Carolina was disposed to press the commission. Professing to believe that the railroads were overpaid, he urged the commission to the utmost endeavor to establish the facts, and never ceased to impress upon it the necessity for an early report. In a speech made in the Senate on the 21st of February, 1899, he went to the extent of intimating that political and railroad influence was being used to prevent action. In his

reply Mr. Wolcott patiently explained the difficulties with which the committee was beset, and his explanation will bear repetition here as indicating a class of work which Senators and Congressmen may be called upon to perform and concerning which their constituents know little or nothing. He said:

> The delays have been chiefly occasioned by the impossibility of getting the critics of existing conditions to appear before the commission. We have had no trouble in getting the railroads. They have come with their statements, and naturally enough they were ready to make them. They have not delayed. But we have reached out all over the United States wherever we could learn that any man had criticism to make of the amount of railway mail pay or the method of its computation. We have written him and asked him if he would appear before the commission and give his testimony, and the delays that have been occasioned up to this time are in procuring testimony in opposition to existing conditions.
>
> Mr. President, if the Senator from North Carolina understands the question as to how this pay should be made and upon what basis, he is the only man in the world who does. We do not, and nobody else does. We have taken volumes of testimony of the most intelligent railroad men in the United States and of experts, and they differ. Some say it should be based upon space; some say it should be based upon weight; some say it should be compared with the express; some say it should be compared with freight. There are differences and troubles about making any known comparison. All of them up to this time have ignored the question of public utility and what should be paid, and how far, further, the roads ought to furnish a public service for the purpose of building up and populating the country through which they run by the spread and dissemination of intelligence, and how far they owe a public duty to the country to transport this business without profit. Mr. President, the commission is endeavoring to deal with this question in a fair spirit, reaching only for the light and for intelligence.
>
> The suggestion was made that there was in the action of the commission something political, or that there was pressure from railroads or otherwise. There is nothing of the kind. Mr. President, the suggestion has never been made except here, and I do not think it was ever made seriously here. We are all of

us trying to find some fair basis for payment. We have got far enough to know that there are irregularities in payment, and that, if certain roads for certain classes of mail and certain large weight of mail are paid too much, there are certain transportations of small amounts in remote sections of the country where the pay is altogether too small.

That only indicates the absolute unfairness of seeking to make at this time a horizontal reduction. How can you reduce ten per cent. when certain of the roads carrying the mail are to-day getting a sum that does not even pay the expenses of the man who handles the mail, leaving alone the question of its carriage.

Asking on the 17th of May, 1900, for more time for the completion of the work before the commission, and meeting further criticism from Mr. Butler, Mr. Wolcott frankly replied:

We have done the best we could. If anybody is to blame for the delay, I think it is the chairman of the commission, who is now addressing the Senate. Our homes are in different parts of the country. The chairman of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads in the House is a citizen of California. I am fortunate enough to live in Colorado. My honorable associate upon the commission, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Allison], lives upon the Mississippi River. My honorable associate, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Chandler], lives in the New England States. In times of campaign and in times of election it sometimes has been difficult for us to get together. We have not always been able to meet as frequently, perhaps, as the public service would warrant, but we have done a great deal of work that does not appear here.

There have been no expenses practically except those of rooms we have engaged and the sums which have been paid to witnesses. There is no waste of public money. I do not believe that there is a waste of public time, and it comes to this: We can not report now. There is not a man who has average intelligence who can take the two thousand pages of testimony which the commission has taken on the subject of the compensation to be paid to railroads for the transportation of mails and make an intelligent report. I defy any man, I do not care how prejudiced his views may be when he goes into the consideration of the question—if he thinks we are grossly

overpaying the railroads, or if he thinks we are underpaying the railroads, or if he has ideas that the payment should be based upon space or based upon weight, or compared with express earnings or freight earnings or passenger earnings—to formulate out of the testimony we have taken, and we have taken it from the most intelligent men in the United States on both sides of the question, a logical plan or basis for the compensation of railroads.

It is true that nobody wants to pay the railroads more than they ought to receive, and no good citizen wants to pay them less than they ought to receive. Out of it we shall in time, by next winter, if our time shall be extended, be able, I sincerely believe, to present to Congress a fair basis for the compensation of railroads for carrying the mails.

Toward the close of the Fifty-sixth Congress the commission made an exhaustive report, finding that the railway companies were not excessively paid for carrying the mails, and recommending that no reduction be made.

During his last term Mr. Wolcott gave not a little attention to fast mail subsidies south and west. The Government was then paying a bonus of almost $200,000 for one fast train from New York to New Orleans and another of about $25,000 for a similar train from the Missouri River to Newton, Kansas.

Taking up the question first on March 18, 1896, apparently he was not unfavorable to the system, but he said he desired information before committing himself. Evidently he was not satisfied by his inquiries as to the propriety of the proceeding, for when we next hear from him on the subject, on the 16th of February, 1899, he is opposing it. Declaring that as expeditious service could be gotten without the bounty as with it, he said:

There has been a good deal of testimony taken lately on this very subject, and the testimony of the Assistant Postmaster-General is that it is just so much money thrown away. The two amendments may be taken together. The one is for the Southern Railroad. Without a dollar appropriated here, he could get the mail carried. The other is a small sum for running an early train from St. Joe west to Newton to oblige a morning

paper at St. Joe, I believe, which desires to get out an early edition, and have it distributed along through Eastern and Central Kansas.

But, Mr. President, if this special facility is to be put on those roads by an appropriation, there is no reason in the world why every railroad in the country should not have an identical appropriation for special facilities put on whenever it has influence enough either in the committees of Congress or upon the floor of either House.

Mr. President, it seems to me that when we are investigating this whole question of railway mail pay and seeking, as all of us are, to try and reduce the service to some logical and fair basis that shall be paid for proportionately to the service and without favoritism, it is a poor time for the Senate of the United States to commence putting back into this bill two appropriations aggregating some $200,000 that benefit nobody.

Returning to the subject again, February 21, 1901, Mr. Wolcott expressed himself on it for the last time. He did not change his tone, as a perusal of his remarks will show.

There has been [he said] no Postmaster-General who has not expressed his opinion of the absolute absurdity of this subsidy. It is a subsidy pure and simple; and I desire to say to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Vest, who was engaging in the discussion] that the whole argument of those of us who believe that railway mail pay is not excessive and that the present law has reached a fair medium of payment is destroyed by the pernicious practice of Congress in introducing and passing, year after year, special subsidy measures, for if that be the true method of determining railway mail pay, we might reduce it to any extent and then subsidize lines for special service.

This mail service is a sentimental service. It catches New England, because it mentions it; it catches the South, because it mentions it, but it does not facilitate anybody's receipt of letters at all. It has gone along, and it appeals to a certain sectional pride, and we vote for it year after year, and the tail of it, from Kansas City to Newton, goes with the hide, that goes from Washington City to the South. So the two together, both useless, both extravagant, both opposed and frowned upon by the Department, are passed year after year, because of the good-natured sentimentality of this body and the other. That is all there is to it.

The reference to New England elicited a denial from Senator Lodge, and caused the following amusing colloquy:

MR. LODGE. As the Senator from Colorado said that New England was caught by this proposition, I wish to say that New England is no longer included.

MR. WOLCOTT. Ah!

MR. LODGE. It used to start from New England.

MR. WOLCOTT. From Boston.

MR. LODGE. From Boston. We are cut off. I do not know why. It has not hurt our mail facilities one particle. I have not heard a complaint and I have not had a letter from a human being asking that it be put back. The whole thing is a mere gift to the railroads. If Congress chooses to do it, there is nothing to be said.

MR. BACON. Did the Senator from Massachusetts vote for it as long as New England was included?

MR. LODGE. I am inclined to think so.

MR. BACON. I hope he will not desert us now.

MR. WOLCOTT. I will certify that he did, and so did almost every other New England Senator.

As going to show that persistency in a good work sometimes has its reward it is gratifying to record that the subsidies were discontinued.

Not quite so successful was Senator Wolcott's opposition to the contract method of establishing the pneumatic-tube system for the letter mail in the large cities. Believing in the system as a necessity, he contended through the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-six Congresses for government control of it, and antagonized with all of his energy and ability all efforts to keep it under individual management, as it was. He did not succeed in wrenching the system from private hands, but that he was influential in preventing any general extension of it while thus controlled is evident from the fact that it has been very slow in gaining a foothold in other cities than those in which it originally was established. When, in 1898, he first began to give attention to the subject, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Boston were supplied with the service. It has since been extended to

Chicago and St. Louis, but a decision has been reached not to furnish it to additional cities.

Mr. Wolcott's first speech on the subject was made on February 16, 1899, in opposition to an amendment appropriating $25,000 to investigate the feasibility of introducing the service in Chicago and St. Louis, his opposition being based on the cost, not of the investigation, but of that of the ultimate maintenance.

While the appropriation sounds small [he said], yet it may appear to some Senators upon explanation as a rather important amendment. It will cost something more than $25,000,000 a year to furnish pneumatic-tube service to the principal cities of the United States. New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Boston have it now. There is no reason, if the pneumatic-tube service is to be generally adopted, why it should not extend to Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Atlanta, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and the other great cities of the country; but, Mr. President, when we come to adopt it we have to reach a plan whereby we can measure the sum we pay for it.

. . . . . .

Mr. President, the pneumatic-tube service has come to stay. There is no doubt of that. It is going, eventually, into every great city of this country. But if the Government does not start in on a proper, economical, wise, and careful basis and determine how it ought to be constructed, we are going to be involved in the precedent of enormous payments here, perhaps based upon calculations absolutely irrespective of the cost of the plant, to an extent that will lead us to endless trouble in future installations of the service or in future attempts we may make to check it. The proposition, it is true, came from the Post-office Committee, but it came from a very divided committee, and the right was reserved by some of us to present the facts to the Senate.

. . . . . .

If it is an enormous expense, it is a perfectly justifiable expense. No intelligent man who studies our great postal system, with its marvellous growth and wonderful ability and desire to serve the public, will hesitate for a moment to say that the pneumatic-tube service has come to stay. But it ought to come to this country intelligently. It ought to come so that we can arrange in some official and proper way the basis upon which the compensation shall be made.

When again, on May 17, 1900, the subject came up, this time on a proposition to appropriate $500,000 for the extension of the tube service presumably, but not in specific terms, to Chicago and St. Louis, but still on the basis of personal ownership, the importance of the system was still being pressed on the basis of improved facilities, and we find Mr. Wolcott saying:

> It is true that we want all the improved service and accelerated speed in the delivery of our letters that is possible, but we do not want it at the expense of jobbery and corruption. There is a price that is too much to pay for anything. We want the service, but we do not want to be held up in order to secure it. We want it, provided that it may be obtained upon a fair and decent basis.

Then, taking up the indefinite character of the resolution, he proceeded:

> There is not a foot of pneumatic-tube service built in the United States to-day that is now occupied for the carriage of the mails that we have not contracted for, and now we are blindly giving the Postmaster-General of the United States $500,000, and saying to him, "Go out and get some pneumatic-tube service"; and he is to exercise his discretion as to what shall be the price. I understand from the friends of the pneumatic-tube service in the city of Chicago that they have got some kind of a lien on the Postmaster-General, and they say they are going to get part of the $500,000, and other cities are going to get part of it. How is the Postmaster-General going to make the contract? Is he going to every city in the country of a certain size and say, "How much pneumatic tube will you build for $500,000?" We should act intelligently about it. If we do not, we are simply throwing this money away. The statement I made a year ago is true, and if we are to appropriate money blindly in this way for a pneumatic-tube service, we will come in a very short time to an annual appropriation of $20,000,000 at least. . . .
>
> I say that in my opinion there has never been presented in the few years I have been in the Senate a scheme which seemed to open the door to such flagrant abuses as does this. Nobody is demanding this; nobody is crying for it. True, the boards of trade declare for it. They will declare for anything that will

hasten the transmission of the mails; but intelligent merchants do not want it at the undue expense of the taxpayer of the country, or at the expense that is beyond its value and beyond that which is just and right. . . . Denver is one of the twenty-seven cities, of course, and there are two Senators from Colorado. They would have it in Denver, and everybody in Denver says: "Why, of course, let us have the pneumatic service; it is a big thing." We have not got any further in it yet than a provident suggestion of the distribution of a certain stock of the company in and about the city. That is as far as it shall get with me until I know something more about it.

He then was called upon to meet the charge that he was favoring the railroads in the matter of the pneumatic tubes, and did so pointedly, though patiently.

Neither the railroad, nor any other party, nor any other interest, nor any other individual [he said] could have any selfish reason for opposing the appropriation. The railroads have no more interest in it than they have as to what may be the color of the postage stamps. When the Senator from New Hampshire suggested that the fact that I and perhaps one or two other Senators were opposing the appropriation and that that to his mind was evidence that the railroad corporations did not favor it, he did not mean to be personally unkind. I hope it will help him in New Hampshire. It does not hurt me anywhere. The Senator certainly did not intend to make that suggestion or that charge, for he knows it is not true. I am not afraid to vote with the railroad because it is a railroad. I am not afraid to vote against it because it is a railroad. I am not in favor of a man because he owns a dollar; I am not opposed to a man because he owns a dollar. Whenever I come to be governed in my judgment of public questions by any sort of hue and cry or threat that I am seeking to protect or foster some corporate or other interest I will not be fit to stay in public life.

. . . . . .

I desire to say that, throughout all the controversy, there has been but one anxiety on my part, and I know on the part of those who oppose this appropriation, and that is a belief that the public service will be injured by the passage of this item of the Appropriation Bill, and that it must end in the depletion

of the Treasury of the United States without a corresponding return.

Having stated that by no means all of even the first-class mail, which is less than five per cent. of the total volume of the mail, was carried through the tubes in the cities where the system was in operation, he proceeded:

"The idea that we should pay $500,000 a year in order that from ten to twelve minutes may be saved on a small percentage of five per cent. of the total mail of the country, in a very limited area and in a few cities of the United States, seems to me to need only to be stated in order to be refuted."

Pneumatic tubes received their last attention from the Colorado Senator on the 20th and 21st of February, 1901. There then was a proposition to extend the service to Chicago and afterward St. Louis was added, as Mr. Wolcott charged, to get more votes. He made determined opposition to these extensions, not, as he explained, because he had any personal feeling, but for the reason originally given for opposition to extensions, namely, that the system of employing private concerns to perform such service was opposed to good public policy. Nor was he deterred by the fact that the majority of the committee was avowedly against him, as it was evident a majority of the Senate also was disposed to be.

On this occasion he spoke at considerable length, going over much of the ground previously covered and adding many new arguments. On the point of expedition he contended that but very little time would be saved by the device.

If [he said] Senators will stop to think a moment, they will recall that the great mails which depart from this country from the great cities depart at night or in the early morning. There is not a city in the Union where the great mails which leave it do not leave at a late hour, after the counting-houses are closed, or at an early hour, long before they open. The business of New York, with its great commercial interests, which lead to this correspondence, closes its counting-houses at 5 or 6 o'clock, and if you mail a letter to the West from down town

in New York or anywhere in the business district, pneumatic tubes do not get it to the West a moment sooner than if it had been sent by wagon. And so with incoming letters. They are distributed by carrier. They arrive in the early morning. The fast mail comes in the morning. Twelve minutes' difference in the receipt of a letter is the most that can be accomplished by the use of the pneumatic tube, and it only touches, as I say, a small portion of the mail.

Coming then to the fundamental objection to private ownership, he went over many of his previous objections, and added:

The pneumatic-tube service must be a monopoly as it is at present constituted. It furnishes no commercial business, and it is now proposed to give this service to the cities of Chicago and St. Louis. It has but one customer, but one patron, and that is the Government of the United States. The Government pays for its operation, and the Government turns over certain of its clerks to assist in its operation; the Government furnishes, upon Government property, and within its own domain, the power and the power-houses necessary to move it. The pneumatic-tube service does not furnish land; it does not furnish real estate; it furnishes nothing on earth but the ability to control a board of aldermen—nothing else. They get the right from the city to lay their pipes through the public highways. Then they come to the Government of the United States and say: "For so much you can take this system and carry your mail."

. . . . . .

The business of the world is not greatly facilitated by pneumatic-tube service. The business of cities may be, if the experiment works out and pays, but if that be so, it should be a matter of local pride in the cities wanting pneumatic service that they will construct the tube and tender it to the Government, which shall in the interest of the whole public, pay a reasonable price for it. We propose no such thing. We propose to put the new service in the hands of patentees who are unwilling, this late report says, to tell us upon what terms they would sell to the Government, because they say they want to be protected by legislative and State enactments before they can dispose of their patents, and that it is impossible for them to

consult all their stockholders and give the Government information upon what terms and conditions they would sell.

He closed with a discussion of the interest in the movement in Chicago and St. Louis and a reiteration of his personal indifference to the fate of the provision, saying in part:

More than that, we are asked to introduce this new service into a city where we are told there is a public clamor and a universal civic demand for it, and we are to be held up at the threshold of the contract with $11,000 a year in the city of Chicago if you make contract for eight miles, or five per cent. upon your gross revenues. You cannot have any revenues except those which the Government gives you. But the city of Chicago wants the tobacco raiser of South Carolina and the cotton raiser of the South and the lumberman of the West to pay to the city of Chicago five per cent. on all the money the Government pays for this accommodation of the city.

. . . . . .

We are told that the whole world is to be the gainer. It does not help a second in respect of a letter from New York to San Francisco, or from here to the Philippines. It helps only the local mail. You have this long line ending in a *cul-de-sac*. There is no railroad station, or anything. You might just as well build for the Chicago people a street-car line and let the Government pay for it as to build them this tube line with any idea that the public service of the United States is to be benefited by it.

Mr. President, we have also included St. Louis. St. Louis wants it. I do not know whether she wants it instead of an exposition, or whether she wants it in addition to an exposition; but all of a sudden yesterday there was an amendment to include St. Louis as well, whereupon there were additional votes that the point of order which had been raised was poorly raised and not justified by the rules of the Senate. It starts in two cities, and it will end with more. I have no opposition to the pneumatic-tube service or to any method whereby the public business of the country may be facilitated; but we have had here an exemplification of the fact that when a private concern has once commenced to serve the public and can serve no other agency, we all of us have the moral feeling that we must pay it some reasonable sum for the use of the facilities. It is

for that reason we are continuing to give the service at some fair price, and should, to Philadelphia and New York and Boston, where the pneumatic service is ably managed.

We are going to add Chicago and St. Louis to the list of cities. At the next session of Congress, if the votes are shy, you will get another city or two added, and so while it is in an experimental stage, where nobody knows whether it is good or whether it is bad, or what patents are good or what patents are useless, while companies in New Jersey are insisting, and apparently demonstrating, that a thirty-inch tube that will carry the whole mail-bag should be adopted, we are arbitrarily saying it shall be an eight-inch tube, and this must be adopted.

Mr. President, it is for these reasons, very briefly stated, that I feel called upon to oppose the amendment. To me it is a matter of no interest in the world. I shall be out of the Senate in a few days, but I deem it my duty to stand up against what I conceive to be a flagrant waste of public money. I have no feeling about it, and yet this amendment would come with a cleaner taste in its mouth if it had been presented first in the other body, where it belonged.

In his opposition to the methods of employing the pneumatic service the Colorado Senator had the support of some of his colleagues, notably Mr. Hale of Maine, as will be observed by reading the following remarks delivered by that Senator on May 8, 1900:

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Wolcott], who now is in charge of this bill, in his committee is going through what the Committee on Appropriations went through—the constant imploration to do some fanciful thing in the great cities. We gave them the seven deliveries. We could not quite go beyond that.

The next thing that confronted us was this pneumatic-tube service. Senators do not know with what a flourish of trumpets that was launched on the Committee on Appropriations. Why, it is said to be almost like the discovery of a continent; that it would revolutionize the postal service. What was it? As the Senator said, a hole in the ground; that is about all.

Mr. President, the committee found that almost the entire charge and cost of this thing was profit to the company. It was not plant that they put in; it was not expense that they put in; but it was clean, soft, good fat that they were making

out of it. There is no more mystery, sir, about the pneumatic-tube service than there is about the flying of a kite, or a town pump—not the least. If this service is done at all, it ought to be done by the Government. It can be done at a very small expense, and then it will benefit only a very few men; it will not benefit the country at large; and, Mr. President, I for one, with some education on this matter, protest against loading this bill, which already has become enormous, which has free delivery upon it that will cost $25,000,000 a year within ten years; which has the Railway Mail Service, which will constantly increase, as everything will increase, except the star-route service—I protest against a mere fanciful thing, that will put money into the hands of the operators and speculators and lobbyists, being loaded on this bill.

The Senator from Colorado will find in his service here, if he has some care about protecting the Government and about stopping extravagant expenditures, that he will lie awake nights over the things that will be sought to be put on the Post-office Appropriation Bill; and there will never be anything that will be sought to be put on this bill that will meet us at that door, and at that door (indicating), and at my door, and his door, and at my committee-room, and his committee-room, with the pertinacity and brazen effrontery that has characterized this whole performance.

Mr. President, it will do good once in a while for the Senate to stand up against these things. It will be a strengthening of the Senate in the country if it opposes some of these schemes.

Mr. Wolcott's last utterance in the Senate was a motion for the adoption of the report made by the Conference Committee of the two Houses of Congress on the Post-office Appropriation Bill of 1901. The bill carried a total appropriation of about $125,000,000 and was one of the very last measures to be enacted into law by that Congress. It had been before the Senate day and night for several days, and finally was put through on the 4th of March only in time to receive the signature of the President before the close of the session. Mr. Wolcott spoke at different times in explanation of the progress of the conference report and of the points of difference, closing his last paragraph as follows:

For the first time in the history of the Post-office Appro-

priation Bill the Senate has not added a single dollar to the public appropriations. We have yielded upon every amendment calling for the appropriation of an additional penny. We have yielded to the House bill as it was presented to us, and I ask that the Senate vote to insist upon its amendments and ask for a further conference with the House.

A new conference was accordingly ordered, and a final report made soon afterward. With the adoption of the report the bill was sent to the President, whose signature made it a law only a few moments before the Congress closed and Mr. Wolcott bade a final adieu to the Senate.

ARMY AND NAVY

MR. WOLCOTT followed closely the appropriations for the support of the Army and the Navy, but, being occupied largely with other subjects, spoke but seldom on questions affecting these branches of the Government service. When, however, he did take the floor to discuss them, he showed the same familiarity regarding them that he manifested with reference to other subjects with which he undertook to deal.

Probably the most notable speech made by him concerning the Army dealt with the question of hazing at West Point. This speech was delivered on the 19th of February, 1901, only a few days before his retirement from the Senate, and was a frank and open support of hazing, though of course not a defence of the extremes to which that practice is sometimes carried. A short time previous, an aggravated case of the mistreatment of a raw student had resulted in the usual Congressional investigation, which was followed by the almost as usual resolution for the suppression of hazing. Seeing in the practice as ordinarily carried on a mere bit of boys' horse-play, the Colorado Senator took the floor in opposition to the resolution. The effort on the part of the Senate to interfere in such matters appealed to him as mere childishness. He believed that stronger men would be developed by leaving the students at the Military Academy to their own devices, and so believing, he spoke his mind without regard to the sentimental appeals from the other side. He said:

It seems to me we have gone into a very childish piece of business and that we have enacted a series of trifling provisions

that would certainly make milksops and prigs out of our students at West Point, and not only make them unfitted for soldiers, but unfitted for the ordinary duties of citizenship.

Mr. President, our joints are stiff and our bones are old, and we conceive cruel that which with boys is but the simple play of every-day life; and with the exception of an occasional unpremeditated act of violence these things which we call hazing are not half so rough as you see any day in a good, husky game of football between students of rival colleges. Boys are boys, and boys, to our minds, are cruel; but that is boyhood. My colleague referred to the things that are called hazing in institutions of learning, and he understood that they extended —for instance, in Yale University—only to forbidding men from sitting upon a fence until they had been there a certain number of terms. Mr. President, there has not been a term in old Yale, from its foundation till to-day, in which that was but the afternoon dress parade, and the real frolicsome spirit of the college included what under these provisions would disfranchise a man forever from holding office under his country and his country's flag.

Taking up then the terms of the resolution itself he analyzed it to show in what a ludicrous light the Senate was placing itself by its adoption.

See [he said] what these two solemn bodies, the House of Representatives and the Senate, are enacting. That any cadet who shall upbraid a cadet, when found guilty, shall be dismissed. Any cadet who shall direct a cadet to eat or drink anything for the purpose of annoying him shall be forever disbarred from holding office in the Army or Navy of the country; and any cadet who shall direct another cadet to engage in any form of physical exercise shall, when discovered and convicted, be forever disfranchised in his country's military service.

Then he gave an interesting personal experience as follows:

I go back many years, but I think the same practices exist in colleges now that existed in my day. They are not premeditatedly cruel, but they seem cruel to us when exposed with all the rigor and pedantry of a Congressional committee. I remember once in my freshman days when one of my classmen was

caught by the sophomores and had his hair cut off on one side of his head. It was intended to be gentle, but it was pretty hard and bloody, because he fought. I remember that a night or two afterward the members of the freshman class found one of the perpetrators and took him to the most remote cemetery that could be found and tied him to the most lonely monument in it, and in the depth of winter, and returned and informed his classmates where he could be found. The man hazed reached good condition and position in life. Of the men who did the hazing, some did well in after life; some went from bad to worse, and perhaps even found the Senate of the United States. But all these restrictions upon boyhood demean the Senate and demean the Academy.

Again resuming the thread of his discourse, he concluded as follows:

There is another point which has not yet been touched upon. The rules as to what you call hazing should be different in West Point and Annapolis from the other educational institutions of our country. What is known as hazing in West Point commenced in 1866 or 1867. It was because there entered the Academy a number of bumptious young men who knew it all; and West Point, like every first-class institution of boys, is the best democracy on earth. Men with a pull and with political influence or with wealth went there, and they knew it all, and their classmates brought them to the level of manhood of every other boy, poor or rich. Men of tender or shrinking nature belong in educational institutions, perhaps in college professorships, but they do not have part or lot or proper place in an institution that is to breed fighters and stoics—men who are to go out and fight the battles of their country. It is natural among these lads that they should put every one of their number through an iron test. If he endure it he is fit to stay, and if he flinch he is fit to go.

I say, Mr. President, that while we denounce this and get up schoolboy definitions as to what constitutes hazing, we are endeavoring to make milksops and prigs out of our coming soldiers. For the last thirty-five years every West Point cadet has been a hazed man and in turn his hazer has been, and for the last thirty-five years we have developed as splendid a lot of fighting material as the world has ever seen. They fought Indians in the West. They fought the battles of their country.

They are stronger and not weaker because they stood these tests of endurance. While in this instance there seems to have been, unpremeditatedly, cruelty practised toward a man, we are not justified in treating them like a lot of school children and bringing them up to be weak and enervated soldiers.

Antagonizing, on the 17th of February, 1896, an amendment to the Military Academy Bill offered by Senator Vilas, of Wisconsin, increasing the number of cadets at West Point, Mr. Wolcott expressed himself strongly as favoring a system for the promotion of officers from the ranks. He saw in the Vilas resolution a means of preventing such promotion, and for that reason opposed it. Speaking of this promotion from the ranks as "the blue ribbon that is given to meritorious privates, which impels them to their duty and leads them to hope that there is something for them beyond a corporalship or a sergeantship," he characterized this as "the one chance before them that, if they faithfully perform their duty for years, they may themselves wear the epaulets and rise to officership and command." Assuming this to be so, he asked the Senator from Wisconsin whether his amendment would not forever cut off and debar any further chance of promotion from the ranks unless the Army should be increased.

Mr. Vilas replied that he did not think it would have that effect.

MR. WOLCOTT. Will the Senator please explain why it will not? If there are now, as has been said, but occasional vacancies, and some of those vacancies are filled from the ranks, if you double your appointments to West Point, and the vacancies are to be filled from West Point, what opportunities will there be for filling vacancies by promotion from the ranks?

MR. VILAS. Precisely the same there are now. Whenever the President thinks that the circumstances are such that he ought to promote meritorious soldiers from the ranks, the power remains with him as it is with him now.

Mr. Wolcott would not, however, accept this view, and he replied that "if, under the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin, the force would be doubled, then there would

be absolutely no chance for an appointment from the ranks, for there would be no vacancies. If," he added, " the Senator from Wisconsin desires that there should be any further promotions from the ranks he must certainly include in his amendment a provision that there shall be annually appointed a certain number from the ranks."

The amendment did not prevail.

As early as May 4, 1900, Mr. Wolcott is found advocating the policy of creating a Veterinary Corps in the Army, and giving rank to its members; but, owing to the prejudice of the army officers, the movement was unsuccessful then, as it has been since, though often renewed. Opening the discussion, he said:

Mr. President, I do not think the advocates of this amendment should be driven from its support because of the suggestion of the Senator from Missouri and others that opening the door to the appointment of a veterinarian staff would likewise lead to the appointment of a dental staff. It would not frighten me, for I recognize in the dental profession a body of educated and cultivated gentlemen whom I should be very glad to have represented with official rank in the armies of our country, especially since we are reaching out to distant colonies where treatment such as is obtained at home is impossible. But in the consideration of this amendment we need not dwell upon the possibilities of other open doors.

Mr. President, the fighting of this world, as is now being demonstrated in South Africa, is largely cavalry fighting. I think that is becoming more and more evident to every student of wars, and if it is, there is no profession in the world that needs such encouragement and such advancement as that of veterinarian, who can see that the horses of the Army are fit to fight with.

There is not another civilized country in the world that does not recognize veterinarians and give them commissions. It is true we have a few veterinarians. They are called farriers, I think, in the Army, and we put them down in the rank of privates or sergeants. We pay one of them, it is true, the salary of a first lieutenant, and we give the others $75 a month, but that does not compensate a man who is a member of an honorable and an educated and an intelligent profession. As was

said here this morning by my colleague in reference to another subject, it is the rank that counts. I think that a little consideration will convince every member of the Senate, who is not already convinced, of the great importance of the service which the professional veterinarian renders and might still further render in the armies of the United States.

Later in the same day he took up another feature of the contention, saying:

I tell you, Mr. President, this whole question is not, in the minds of those who are considering it, I fear, a question as to the necessity of the service and the necessity of the intelligence of it, but it is a question whether or not the man who is vulgarly called "a horse doctor" ought to associate with officers who may be graduates of West Point.

Mr. President, we do not realize the growth that has taken place in that profession. There are to-day veterinary surgeon graduates of every college and university in the United States. I know men who are graduates of Harvard University living in Massachusetts, who are to-day devoting their lives to the veterinary service. If it were not for the presence here of distinguished alumni of Harvard University, I would almost be inclined to say that the flower of the university largely went into the veterinary service. I know graduates of Princeton and other colleges who adorn the profession.

All these professions are matters of growth, and slow growth. To-day the medical profession is recognized as one of the noblest and best and most sacrificing methods by which a man may devote his life to the cause of his country.

His treatment of the Naval Appropriation Bill in the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress affords an excellent illustration not only of Mr. Wolcott's insight into a proposition but of his methods in debate. A Senator had offered an amendment providing for the construction of six new battle-ships instead of two as authorized by the bill as it came to the Senate from the House of Representatives, and Mr. Wolcott vigorously opposed the proposed expenditure as extravagant and unnecessary. When the bill came before the Senate on April 30, 1896, this amendment was under consideration. The Colorado Senator raised the ques-

tion of expense, and apparently the Senate was almost as much at sea on this occasion as was the Navy itself.

Mr. Gorman placed the cost of the ships at $3,750,000 each, but said that with armor and armament added, the price would be about $7,500,000 each. From that time forward half a dozen Senators were talking at one time.

Here is what the official report made of it:

MR. LODGE. I do not think the Senator from Maryland intended to leave the impression, but he certainly has left the impression, that these ships will cost complete between seven and eight million dollars.

MR. GORMAN. Six or seven million dollars.

MR. LODGE. They will cost complete between four and five million dollars each.

MR. HALE. Including everything, the four will cost either between twenty-four and twenty-five million dollars or between twenty-five and twenty-six million dollars.

MR. CHANDLER. The Senator will notice that the cost of each ship is limited to $3,750,000.

MR. PLATT. What does the armament cost?

MR. CHANDLER. I do not know, but say half a million dollars.

MR. HALE. Oh, more than that; much more than that sum.

MR. CHANDLER. Add a million and a quarter, and it is only $5,000,000.

MR. LODGE. These ships cost about $5,000,000 each.

MR. WOLCOTT. I think the bill had better be recommitted to the committee or to somebody who can tell us within a few million dollars what the ships will cost.

MR. HALE. We are not all possessed of the great information on every subject that the Senator from Colorado is.

MR. WOLCOTT. I do not profess it; it is not my duty to be charged with it. I go to the fountain head for information. There I went courageously and had a right to go. I asked the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Gorman] and he gave me one figure; the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Chandler], who is upon the Naval Affairs Committee, and they gave other figures. The Senator from Maine [Mr. Hale]

gives another figure, and I am asking for information in the utmost good faith.

MR. HILL. The Senator from Colorado can take his choice.

MR. WOLCOTT. Not claiming myself to have unusual information, I suggest that the bill ought to be recommitted or referred to somebody who can tell us within a few million dollars what the ships will cost.

The bill was not recommitted, as Mr. Wolcott had suggested, but the amendment was defeated, which pleased him more.

On the following second of May, with the same bill pending, the Senate was giving its attention to an amendment by Senator Chandler appropriating $4,000,000 for the construction of twenty torpedo-boats. The provision aroused Mr. Wolcott's antagonism, and he made a most effective speech against it, saying among other things:

If it be a fact that the Government during the present Administration has issued $362,000,000 of its obligations; if it be true, and no Senator on this floor has presumed to deny it, that the Government has run behind in its expenditures over its receipts during this Administration $139,000,000; if it be true, and no Senator has ventured to dispute it, that this country is marching on to the issue of additional bonds and that no power under Heaven can stop it, then I ask what spirit of patriotism can animate us if we put upon the necks of the people interest-bearing securities that we may build twenty additional torpedo-boats to cruise around our harbors?

Mr. President, if bonds are to be issued year after year, what need have we of torpedo-boats? Our country will present no glittering attractions to other countries. We will have enough to do to sustain the people, overtaxed and overburdened, who live within our boundaries. No, Mr. President, our love of display and the spirit of competition will not justify this expenditure, for which the people must pay in added burdens year after year. If any Senator will tell me that every dollar we put into new ships does not mean the absolute certainty of additional bonds saddled on the people of the United States, I shall be glad to sink my individual judgment and to vote for additional boats. But if that be a fact, Mr. President, then I

say that every instinct of patriotism as well as every duty of statesmanship requires us to forego something of our national vanity and to let our ships, already creditable, stand as a sufficient Navy until the Government is put back upon a basis where its receipts equal its expenditures.

Mr. President, this country is reasonably safe. We have been indulging in great hopes of conquest and, as inevitably follows, the construction of an enormous navy. It was the theory of this Government that we were strong in peace; that we were a united and a happy and a prosperous people; that we interfered not in the affairs of our neighbors; that we proposed to protect our own integrity and our own autonomy at all hazards and under all circumstances, but that we should not interfere in the concerns of our neighbors. Our ships were to be used for purposes of discovery and for the spread of peaceful commerce. That was the theory upon which our Navy was constructed. Every additional warship, every additional cruiser, every additional battle-ship but inspires the natural and inevitable love of competition in the minds of free and progressive people, and is sure to instil the desire that we engage in some war of conquest or aggression in order that we may show that our ships are as strong and as able and our seamen as brave as those of any other nation whose ships sail the sea.

The unfortunate incident as to Venezuela seems for the moment to promise peaceful solution. The wise policy which the Administration appears to have pursued up to this time has apparently avoided the danger of any immediate collision with Spain.[1] The Mrs. Maybrick incident, revived by a resolution solemnly offered in this Senate calling for her release, seems to have passed without threatening danger of war, and under these circumstances it occurs to me that with two battle-ships appropriated for, seven torpedo-boats on the stocks that have not yet been launched, and a bill reported by the committee containing provisions for fifteen additional torpedo-boats, we can get along without five additional torpedo-boats which are to require the issuance of Government bonds to the extent of $4,000,000 to pay for them.

The amendment was lost.

[1] On account of the Cuban situation there even then was much discussion of war with Spain.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S connection as attorney with several of the Western railroads had familiarized him with railroad questions. He never was at a loss for information on any subject pertaining to railroading, showing that he had not confined himself to the legal branch of the railroad business. On many occasions, as notably in the matter of mail subsidies for Southern and Western roads, he opposed the demands of the companies, but when he found one of them to be in the right, he did not fail to champion its cause. In one or two instances there were intimations of self-interest in such a course, but these suggestions were met with such scorn that the offence never was committed twice by the same person. He did not permit the fear of such a charge to deter him from pursuing the course dictated by his conscience, and in railroad, as in other legislation, pursued his own way regardless of criticism in the Senate or out.

He found occasion to state his position in connection with the discussion of the Safety Appliance Bill of the Fifty-second Congress, when on February 7, 1893, he said:

> In my opinion, the man who is afraid to stand up and protect vested interests when they need protection, whether the substance of the proposed measure be included in party platforms or not, and whether the provision appeals to the good sense of the different organizations of labor, federated or unfederated, is not fit to legislate for the American people. For our interests, the interests of the whole country, are wrapped up in those of all our citizens, and there should be no objects of more intelligent legislation than the vast railway interests of the United

States, in which the small savings of people all over the land are invested. I am in favor of everything that will protect human life. I am in favor of going to the extreme measure of our rights respecting such legislation; but I am unwilling to proceed blindly and foolishly to the enactment of legislation which can serve no good or useful purpose, solely because the object against which the legislation is aimed is a corporation or a railroad, and I may thereby earn some cheap applause from the people who, having nothing, desire that the people of the rest of the world shall have nothing.

His first Senate speech on a question pertaining to the railroads was made, April 27, 1892, in connection with an effort to settle the indebtedness of the Union Pacific to the National Government. Mr. Wolcott never had had any connection with the Union Pacific. Indeed, that road was an energetic rival of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and the Denver and Rio Grande roads, for both of which he was general counsel, and railroad rivalry in the West in those days often meant bitter personal enmity.

Regardless of these facts the Colorado Senator was found holding out for fair treatment of the Union Pacific. Explaining the reason for the road's then crippled financial condition, he said:

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. McPherson] in the few remarks he made, addressing himself to the Senator from Alabama, suggested that there had been an enormous robbery or steal by the Union Pacific Company of late days and by some method, illegitimate and wicked, some floating debt had been created. I think it is a mistake to treat the Union Pacific Company or any other railroad company as a public enemy. I do not know the exact facts as to the accumulation of this debt. I believe that it arose by reason of some purchases and some extensions in Oregon. Legitimately and properly bonds were to be issued to pay for these improvements and extensions and benefits, all of which were a material help to the Union Pacific proper, and all of which added to the value of the property upon which the Government had its lien.

But bad times came. The bonds could not be placed, and this floating debt stood as a menace to the property of the company. In order to raise money to tide itself over, it was

compelled to use in the markets of New York, not only the securities which it had to offer, but such other securities as by its own wise and careful management it had in its treasury to apply, for purposes of this loan, and those are the securities which are now held in New York, not by stockholders of the company necessarily, but by the general public. There are thousands and tens of thousands of people who at the price quoted in New York have purchased these securities. I understand that there has been no scheme, no wickedness in connection with the transaction.

He then entered upon a plea for leniency, saying in part:

The Union Pacific Company in the past must be blamed for very wicked management. Its policy now toward certain of the manufacturing centres of the West, toward certain cities of the West, is to my mind unfair and unjust, but it is largely brought about by the inequalities of the Interstate Commerce Law. But whatever condition the Union Pacific Company may be in to-day has been accomplished by the utmost integrity of its management. That company is now in deep water. Whether it will pull out of its troubles I do not know, but I do know that a receivership and a foreclosure of that vast corporation would be the most deplorable thing that could happen to the Northwest. So far as I am concerned I am unwilling to add by my vote to the burdens of that company, and to say, in the most unjust and, to my mind, unconstitutional fashion, "the companies which you operate under lease, with which the public is interested, where you have as shareholders men who have no connection whatever with your property, shall be taken from you, and made to apply upon a debt which you will in time owe to the Government of the United States."

Mr. Wolcott discussed at length the bill before the Senate in February, 1893, requiring railroad cars to be equipped with automatic safety appliance couplers, arguing against its enactment as unnecessary if not impracticable. He found fault with the requirement because of the great variety of coupler patents, making it difficult so to choose as to insure uniformity, and argued that all successful roads were already equipped with safety couplers. He also declared that the brakemen, whose lives supposedly were endangered by going between cars to adjust the bolts then in

use, had indicated that they did not desire the legislation. Admitting a uniform coupler to be a desirable thing, he said:

"Any device which will minimize danger, any device which will minimize labor, any device which will quicken the transaction of business of the railroads is desirable. We are all agreed upon that."

His objection was to an attempt by Congress to regulate something which he said it knew nothing about. On that point he expressed himself at length, but the following excerpt will afford an idea of the strength of his contention:

> I say that out of their efforts, out of the self-interest which prompts them, out of the humanity which animates a railway manager to the same extent that it does a Senator of the United States who inveighs against them, with every constant incentive to the best, they themselves are infinitely more able to devise and apply that which shall save human life and reduce the danger to a minimum than is a Senate ignorant of what a coupler means, or the appliance of an airbrake, or an Interstate Commerce Commission, which seems to be seeking to take upon itself the management of railroads even to the couplers which they shall use.
>
> Mr. President, this bill comes in under the guise of humanity. No man wants to stand up here and say that there is any sacrifice he would hesitate to make in the interest of human life. The destruction of life by coupling is tremendously overstated. The proportion of it that would continue to exist if we had the patent couplers is almost as great, in my opinion, as that which now exists.

Mr. Wolcott was an advocate of the so-called Pooling Bill of the Fifty-third Congress. The prohibition of traffic agreements among the roads which the Interstate Commerce Law carried had lessened some abuses, but had led to others, and this measure was intended to correct them. It permitted agreements under certain conditions, which it was believed would assist the railroads while safe-guarding the public interests. The measure was before the Senate during the third session of that Congress. The Colorado Senator made no set speech on the bill, but he gave it his earnest support. During the debate he expressed himself briefly on several occasions, and at one time fell into a

pointed personal controversy with his friend, Senator William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire. He was quite impatient with the opposition of the Northeastern Senators to the bill, and, remarking upon this fact, said of Senator Butler, of South Carolina, who supported the measure and who was chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, from which the bill had been reported:

> I realize perfectly as a member of the Committee the earnest and unselfish character of his work, but inasmuch as from three fourths to nine tenths of the railroad stocks and bonds in the United States are held in New England and New York, and inasmuch as more than four fifths of the representation from that section is opposed to taking up the Pooling Bill, I suggest to the Senator that he is relieved from much further responsibility respecting it.

Again he charged that: "Scores of Senators on this side of the Chamber have been requested to speak upon amendments to appropriation bills in which they have not the slightest interest and upon which they would not otherwise have spoken, for the sole and uneoncealed reason that they might consume time and prevent the consideration of the Pooling Bill."

It was with Senator Chandler as it was with Senator Wolcott. He, too, had a faculty of getting at the personal side of questions, of developing the "human interest," as newspaper writers express it. He opposed the Pooling Bill, and in presenting his case charged in effect personal concern on the part of some of the advocates of the measure. His reference in this connection to Mr. Wolcott was coupled with a discussion of Senator Butler's attitude and was mildly sarcastic. "So also," he said, "the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. Wolcott] is not to have motives ascribed to him other than those of public duty." Continuing this negative form of accusation, he said:

> He performs his duty as a Senator according to the light which is given to him. He is free in his criticisms of other Senators, but never harsh or ungentle; and I have no doubt that he is just as anxious that this bill shall pass the

Senate in the interest of the money-lenders and stock- and bond-owners of my section of New England as he is that a silver free-coinage bill shall pass in the interest of his own section. The Senator knows no bounds in his patriotism, no bounds in his love of country; and equally before him stand Colorado and New England.

So, Mr. President, we are all patriots, we are all public-spirited citizens, and we all of us undoubtedly deal with every question which comes before us with the best of motives, in the best of spirit, always seeking only the public good.

Mr. President, if the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from Colorado stand there, as we know they stand and always have stood and always will stand, will they be kind enough to concede that the Senator from Maryland and I may stand there also?

This was not at all disagreeable to the Colorado Senator. He was never averse to a "scrap," and when perfectly satisfied with his own position seldom shrank from verbal controversy.

Responding with promptitude he declared his purpose to be not to spend a moment of time in answering the argument of the New Hampshire Senator as to the merits of the bill.

The Senator from New Hampshire [he said] voted against taking up this measure, and followed that vote by occupying the floor of the Senate for some time on the Indian Appropriation Bill to deliver an argument on the Pooling Bill. The Senator from New Hampshire was probably bursting with a speech on this subject, as he is with a speech on every other subject that comes before the Senate in any way.

Saying he would reply only briefly to the personal remarks of the Senator from New Hampshire, he proceeded:

He seems to have brought into his speech a certain quality of personal reference which was uncalled for. The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Butler] can perhaps endure the fulsome flattery of the Senator from New Hampshire. I only hope it will not injure the Senator from South Carolina at his home, to which he is shortly to depart, and where both Senators are known. As for myself, I shrink greatly from any passage at arms with the Senator from New Hampshire. . . .

I know what an immense stock of venom the Senator from New Hampshire carries on hand and I shrink very greatly from any sort of response to the ironical suggestions he made as to the motives that might be imputed to Senators. For the motives that might be imputed to me I do not care a farthing. Nothing the Senator from New Hampshire could say in the way of imputation of a motive would affect me in the slightest possible degree; but he did say I did my duty according to the light that was given me. That is unfortunately true, and I desire for a moment to call the attention of the Senate to the character of the light that has been given me.

I have kept track for the last few days of the number of times the Senator from New Hampshire has addressed the Senate in these closing days, when he says it is so essential that we shall pass the appropriation bills or else we shall have an extra session. On the 20th he spoke 23 times; on the 19th he spoke 13 times; on the 18th he spoke 10 times; on the 16th he spoke 11 times; on the 14th he spoke 17 times, and on the 15th of the month he addressed the Chair 37 times. I have not kept account of the last two days. I can listen to the Senator from New Hampshire, but it makes me sick to read the *Record* and count it up. The Senate must excuse me if in dealing with public questions I am somewhat clouded by the frequency with which the Senator from New Hampshire addresses the Chair on every conceivable topic.

With reference to the bill, Mr. Wolcott said that "if the people of the sections of the country where the railroad properties are owned do not care to protect them, if the representatives of those sections find it consonant with their duty to vote against taking and discussing the bill," he did not care. "We have the railroads," he said. "The existence of the provision prohibiting pooling has worked incalculable injury to the city where I live. Our people would be glad to see it removed, but if the Senators from New England and the Eastern States do not care to raise the question in the Senate at this time those of us who live in the West can well be content."

It should be said that the incident between the Coloradoan and the New Hampshire Senator was not permitted for even a brief moment to disturb their warm friendship.

The Pooling Bill did not become a law.

OPPOSITION TO GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

NEXT to the question of the restoration of silver to its place as a money metal, Mr. Wolcott probably gave more attention while in Congress to the shortcomings of the Geological Survey than to any other subject. Finding in the Survey a persistent supplicant for appropriations, few of which he believed to be so applied as to result in real betterments, he came to be distrustful of all of its efforts to extend its field. He also discovered that the officials of the bureau were accustomed to make places in the service for the friends of Senators and Representatives, and, regarding this system as one capable of much abuse, he lost no opportunity to express his antagonism. His criticisms began soon after he entered the Senate and did not cease until shortly before he left; but so firmly was the institution intrenched in the affections of Congress, if not in those of the people, that his strictures were of little or no avail.

He first began to pay his respects to the Survey during the Fifty-second Congress, and so long as he was a member of the Senate there was little cessation. Apparently he took up the question quite accidentally in connection with an amendment to an appropriation bill providing for the appointment of two paleontologists, and having discovered what he believed to be an abuse, it was not like him to desist so long as he could raise his voice against it with any show of authority.

The first speech on the subject was made on the 8th of July, 1892, and he spoke at some length in support of a proposition postponing action in the interest of the two scientists. The general character of these introductory remarks is indicated by the following extract:

This is one of the great measures which are supposed to be passed for the benefit of the West. We do not know anything of it. We get very little benefit from it. As a matter of scientific research we all rejoice in it. There is no question that the people connected with the Geological Survey are gentlemen of the highest character and highest attainments. There is no question but that the institutions of the whole world are benefited in the researches and discoveries by this Government at an expense of a million dollars a year; but nobody seems to have any direction or control of it. It is a somewhat close corporation, which expends its money as it sees fit. The only opportunity that those of us who are laymen and unlearned on these subjects ever have to criticise it is when the items come up in appropriation bills, because we never hear anything about it until they appear each session of Congress.

Having entered upon the subject he began an investigation. He made a study of the Survey, so that when, on July 14th, the question came up again he was prepared to proceed. He spoke at length on that occasion, prefacing his remarks with a statement concerning the origin of the bureau as follows:

Almost every branch of the public service comes before some committee. The Geological Survey comes before none. If the Secretary of the Navy desires to make an experiment costing a thousand dollars, he comes to this body, and presents his case to the Naval Committee. A bill is presented to Congress, the subject is investigated, and, if it is found wise, the bill is passed. We never hear of the Geological Survey, except as the Committee on Appropriations reports the amount to be expended for it. All the Senators in reach of my voice may not be aware of the fact that the Geological Survey was founded, was born, in an appropriation bill. The statutes making the Geological Survey valid and legal occupy less than a page of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and consist of a few excerpts taken year by year from the appropriation acts passed by both Houses of Congress.

Continuing, he said of the Director of the Survey and his work:

I do not question Major Powell's ability, nor do I discuss his

extreme fitness for securing from Congress an immense appropriation; but I do say that the work up to this time does not bear the fruits that we were promised; nor has it borne out his promise made in 1886. In 1886 he assured the joint committee that he would complete the geological map of the United States in twenty years, and that it would cost $18,000,000. He has filed no report since 1890. The report filed in 1890 shows that at the rate he was progressing from 1886 to 1890, it will take more than a hundred years to complete his map, and that it will cost to the people of these United States $100,000,000.

Professor Agassiz, son of the great Agassiz, reported to the committee in 1886 that the work was valueless and expensive and appropriations were useless.

This letter was brushed aside, although he was one of the most eminent men connected with Harvard University, for the testimony of the people who are in the Survey. Major Powell has managed to include within his bureau every man who can make trouble and every man who has a friend on this floor or the other. To every man outside of it the Survey is useless, and to every man inside of it the Survey is of great value and should be encouraged.

I do not know when it is the time for us to speak. Next year the appropriation bill will be the same or larger, and we will be met with the same request, the same suggestion, in the same good-humored way that no man likes to resist: "Let it go this time; we will do something next time. There is something wrong about this, but just let it go now. We want to adjourn pretty soon, and we do not want to make trouble over this bill, and this is not the time to cut it down."

It is to me nothing, Mr. President. I love to hear of the discoveries and the growth of science. I share in all the pride of every American citizen at all the growth and progress of our people in civilization and in culture; but I do not think we are honest men, if we stand here year after year and give $100,000 to $1,000,000 of the public's money for a survey which accomplishes no useful purpose, and for which we can give to our people or our consciences no adequate explanation. It does not help us in any respect. It can not help us in time of war. It is of no use to an invading or defending army. The gross proceeds from the sales of the reports of this magnificent Survey, which we endow so munificently, are about $1600 a year. That is the market value. They are of no value.

. . . . . .

I want to remind the Senate of one fact. It was stated here the other day what great assistance this Survey rendered, especially to the Western States. They are delightful men in charge of it, competent men, good men. Thrown on their own resources, they would make a very much better living, and would have in themselves more self-respect than living at the public crib. There is no personal reflection respecting any one of these people; but, for instance, one of them in a Western State was instructed to report upon a mining district fourteen years ago. There had been thousands and thousands of dollars expended on that survey. Meanwhile the district was discovered, was prosecuted, was worked, was developed, thousands of dollars taken out of it, and the camp abandoned. But the report is not yet finished. Take the report on Leadville alone. It is a most valuable monograph. Every surveyor who comes out there fresh from college writes me to get a copy of it. It is one of the most magnificent that was ever given away by the Government. The illustrations cost $28,000.

Every one of these valuable monographs, every one of these valuable reports, comes after the fact. There is not a blessed one of them that guides the prospector. After you have discovered your ore and taken it out, these very intelligent and cultivated men come along and say, "That is beautiful." I find here marvellous geological descriptions showing just what happened. It is always after the fact. It is a beautiful knowledge, but it is not the knowledge that this Government should be called upon to pay every year from half a million to a million dollars for.

. . . . . .

I think that if this Congress cuts down the expensive Survey one half, it will awaken those who will be left in the Survey to an impression that they should investigate the needs of to-day, and should proceed to survey the country which can be benefited by irrigation. That will be of more value to the country than a hunt for the remains of the paleozoic age; and that other half of the force should be cut off, unless they do something. They will not dare to spend the money in the way set out in these books, which do not help a man to an idea or help settle an acre of land.

This discussion resulted in the appointment of a special committee to investigate the Survey, of which Mr. Wolcott

was made chairman. When on February 20, 1893, the question of making appropriations for the Bureau came up and he took the floor to protest against some of them, Senator Blackburn complained that criticism was unfair in the absence of a report from the Wolcott committee. Replying to that criticism, Mr. Wolcott said:

I can state to the Senator from Kentucky that I doubt very much if the infliction of a long speech by me is ever fair to the Senate; but if I failed to present to the Senate the information I have derived as an individual, and if I failed to express to the Senate my convictions upon the subject of these great appropriations I would consider that I should be violating my oath of office and untrue to the purposes for which I was sent here. I beg to say to the Senator from Kentucky that I am animated by no hostility to the Survey. If he will notice the amendments which I have offered, if he will quietly wait until the conclusion of my remarks, he will find I recognize the inestimable value of the Survey, and I for one seek only to direct it into the proper channels for which it was first instituted and organized.

. . . . . .

What I say is that topography should be the handmaid of geology; that geology should be limited to economic geology; that anything which will add to the wealth of this country or its development, anything which will lead to the knowledge of that lying under the surface of the earth, which will advance this country or add to the wealth of its people or the progress of its development, should be encouraged by this Survey. Topography should be limited to those fields where it is soon to be followed by a careful and full geological survey. Unless we limit in some such fashion as that, we shall continue to scatter our money all over this vast continent without receiving any sort of a return for it.

. . . . . .

Rather than continue in the way we are continuing, it would be infinitely better for us to suspend altogether. It is a matter of considerable doubt whether Government encouragement of scientific work is of great value. There is very serious doubt whether Government patronage of the arts does not diminish the progress made in them. The moment you discourage individual enterprise and individual thought, and appropriate funds from Government for the continuation of these great works, you

discourage and kill that competition among men which leads to progress and to advancement. It is a more than serious question in my mind whether in the end the Government is the gainer by these great works. But whether it be or not, it is true that we should stick to economic geology, where the needs of the country are great and where some tangible result can be obtained that may be of value to us.

We have spent millions of dollars. We have the grandest lot of publications in the world up to date; and we have sold about $1600 worth of them after an expenditure of millions and millions.

I am not an enemy of this Survey; I am its friend: I come from a section where we need all of the scientific help we can get in telling us about the curious and varied and differing formations of our mountains, which can direct us into the channels where we may look for the precious metals, which shall tell us where possibly the deposits of water may be found by sinking our artesian wells, which may tell us where we may prospect for the great coal deposits that underlie our State, which shall inform us as to the extent and character of the great oil regions which are now producing so largely, and which will help us in determining the course and trend of our iron mines.

We need the help of this Survey; we need it intelligently directed. The last thing I would seek to do would be to destroy the value and the efficiency of the Geological Survey, the Geological Survey with which we ought to be dealing. But I am solemnly convinced, Mr. President, that if we continue in the way we are going and permit the purpose for which this Survey was established to be lost sight of, and permit its labors to be frittered away in making topographical maps which are of no value to the economical or geological interest of this country, we shall be sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind.

We have spent $7,000,000, and are ready to go on apparently in that way indefinitely; but there will come a time in the history of Congress when some one, instead of permitting these large expenditures, will say: "We will lop them off altogether as useless." I do not want that day to come. I want to help this Survey, and we should help it by directing it into the channels for which it was instituted. The effect of it will be to reduce the item for the topographical survey, which is useless, and add to it the geological survey, which is of very great value."

Criticising, on the 8th of February, 1899, a resolution by Mr. Lodge authorizing the printing of geological maps of Alaska, Mr. Wolcott declared that "no such sturdy beggar ever comes before Congress as the Geological Survey." He added the assertion that "it is always doing something somewhere for which an appropriation of money it to be made."

I should like to know [he went on] if all these surveys have been so made that there will be no further expense except a publication of the map itself. Will there be any expense incurred in making this survey for planning these routes? We have had all this for years. Next year there will be another increased appropriation to extend the roads a little farther to where there may be some other goldfields possibly, or some other stage routes. This work has been done only at the threshold of Alaska. They will have Alaska platted as carefully as the city of New York is, with streets and alleys, if we let them keep on. This map simply marks one stage in the internal progressive development of the Geological Survey; that is all.

Speaking on the 3d of March, 1899, on the eve of the adjournment of the Fifty-fifth Congress, in response to a suggestion that the work of the Geological Survey was especially in the interest of the West, Senator Wolcott said:

When these people come here clamoring at the doors of the Appropriations Committee they say, "This is going West; it is demanded by the West. They are hungry and eager there for more geological surveys, and they will be perfectly happy if you will give them more topography and some more geology. Mr. President, I do not know one of those Western States but what would rather that you would give them $50,000 every two years for some public building, and leave all this geology out. And yet we are going to an expense of from $400,000 to $700,000 every year for this Geological Survey in one form or another. In the Sundry Civil Bill, which we have already passed, they get nearly $500,000, including $25,000 for "exploration," or whatever they may call it, of coal and gold in Alaska.

January 24, 1900, a year later, in response to a question from Senator Tillman, Mr. Wolcott said that "the Geological

Survey gets millions of dollars each year for preparing maps for the whole United States, which are exact duplicates, on an entirely different scale, of the maps of the Coast and Geodetic Survey." Adding that this great country from ocean to ocean was being platted by the Geological Survey, he declared: "It finds its way into every hamlet and every cabin, and especially into the lobbies of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Geological Survey is all-pervading and universal," he added, after the laughter which followed the previous remark.

Finding in an amendment granting $100,000 for the gauging of streams and measuring the underground flow of water, a scheme for "catching" Senators, he criticised it sharply:

I want to say, though my remarks may fall on deaf ears [he began a speech on May 29, 1900], that they have finally found a new field in the Southern States. They have found some streams here [he added] that have not been gauged by the Geological Survey, and they have persuaded some of the trustful and unsuspicious Southern Senators that if you will give the Geological Survey money enough they will gauge streams for you and tell you just how much water they have got. Oh, Mr. President, long before the people from those Southern States will know how much water there is in those streams that water will have gone from the river to the sea, risen to the clouds, and been evaporated in dew to bless the land. It is but the starter of another attempt, which will survive a generation, to get money out of the States of the Union for so-called geological work. We are all familiar with it. They started in modestly and unassumingly, and we were inclined to believe that they could help us some.

Being thus led to refer to the origin of the Bureau, he continued:

Mr. President, it was started as an offset against the appropriations for rivers and harbors and the improvements of the sea-coast that were being made year after year. It was thought the inland States should have some sort of compensation for the large appropriations made for other purposes in the other States; and we thought, until we grew old enough to know better, that it might be of help to us. So it has grown

from year to year, until this appropriation carries the sum of $865,000 for work that is not worth in this country 865 cents.

There were all sorts of criticisms of this Geological Survey years ago and there was a good deal of dissension from within [he said in the same speech]. We were told that the former chief of the Survey [Major Powell] was a man who used his power of appointment to bestow patronage, and thereby diverted the Survey from its legitimate purposes. He went out. He was but an infant compared with the present head of the Geological Survey [Mr. Walcott]. They got an enormous sum for surveying forest reserves; and that is the last we have ever heard of it or shall ever hear of it. They go about in each State of the Union; they map some little piece of ground; and they then go to a Senator from that State and tell him: "This is a sample of the magnificent work we are going to do all over the country eventually, if we can have money enough for that purpose."

I think it is safe to say that they have spent in Colorado from two to three million dollars, first and last, and the work they have done is utterly and absolutely valueless. There are some maps of mining districts in the State of Colorado where their accounts and plats of geological formation have some certain theoretical university value, but there is not a miner or prospector on those hills who would give you ten cents for a barrel of them.

Everybody who has ever tried mining suits, or who has had anything to do with the determination of title as to the different questions of formation lines, will tell you the last thing that anybody on earth ever thinks of appealing to is the geological survey made by these young college sharps down here in Washington, who tell you what you will find under the ground and how the mines are formed. This will go on. They have exhausted themselves on surveying forestry reserves. I believe they got a million dollars for that, but they have not done anything about it.

So frequent were the Colorado Senator's references to the Survey that they became the subject of frequent remarks by Senators, generally in the way of jest. There were, however, some earnest comments, at times commendatory; at others disparaging. A sample of each will suffice. When, on March 3, 1899, the service was before the Senate with request for an amendment to an appropriation bill, which

Senator Hale had in hand, Mr. Wolcott elicited from the Maine Senator the following expression of concurrence in his views:

I will say to the Senator that I have sympathized with him from the beginning about this system and the inefficiency of this branch of the service. It has been before us early and late. It never ceases in its demands. What it does not get on the Sundry Civil Bill it gets on the Deficiency Bill; what it does not get this year it gets next year, and what it does not get next year it will get in the hereafter, and it will go on until the Senator and I are mouldering in the dust.

As this work is not intended to be a mere laudation of its subject, it is deemed proper to give the opposite view as expressed by Mr. Butler, of North Carolina. He was speaking on May 29, 1900, with reference to the gauging of the Southern streams, when he said:

Mr. President, I do not know the nature of the grievance the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Wolcott] has against the Geological Survey, but it certainly is deep-seated and very strong, because at every session of Congress, as he tells us, he rises upon the floor and rails at the Geological Survey, from top to bottom, denounces it, ridicules it, and winds up by saying that he knows it is of no use to do so; that the appropriation is going through. He must have knowledge of the fact that he is wrong and that he has no hope of converting intelligent, honest men and statesmen here who are representing their States; but he is simply gratifying some prejudice he has against the Geological Survey, finding that he must have some safety valve.

Mr. Butler's charge proved the basis of a sharp colloquy. Replying, the Colorado Senator said:

"No, Mr. President; it is my knowledge of the patronage at the disposal of that Bureau that makes me doubtful."

MR. BUTLER. The knowledge the Senator has of patronage that he has got there?

MR. WOLCOTT. There is nobody appointed for me there.

MR. BUTLER. That is about what I supposed. I understand it all now.

MR. WOLCOTT. The surveyors with whom I have a per-

sonal acquaintance know too much to go into the Geological Survey. They can make a living honestly out West.

Senator Wolcott's last reference to the Survey is found in the record of the proceedings of the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. It consisted of a bit of chaffing over a conference report on an item in a River and Harbor Bill concerning preliminary surveys for dams in the Ohio River.

> I can already foretell [he said, amid the laughter which his references to the Survey had come to arouse], I can already foretell that this is the opening attempt of the Geological Survey to gauge the Ohio River. Mr. President, I want to urge these Senators who live along the banks of that pellucid stream to protect themselves as far as they can at the initiatory steps against the octopus getting hold of the river, which will not only suck up all the river but all the money its farmers can raise.
>
> I speak with some impartiality [he added as a farewell shot] because I come from a State where our only ships are prairie schooners, where all the advantage we get from our annual appropriation is by the way of a geological survey, which we do not want and which does us no good. The only benefit which we receive from it is that you unload a lot of embryo and unbaked college graduates upon us, who at the expense of the Government bring us very insufficient and inaccurate and valueless information.

As Mr. Wolcott knew and often said would be the case, his criticisms were unavailing in the main. The Survey proved more enduring than himself, but many of its methods were changed, and while he did not succeed in entirely and immediately reforming it, there is consolation in believing that his strictures were not without effect.

TIMBER AGENTS

AS early as 1892 Mr. Wolcott began to give attention to the appointment of special timber agents in the West, and the subject continued to attract him to the end of his service. He found in the special agents instruments of torture for the Western settlers and obstacles to the general growth of the country, and therefore criticised and opposed their appointment.

Intensely interested in the development of the West and possessing confidence in its people, he resented any tendency to retard the one or reflect upon the other. He knew the vast resources of the section, and held to the theory that no obstacle should be placed in the way of their exploitation. The timber was needed for the construction of homes and the casing of the mines, and he believed that the men who were willing to brave the hardships of the frontier and develop the mines should be permitted the meagre bonus afforded by the timber on the hillsides, which was scanty at best. The wealth of the West belonged to the West, according to his view, and he lost no opportunity so to express himself.

Speaking on July 7, 1892, of the timber agents in connection with a provision then before the Senate in connection with an appropriation bill, Mr. Wolcott said:

> Mr. President, I desire to say that it seems to me absurd to cut down expenses in the land offices of the Western States, which serve only the public good, which assist in building up the country, and make it possible for the homesteaders and others to enter their land, and then increase the appropriation to special agents, who, in my experience in Colorado, work nothing but evil. I have never known a more oppressive lot

of people inflicted upon a country than the special agents sent from the Department here, who work as a sort of detective agency, and who endeavor to undo that which people have endeavored to do legitimately and honestly. More harm and less good is accomplished by special agents of this Department than in any other Department of the Government with which I am acquainted. They are the Government Pinkertons.

On the 13th of the same month he proposed by an amendment to reduce from $200,000 to $120,000 the appropriation for the special agents, saying in support of this suggestion:

These special agents perform their services principally in the West, in those sections of the country where there are still public lands. They serve but little useful purpose. Formerly it was supposed that a man pre-empting land was innocent until he was proved guilty. Commencing under the administration of Mr. Cleveland, When Mr. Sparks was Commissioner of the General Land Office, the presumption was changed to one that every person seeking to enter land was guilty until he was proved innocent, and that presumption has been followed from that day to this.

The only possible use these special agents can serve is in ascertaining where frauds have been committed. The number of frauds is infinitesimally small. The number of special agents is tremendously large. They tumble over each other in the State of Colorado, investigating, seriatim, every coal entry or every other entry where anybody seems to suggest there may be something questionable.

I speak with great freedom respecting these people, for we have none of them appointed from Colorado except one man whose appointment does not belong to Colorado, who, to satisfy some fad of the Interior Department, has recommended that about one quarter of the public area of the State of Colorado shall be withdrawn from public entry for forestry purposes.

These agents, I say, serve no useful purpose. They are not needed. They are managed from here. An agent is appointed through some representations at Washington, and when any objector to the entry of land fails in the local land offices, which are conducted with the utmost integrity all over the United States, he gets some pull here at Washington and procures some special agents to be sent out there, always under instructions from Washington. The report is invariably in accordance

with the instructions from Washington; and, when his testimony is set aside, another agent is sent out. There are scores of them waiting to be sent out, one after the other. Their report is always made up in advance. They serve no useful purpose, Mr. President, and they ought not to be continued, except so far as they may be absolutely necessary to the administration of the affairs of the Government.

I suggest to Senators who desire any sort of fair economy in the public expenditures, that we should leave $120,000, which is a very large sum, as a sufficient amount to appropriate for special agents of the Land Department.

Taking up the subject again the following year, Senator Wolcott on February 24, 1893, opposed a provision for the payment of $80,000 for clerk hire in connection with the depredation investigations.

The mysterious hieroglyphics which we see on the different letters in relation to cases in the Land Office are [he said] the effectual bars which stop the progress of claims through the office, and are the magic signs by which they are pushed through against anybody's protest. The provision as it now stands in the bill is to add still further efficacy and effect to the power which these clerks have to say that they shall not only pass upon these cases, but investigate them as well. We do not need any of these special examiners, though we have had them for years in the Western country. A few of them are competent, many of them are utterly incompetent, and the rest of them are venal. Think of the treatment you have accorded the public lands of the West. An estimate was sent in of $800,000 for surveying the public lands in the Western States. We had last year $450,000 appropriated, and now it is proposed to give us $300,000, and then to appropriate $80,000 to prevent that appropriation from being utilized for the benefit of the people in a proper and honest manner.

March 3d of the same year we hear Mr. Wolcott pleading against the sacrifice in conference of a provision for land surveys, when, among other good things, he said:

We talk of the Nicaragua Canal. We have had speech after speech in this body and we are asked to guarantee $100,000,000 to be spent along the shifting sands of Nicaragua

and among an alien people who do not recognize our flag or speak our language, when a guaranty of half the amount would bring a greater revenue, ten times over, from the irrigation of the lands in the West within our own territory and under our own flag than we could ever receive from the Nicaragua Canal.

Speaking again on February 26, 1895, the Colorado Senator vehemently opposed a proposed increase of the appropriation for timber agents. He denounced the agents as "worse than thieves."

Mr. President, I desire to say that, if this appropriation was ever increased to $60,000 from $40,000, it was a great outrage. Forty thousand dollars is an excessive appropriation for these timber depredation agents, and why in the world $20,000 more was given last year, I am at a loss to understand. With every increasing appropriation for these timber depredation inspections [he declared], they tumble over each other in the Western States, hunting for some man who has a mine which looks as if it might produce, or some miner up on the mountains developing a silver mine, who may cut a little timber for his mine, that they can compel him by blackmail into giving them a hundred or a few hundred dollars to save himself from indictment in the Federal court.

He added:

These appropriations simply furnish a means for the appointment of men who are not fit to stay at home, and who can be unloaded upon the Western States at Government expense. Talk about timber thieves! These people are far worse than any timber thieves that Eastern men can imagine. When the inspectors are not trying to blackmail some railroad out of a pass or a thousand dollars in money, in order that they may not report the road for cutting timber on Government land for ties, or some miner or prospector, they are hunting up some poor devil in a remote cañon, where the timber is not worth a dollar, and where it stays only until some wandering tramp or prospector will carelessly see that it is burned down. Then they bring him to the Federal court, often on foot, to await an information for cutting timber on Government land. I have known informations to be filed in the Federal court where

not only the defendants, who are perfectly innocent, who went on the hillside behind their cabins and cut a few pieces of timber to keep the fire going, were hauled two or three hundred miles, but the witnesses, too, sometimes on foot. I have seen them in Denver without money enough to pay their daily expenses because they could not get their fees until the cases were tried.

When people talk about the necessity of $220,000 for these sinecures for people who do no good whatever I am tired of it. When the people of the States which have the public lands ask for it, it will be time enough. If these timber depredation inspectors are to be appointed, let them stay in the States from which they are appointed. We do not want them in Colorado. They have never served a good or useful or decent purpose out there.

Senator Berry, of Arkansas, raised a political point by saying: "Inasmuch as I heard the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Wolcott] make the same speech a year or two ago, I take it that the agents to whom he refers were those appointed under the last Administration," to which he received as a reply the assurance that "there is no party in this matter."

MR. BERRY. He knows more about it.

MR. WOLCOTT. If the Senator from Arkansas is of the opinion that timber agents appointed under one party are better than those appointed under another, he has a very poor opinion of his own party.

Later he made still further reply to Mr. Berry, saying:

I regret that the temperate remarks I made with a view of pouring oil upon the troubled waters did not accomplish the result. The Senator from Arkansas feels rather indignant at the suggestions made. I beg to assure him that he must misapprehend the character of what he terms timber depredations in the far West. One would think that timber was something lying around loose, which a man could steal and put in his pocket and carry off. There is not a foot of timber shipped out of Colorado, and there has not been for a generation. There is no timber stolen there. There is no wanton destruction of timber. All that is ever done is where citizens, seeking to build up the industries of a new State, take that which is at hand for that purpose; and only some officious and

spying officer of the Government, who desires, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Stewart] suggested, to make a record with his Department, would ever dream of attempting to call them to order for it.

COPYRIGHT AND ART IN THE SENATE

ALWAYS a lover of books, Mr. Wolcott found much to interest him in the Copyright Bill of the Fifty-first Congress, which measure was the embodiment of the long-continued efforts of American authors and publishers to obtain a general revision of the laws providing for their protection. The bill became a law before the end of the session, and in the main it was satisfactory to the book-loving Senator from Colorado.

Mr. Wolcott's principal speech in connection with the bill was addressed to an amendment offered by Senator Frye, of Maine, requiring the work on illustrations in foreign books reprinted in the United States to be done in this country, which Senator Hoar sought to modify. This amendment was presented February 18, 1891, the day the bill passed the Senate, and ultimately it was adopted. Mr. Wolcott opposed it as in opposition to the encouragement of the best art.

Declaring that the Senate ought to understand what ground it was treading on, Mr. Wolcott proceeded to a definition of the situation.

I understand the purpose of this measure is to secure to writers the monopoly of the publication of their works [he said]. The amendment which was proposed originally by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] and renewed by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Daniel] provides that this bill shall not interfere with the importation of books. We have protected the typesetters further by a provision in the bill that the type used upon books printed and circulated in this country shall be set in this country. Now, as I understand the amendment of the Senator from

Maine and the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts, they provide that the illustrations for these books shall be manufactured in this country; that they must be put upon stone if they were produced upon stone, or must be put upon steel if they are to be published as steel engravings, or must be produced upon wood if they are to be produced from wood.

He then undertook to illustrate the probable result of such a course, saying:

It seems to me that all of us must desire that the best book shall be given to the public. For instance, Hamerton, we will say, publishes in London his book on *Etching and Etchers*. It is illustrated by copies of his own etchings, produced by himself, and by copies from the etchings of others, produced by himself or by well-known English artists in touch and in harmony with and having knowledge of the work of the artist whose works they reproduce. Now, are we to say that, when this book comes to this country, the stones, too, cannot come or that the etchings published on the other side cannot be brought to this country? Are we to offer a premium on ignorance and encourage immigration by saying to the publishers of these books, "You cannot bring the illustrations over here"? Although the type is set here and we help the printer by having the type for the books set in this country, we say to him: "You must destroy your English or your French plates; you must destroy the stones upon which these artists have put their work; you must give the work to somebody in this country, whether he be competent or not, whether he have the artistic qualifications or not." Then we say to the American publisher: "You may get a copy of this for imitation, if you can smuggle it or get it in by an importation, and then you may imitate it, and it may be published in this country."

It seems to me that no more damaging bill could be passed in the interest of letters, in the interest of art, or in the interest of good books. If I am not mistaken, under this bill it is possible that these books published abroad, with their charming illustrations, often by the authors themselves,—men who have seen the rivers which they depict, or who have visited the galleries and reproduced from the pictures themselves the works of art with which they add to the intelligence and culture of this country,—must be destroyed and cannot come into this country, and we must rely upon the imitations of American

artists in order that we may pander to this claim, which is eternally presented to this body, that every sort of an American must be encouraged in his work, whether the effect of it is to degrade or to lift up.

This vigorous presentation of views necessarily was antagonized, and Senator Plumb, of Kansas, was among the Senators whose opposition was aroused. In his speech he made some personal allusion to Mr. Wolcott, and the latter replied:

After the definition of art which the Senator from Kansas has given, I beg to assure him that if I were in the happy condition which he pictured, of being able to buy what I wanted where I want it, I should certainly not call upon the Senator from Kansas to do the work of selecting what I might wish to adorn any establishment with. The Senator shows, it seems to me, a somewhat profound ignorance in matters of art, when he tells the Senate that an etching is always stolen from something that is painted. If the Senator does not know that the world is full of magnificent etchings which are made direct by the artist himself and not copied from oil-paintings, he has much to learn in the books on works of art which I hope he will some day find time to read.

The Senator says he wants everything American. Why does not that then apply to the man who writes the books? Does he want his authors American authors? In his intense loyalty to America does he want the books that are to be circulated all written in this country? Because we have American lithographers are we to be shut out from the exquisite work of artists, designers, engravers, and etchers from the other side, in order that his definition of American art may be carried out?

Mr. President, we do more to belittle and degrade what we all look forward to, the growth and uplifting of the people of this country, by shutting others from that inspection and consideration of these works of beauty than we do for the encouragement of American art. The Senator says he wants everything American. He wants to start, he says, with a stolen picture, and he wants to go on until he comes to an American finis. I suggest if these are his ideas of art he should confine himself, with his books, his printing, his pictures, to the work of the State which he so ably represents.

When the Copyright Bill again came before the Senate it was on the report made by the conference committee of the two Houses on the 3d of March. The representatives of the Senate had been compelled to yield a provision originally suggested by Senator Sherman, of Ohio, regulating the introduction of foreign prints containing matter copyrighted in the United States, and the Ohio Senator was antagonizing the report. Mr. Wolcott was not in sympathy with his view, and, voicing his dissent, expressed some general opinions worth preserving. He said in part:

Mr. President, what took place in conference is a matter of very small consequence to the rest of the Senate, and what authors or publishers are waiting outside in the lobbies to impress their view upon Senators is likewise a matter of very small importance. What we want at this time, I think, is to find what is best for the American people.

The Senator from Ohio, in support of the amendment which has assumed his name, speaks of the rights which the American people have enjoyed. Those rights are first assumed in speech. If we may say to our citizens, "We throw around you the protection of our flag and our Republic, and if we think that a good thing and you think it, we want it and it belongs to the country," that is all right. If we say to a foreigner, "If you bring or send your thought over here and we get hold of it, we have a flag big enough, a Naval Committee, an Appropriations Committee, which seems all-important in these days, and forts big enough to protect ourselves in keeping it; we will take it," that is all right.

But this bill does not proceed upon that theory. It proceeds upon the theory that, if a man thinks anything and he keeps it in his head, then it is his; that, if he sees fit to divulge it, it is his as long as he may control the channel through which his thought passes; and, whether it costs us much or costs us little, we are to give that man as an encouragement to high living and good thinking the benefit of whatever good thing he thinks or says. It costs the people more; there is no doubt about that. If every man who can buy a font of type and belongs to a labor organization can come in here and get a bill passed through under the terms of which he may gobble up and grab whatever a man thinks of, it is going to be very cheap thought.

That is not the theory upon which this bill goes. It goes upon the theory that we want to encourage the highest and the best thought and the expression of it. That is what this country wants. It desires to give the man the highest reward that the appreciation of his fellow-citizens can bestow upon him. That is what this bill is. It costs him more. If a man in England thinks of something and he comes over here, he is protected. He is a "bloody Englishman"; he is not entitled to a blessed thing under our flag; and yet the theory of this bill is that, no matter what flag he sails under or what country he lives in, if he thinks a good thing and brings it over here and anybody wants it, we are willing to pay for it, and we are willing to buy it, and he may sell it at his own price, because it is his own property, the property of his own soul, and his heart, and his own tongue.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I think that we should stand by copyrights and not mingle our bill with any of the pettifogging of a typographical or lithographical union; but let us pass our bill upon the theory that a man who does a decent thing may sell it at his own price in a free Republic, which wants to encourage the highest and the best thoughts that any man may be capable of.

Here Senator Gray, of Delaware, interrupted with a question which elicited Mr. Wolcott's view on another point of interest. Mr. Gray's inquiry ran:

Recognizing the force of what he has said, and being as ardently in favor of protecting a man who thinks a good thought in controlling the channels through which it is expressed, why is not the Senator from Colorado willing that when the Englishman has thought his good thought, and comes to this country and copyrighted it, he should also have the liberty of sending over here a copy of the book he had copyrighted abroad that is equally his and equally becomes the channel through which he expresses his thought?

The Colorado Senator's reply was briefer than the question and was as follows:

"Simply because you live under your flag and your own Government, are you willing to pirate English royalty? Are you willing to take what you want of English thought

and not pay for it? If a man sends over here the product of his brain, he has a right to demand his price for it. You have no right to take it away from him."

As a member of the Senate Committee on Library Mr. Wolcott followed closely the construction of the Congressional Library building, the magnificent structure which stands east of the Capitol. He made frequent remarks on the subject, but no occasion arose which called for a sustained speech.

An admirer of real art, he found much in the statuary and monuments in and around Washington to evoke his criticism, and this criticism found public expression in 1896 in connection with the movement by Congress in conjunction with the Society of the Army of the Tennessee to erect an equestrian statue as a monument to the memory of General William T. Sherman. Not only did he condemn the public art of the nation's capital, but he especially censured the method of proceeding in the selection of a model for the Sherman statue.

Toward the erection of the statue, then in contemplation and since completed, the Society had contributed $16,000 and Congress $80,000. The detail of the selection of designs and the performance of the work was placed entirely in the hands of the Society, and in calling for bids the organization gave assurance that the artistic character of the designs would be passed upon by a committee of artists from the National Sculpture Society. This committee was composed of Augustin St. Gaudens, J. Q. H. Ward, and Daniel C. French, all eminent sculptors of New York. Twenty-six designs were submitted, but these distinguished artists failing to find any of them satisfactory, four of the artists were asked to present new and larger models, with the implied understanding that the selection should be made from the four thus favored. This list did not include the design of Carl Rhol-Smith, of Chicago, whose original model had been placed by the Committee of Artists tenth in the list in point of merit. He was, however, lifted out of that grade by the Committee of the Army of the Tennessee and

his model placed among the four from which choice must be made, the productions of P. W. Bartley, C. H. Niehaus, and Marsey Rhind being the other three. When the time came to choose, the selection was made by the Society. The advice of the artists constituting the advisory committee was not further sought, and, moreover, their original verdict was called into question by awarding the contract to Rhol-Smith, whose model they had pronounced unworthy of consideration.

This proceeding Mr. Wolcott regarded as both unfair and unfortunate. In the first place, he held that the Army Society and the Government were under obligations to the artists to permit their committee to make the selection, and, in the second, he believed that, if their advice was followed, the city would be much more certain to obtain in the proposed monument an ornament and not a monstrosity. He therefore presented a resolution directing the Committee on Library to investigate the award. The resolution was defeated, but not until the Colorado Senator had been heard from in a most zealous appeal.

He contended that the artists had presented their models on the assurance that they would be passed upon by men of their own craft.

They furnished these models as requested [he said] and then the president of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee and the commission appointed by Congress met, and without consultation and advice, without accepting suggestions from these artists, but, on the other hand, utterly ignoring the committee, which they themselves had summoned to pass upon this question, they awarded the contract, not to one of the four whose names had been reported by this committee from the Sculptors' Society, but to this artist No. 10, whom they had boosted up to be one of the four. The artists, who had been led to send their models upon the assurance that they would be passed upon by men who were acquainted with canons of art, were quick to send their models again that they might apparently, but, as it turned out, not really, compete. The suggestions and advice which had been asked for by the Society of the Army of the Tennessee were ignored and repudiated, and

the Society selected a man who had been rejected by these sculptors.

After specifying that he intended to make no suggestion of any personal misconduct, he entered upon a plea for better art in Washington, saying of that in existence:

It is true, Mr. President, that this city contains many monuments and statues and bronzes that are a disgrace to this end of the nineteenth century. It is true that again and again our streets and our public parks are degraded by statues which have no place there, which are the work of artists who have been appointed through favoritism or friendship.

It is true that, if you yield in one instance to the wishes of those who knew the person to whom the monument is to be erected, but who do not pretend to knowledge of art, in almost every statue to be erected you ignore the canons of a noble art, and leave the choice to the uneducated taste of those who knew in his lifetime the person for whom the statue is to be erected. Personal likeness to the original is but one feature. Many statues make no pretence to a personal likeness, for that is not called for or expected. That is the least of the difficulties in the way of a genuine artist, but the thought, the conception, the plan of the monument, which is to symbolize truth in its highest manifestations, is reached by those who study art for a lifetime: and they can teach us who know nothing about it, to like and enjoy that which, without such an education, we would not appreciate or enjoy.

It is true, Mr. President that the last things that survive of a race are its monuments and its statuary; and if at the end of this nineteenth century we are to leave for the centuries that are to come after us only such horrid examples of art as largely degrade our public parks the estimate which posterity will make of this century will be poor indeed.

Mr. President, we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to art, we owe it to truth, if we invite people who have knowledge upon these subjects to tell us what we shall do, that we shall follow their suggestions. We owe that to ourselves; and to these artists, who never would have competed if they had not supposed that competent judges were to be selected, we owe something.

Asserting that there was a grave legal question involved

in failing to follow the advice of the artist committee after such a course had been promised, he asserted:

> Every instinct of justice, not only to these artists, not only to the city of Washington, which ought to have for so noble and so splendid a general the highest embodiment of art, but every instinct of honor requires, and the interests of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee require, that we should investigate this question, and that we should determine whether or not this selection was made fairly and straightforwardly and legally and in good faith before we commit ourselves finally to the erection of this statue.
>
> Not only that, Mr. President [he continued], but we owe it to common justice that this monument shall stand not alone a monument to the courage, the bravery, and the patriotism of General Sherman, but we owe it to ourselves that it shall not as well stand, as it will stand, if we do not investigate and ascertain the facts respecting this award, as a monument of injustice, of unfairness, and of bad faith.
>
> I respect the wishes and desires of old soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee as deeply as can any man. I feel that they themselves must naturally believe that they know the lineaments of the general they followed to victory. I have no doubt that the award made by these officials of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee was made in the interest of what they believed a plan for the best preservation of the memory of General Sherman for all coming time. But I do believe, Mr. President, that we owe it to art and to ourselves that we shall have the best artistic embodiment in this monument; that we owe it to ourselves and to these artists that we do not invite them to contribute under false representations, and that, if we tell them their work shall be passed upon by their brother artists, we shall not rob them of that right which we have promised them.

In the course of a controversy which followed, Senator Allison, of Iowa, intimated that St. Gaudens should not sit as a member of the artist commission, because, as had been charged in the newspapers, he had become incensed at the successful artist who had used his [St. Gaudens's] likeness of General Sherman in making his model. Replying, Mr. Wolcott said:

To me personally the matter is of but slight importance. I was led into its investigation by some inspection of the models and by some information as to the peculiar circumstances which surrounded the award. The character of the three gentlemen, Messrs. St. Gaudens, Ward, and French, who were called upon to pass upon the models is above reproach. No suggestion that the Senator from Iowa can make as to the character of St. Gaudens will be believed by anybody who knows him.

Mr. Allison having asserted that he had made no reflection upon St. Gaudens's character, Mr. Wolcott replied:

I understood the Senator from Iowa to adopt a newspaper statement published in a paper in New York and copied into a Washington paper this morning, in which St. Gaudens is alleged to have been governed by malevolent motives, and to be a personal enemy of the sculptor who was awarded the contract. The high character and attainments of St. Gaudens cannot be smirched. He stands to-day one of the leading sculptors in the world, one of the best minds and most honorable men who have ever graced art in this or any other country.

Again he took up the merits of the issue, saying:

It is easy enough to say that this was an appropriation by the Army of the Tennessee, but it was not. The Army of the Tennessee raised $16,000 for the statue. The Congress of the United States appropriated $50,000 for a foundation and the pedestal, and then afterward, when the Army of the Tennessee could not raise money enough to build the statue, the Congress appropriated as follows:

For the completion of the equestrian statue of General William Tecumseh Sherman, $30,000: *Provided*, That the statue shall not be located upon the Capitol grounds.

There, Mr. President, is $30,000 appropriated by Congress for the statue itself as against $16,000 appropriated by the Army of the Tennessee. After this appropriation was made, the Fine Arts Federation of New York, which is an association composed of the National Academy of Design, the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, the Architectural League of New York, the Society of American Artists, the American Fine Arts Society, the Municipal Art Society of New York, the National Sculpture Society, the Society of Beaux

Arts Architects, the Mural Painters, and the American Water Color Society, through its president, Russell Sturgis, became interested in the matter, and a petition was sent to Congress, signed, among others, by Russell Sturgis, president; by Mr. Ward, by Mr. C. T. Cook, by Farnham, by Kunz, by Daniel C. French, by Thomas B. Clarke, by St. Gaudens, by Olin S. Warner, protesting against this action.

I realize that what I have said will have little weight in the determination of this matter, but I do desire to enter my earnest protest against this method of disfigurement of the city of Washington, and to say to the Senate that it will be many years before these artists, whom the Senator from Texas [Mr. Mills] says have arrogated to themselves some knowledge of art which other people do not possess, will again interfere with the proposed action of Congress. They were invited here to pass upon this question. They met and then passed upon it, disinterestedly and intelligently and fairly, and their recommendation was brushed aside as if it had been a feather. . . .

It is said, I do not know how truly, that the successful artist includes upon his panel the pictures of the six judges who passed upon the fitness of this statue; the others do not. I know that the action of this body of artists was intelligently and disinterestedly given, and under the terms of the contract should have weight.

Regardless of the appeal of the Colorado Senator the resolution of inquiry was voted down and Rhol-Smith's statue was erected.

OTHER LEGISLATION

MINING IN ALASKA

WHILE there was no question with which Senator Wolcott was more familiar than with mining, he found but little occasion to display his knowledge on that subject while in the Senate. This circumstance was due largely to the fact that, the mining laws being established, Congress is called upon only occasionally to legislate in the interest of the mines.

The only speech made by Mr. Wolcott on the subject while in the Senate was based on a measure looking to the removal of restrictions on mining under the sea at Cape Nome Harbor, Alaska. The restrictions were not intended to apply to mining, and especially not under such conditions, but were for the protection of navigation. Consequently, notwithstanding he was without technical authority to do so, the Secretary of War had issued orders permitting mining in the sea sands until Congress could act.

The provision before the Senate was intended to give legal authority for the exploration for the precious metals in all land and shoal water within the jurisdiction of the United States below mean high tide on the shores and in the bays and inlets of Bering Sea. Speaking in support of the provision, March 27, 1900, Mr. Wolcott said:

> In the waters of Cape Nome, below the low-water mark, where developments have shown that the soil is rich and the sands are gold-bearing, they have to be reached by boats and dredges, for, as a matter of fact, there is no navigation there; there is no channel to help or to injure. Those sands are far

away from the possibilities of helping the channel by excavation or injuring navigation by the presence of the works; but when prospectors for gold reached those waters they found the presence of a statute upon our books which never was intended to apply to such a case as this, for in the whole history of the world there never was a time when the rich alluvial sands under the ocean bore gold until in this case.

But this statute existed. It was a form of prohibition along our coast forbidding anybody to excavate or dredge except under the authority of the Secretary of War. It was a fiction so far as its applicability to these soils went; but it was an existing statute forbidding work. Whereupon the Secretary of War issued these permits, Congress having acted.

Responding to an objection from Senator Stewart of Nevada, he said:

Mr. President, may I remind the Senator from Nevada that we have by law again and again declared that the mineral lands of the United States are open to entry, prospecting, and occupation by citizens of the United States or those who have declared their intention to become such; and does not the Senator from Nevada know that the lust for gold stops at nothing? Whenever there are valuable metals to be found—the Arctic region is not too far north, nor the Torrid region too hot for men to search for them—and to say to such men, to these hardy prospectors, "Until Congress acts you shall not get at these shifting sands under the water," would have been, first, to deny to the people their rights, and, second, would have been a useless effort to prevent those hardy prospectors from doing what they would be sure to attempt. Does not the Senator think that what the Secretary of War did was the wisest possible thing—to issue permits, and not leave those people in the technical position of violating the law?

The proposition was adopted.

NICARAGUA CANAL

Mr. Wolcott was not enamored of the proposition to build an isthmian canal through Nicaragua and, while he said very little on the subject, his influence was thrown against that scheme, which, as the world knows, gave place

to the Panama Canal project, after itself monopolizing public attention for many years. The measure was kept before the Senate by Senator Morgan, of Alabama, during much of the Colorado Senator's term of service. When the bill was under consideration by the Fifty-third Congress, Mr. Wolcott, on the 25th of January, 1895, offered an amendment providing that all sums expended in the purchase of material and supplies in and about the construction of the canal should be expended for American goods.

Speaking briefly in support of his amendment, he said:

The same amount of money which we propose to expend among these alien people, where we do not own a foot of soil, would, if expended in our Western country, yield in commerce, in transportation, and add to the wealth of our people, five times more annually than the most favorable statistics which have been furnished show will result from the proposed investment in Nicaragua. It seems to me that, if we can, we should save some little out of the wreck of this extravagant policy upon which we are entering, and that it would be wise for us to secure the purchase of at least some of the materials and supplies in this country, in order that the whole of the vast amount we are to appropriate will not go to the people of foreign nations.

In reply to a question from Mr. Morgan, Senator Wolcott said:

I will state to the Senator from Alabama that a year or two years ago I carefully examined the partial and incomplete returns which all our resolutions could bring from the Nicaragua Canal Company and the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company, and I found then (I have not refreshed my recollection since), as I think the Senator from Alabama will find upon investigation, that all the dredging-boats and steamers were purchased in Great Britain and none in this country. That is my recollection. In any event, whether they were or not, I do not suppose the Senator from Alabama would object now to a provision that we should spend our money in our own country.

The following colloquy between the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Alabama took place:

MR. MORGAN. I object to nothing at all that is reason-

able. If the Senator wants to hamper the canal company, of course he has the opportunity to do so by offering amendments. It seems to me the amendment is intended merely to hamper and restrict the company.

MR. WOLCOTT. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Alabama. I am seeking to do nothing by the amendment except to act in good faith.

MR. MORGAN. I wish to state to the Senator from Colorado that according to my information, and I have examined the subject very carefully, not one dollar of material has ever been bought in Great Britain; nor has any ship or boat, or anything of the kind. As to the dredges to which the Senator refers, there were two dredges belonging to the Panama Canal. They had been used there, and were bought from Americans who were using them after the Panama Company went down.

MR. WOLCOTT. The Nicaragua Canal Company had some dredges made in England. I have not looked at the reports for two years, but I remember distinctly that they were having some dredging-boats built on the Clyde or somewhere else in Great Britain. I do not seek to hamper the enterprise. Is there any objection on the part of anybody to having the money expended in our own country? We have been claiming that our country could build ships in competition with anybody; that our machinists were the best in the world; that our forges could turn out better work than any in the world. Our laborers should have the benefit of the expenditure of this money. I do not see how there can be objection on the part of any patriotic citizen to spending part of the money in our own country. I beg to state to the Senator from Alabama that there is not the slightest desire on my part to hamper or impede the bill. I think it is so bad that I hesitated to introduce the amendment because it would make it better.

MR. MORGAN. I suppose the Senator does not intend to vote for the bill no matter in what shape it may be put.

MR. WOLCOTT. The Senator from Alabama is entitled to any supposition he may indulge in.

Mr. Wolcott's amendment was accepted by the committee and agreed to by the Senate.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

The subject of immigration appealed to Mr. Wolcott, as did all practical questions coming before Congress. He was especially attentive to the Immigration Bill which became a law during the Fifty-fourth Congress and which imposed an educational qualification for the admission of immigrants.

The measure did not commend itself to him as in all respects desirable, because he was not slow to see that ability to read and write did not constitute the only element of good citizenship. When effort was made to amend the bill by practically requiring immigrants to use American vessels in finding their way into the United States, he openly rebelled. The provision regarding shipping was an amendment suggested December 17, 1896, by Senator Elkins of West Virginia, and required that, "in addition to the restrictions now provided by law, there shall be collected a head tax of $10 on all immigrants coming into the United States in vessels not of the United States."

Inasmuch as the "American" line, from New York to Southampton, was the only American line operating on the Atlantic, Mr. Wolcott found in the amendment a device to promote the interests of the owners of that line, and he expressed his conviction and his opposition with his customary frankness. Declaring that the provision was "not in the slightest degree restrictive of immigration or intended in the slightest degree to affect favorably the immigration of this country," he said:

> The open purpose of the amendment is to further subsidize certain steamship lines. We have had a good deal of experience in the Senate with these American lines of steamers. We pay to-day $14,400 for every trip the ships make from New York to Southampton. We pay them $4 for every sea mile they travel as a bonus for carrying the American flag upon a line which has two ships, and two ships only, which were built in this country. Not only that, Mr. President, but when the bill allowed them $4 a mile, they contended successfully that a mile meant a land mile and not a sea mile, and so a few thousand dollars a trip were added to that subsidy. In the last half

of the last session of Congress, we passed a law which provided that nobody could ship an express package of a small size, of certain dimensions, unless he shipped it by an American line of steamers.

That much we are doing for the line, and now we are asked to legislate as to the steamers which, so far as the Atlantic trade is concerned, sail practically only to Southampton, that every immigrant must come by that line or pay a penalty of $10. It will defeat its purpose, Mr. President. The effect of it must be of course that the other lines will have to carry their passengers for $10 less than an American line will carry theirs for, and the American line will receive the benefit of $10 upon each passenger.

If that were the only effect we could bear it with equanimity. But it is going to have a more far-reaching effect. It means that the St. Lawrence River will be filled with steamers bringing immigrants to the United States. It means on the other side of the continent that the lines of the Canadian Pacific will bring the immigrants and land them at Vancouver. Wherever an immigrant comes by land to this country he is exempted from the provision of the law.

Then, further, look at the hardship that is imposed upon the immigrant. Among the best immigrants we get are the few we get from France, the immigrants from Norway and elsewhere. These people have got to come to Southampton to take their steamer, and they have got to pay that additional expense. That they must pay, or forfeit the sum of $10, which neither restricts immigration nor affects it in any way except to impose an additional and unjust burden and hardship upon the immigrants to this country, whom we welcome under the conditions prescribed in the pending bill.

It should be added that Senator Elkins's provision was in the line of his general effort to promote American shipping. He explained that he was unacquainted with the officers of the American line and said that he had had no consultation with them before offering his amendment.

The provision was laid on the table, and the bill was passed and became a law.

EXCESSIVE PRINTING

Speaking March 2, 1893, of the vast amount of unneces-

sary printing at the Government Printing Office and seeking by amendment to remedy the evil, Mr. Wolcott said:

Mr. President, it must be patent to every member of this body that vast amounts, tons, of printing come to this body every year, printing which does nobody any good, which does not further the public business, which does not add to our knowledge of the public affairs, and which serves no useful purpose whatever.

The deficiency item for the Senate printing alone in this bill is $470,000. Much of this is unnecessary; much of it seems to be important when called for, but finally has no value; much of it the Senate has practically no control over, for some member of this body or of the other introduces a resolution calling for some information from a Department, which is passed, and when the response is made it is printed as a matter of course.

If this printing were charged to the Department which sends the report it would amount to the same thing in the end, for the appropriation comes from the Government; but it would put the Departments upon their guard as to the overabundance of testimony with which they flood the Senate. Very often, in response to resolutions passed by both Houses of Congress, the Departments give us such a bulk of information that no man within the reasonable hours of a working legislative day or a legislative week can pick out the information which he desires and for which the resolution was introduced. For that reason, if this amendment does not reach the evil, I trust that in some way it may be corrected.

TARIFF

Three tariff bills were passed by Congress while Senator Wolcott was in office. The first of these was the McKinley Law of 1890, the second the Wilson-Gorman Law, a Democratic measure, of 1894, and the third, the Dingley Law of 1897. The tariff was therefore before Congress a great deal of the time. Mr. Wolcott did not, however, concern himself greatly about tariff duties. Representing a far inland State, where the manufacturing interests were meagre, his inclination naturally would have been against high duties. He was, however, of New England birth and staunchly Republican, and he accepted the protective tariff

principle without question, and unhesitatingly stood with his party on all tariff questions. He gave intelligent attention to details, but was not sufficiently aroused over any of the points at issue to speak much upon them. His record on the tariff in the Senate is therefore confined largely to pertinent questions, to brief comment here and there, and to votes.

While a protective tariff advocate on principle and a consistent advocate of tariff legislation, Mr. Wolcott understood perfectly well the superior advantages derived by the Eastern States from high duties, and he did not hesitate to taunt the people of that section with selfishness in pressing for these, when by so doing he could score a point for free silver. An illustration is found in a silver speech in the Senate made August 31, 1893, when, in response to a plea that the repeal of the Sherman purchasing law would be the most effective means of insuring free coinage, he said:

> The argument is as if one should say, "Protection is wise, and must be the bulwark of our prosperity. It is threatened year after year by the advocates of free trade. There is one way to settle the agitation finally and forever. Submit to absolute free trade. A few years will show the folly of it. The country will then return to protection, and you will not be again disturbed." I picture the eagerness with which New England would grasp the suggestion, the warm-hearted welcome she would extend to the friends who thus advised her.
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> Since I have referred to the subject of protection another word may well be said. There is no analogy between free coinage and protection. They must rest on essentially different principles, are based on separate foundations. Yet if this great country, with its enormous area and wealth and population and resources, is to change its monetary policy to follow and to be in accord with that of Great Britain, it alters the whole basis of our relations with foreign countries.
>
> I speak with hesitancy and reluctance; but as the subject now presents itself, if this bill shall pass, and silver be, as it must be, absolutely dethroned and degraded, I know of no reason why any Senator who believes in free coinage should ever cast another vote in favor of protection in any form.

This was in the interest of silver rather than against the tariff. In his campaigns in Colorado and elsewhere he

stood consistently for the protective principle, and his speeches abound in strong argument in that behalf.

OPTIONS AND FUTURES

Senator Wolcott was among the few men who have occupied seats in the Senate who had the courage to speak for Wall Street and its operators when convinced that they were in the right. Not averse himself to taking the chances when a promising stock speculation was presented, he naturally was not inclined to consign to perdition all who were similarly disposed. Moreover, he was not the man to advocate a cause simply because of its popularity, and he possessed the rarer virtue of being willing to champion an unpopular view when he believed it correct.

When, therefore, the Senate found itself considering a bill providing for the taxation of dealers in options and futures with a view to driving them out of business, he unhesitatingly took his place in the opposition. The bill came up for consideration during the Fifty-second Congress, and Mr. Wolcott's address on the subject was made January 31, 1893.

The election of the previous November had resulted in the choice as President of Mr. Cleveland over Mr. Harrison. Mr. Wolcott was not especially enamored of the Democratic candidate, but he thought even less of the Republican aspirant, and he took advantage of this opportunity to freely speak his mind regarding the campaign. His theme was the contention that anti-option had been an issue in the campaign. His remarks on that point will be found printed elsewhere in this volume. Speaking on the merits of the bill, he said in part:

> Since this bill has been pending I have received a telegram from the National Grange of Colorado, a body of excellent people, urging me to vote in favor of the measure. They have been flooded with literature from the millers and the elevator men, and they see but one side of the question. It is from a mistaken point of view that they ask me to vote in favor of the measure.
>
> If constitutional legislation could be had in favor of maintaining fair prices, I should be inclined, perhaps, to vote in

favor of it, although I believe these subjects may be far better left to natural laws; but I believe, if the proposed bill shall pass and shall be declared constitutional, that it will materially lower existing prices, and that the clamor for its repeal will be far louder than the demand for its passage.

I believe also that half of the Senators on this floor who will vote in favor of this measure are at heart opposed to it, and will vote for it only because they are influenced by the demand of the Grangers at home, who, not knowing the real situation, ask for the passage of the bill.

The real demand for this bill comes from the association of millers and from the owners of elevators, who, if they can exclude other bidders, may buy at their own terms in the months when they need grain; and if this inequitable and oppressive measure shall become the law of the land, they will be the masters of the situation.

The men who are represented on the floors of our great exchanges are among the best citizens of the land; they are alert to the production and demand the world over; they weigh the chances of war in Europe, the effect of the price of silver in determining the value of the Indian crop, the probable stability of railway rates, and the countless other questions which determine prices. There are hundreds of men in the United States to-day who can tell you even more closely than our well-equipped Agricultural Bureau the exact visible supply of the cereals, the number of acres in cultivation all over the world, and the probable local range of price; and these questions determine prices.

For a week or a day some corner may prevail, but the great law of supply and demand is the real essence—the controller of values. And all this energy and foresight and enterprise, which characterize our American merchants and traders, are tributes to our national ability, and should be encouraged and not checked.

You cannot legislate, Mr. President, against the exercise of ability, industry, and energy in commercial transactions, and it would be a sorry day for those who look to the growth and development of our race if you could. When you level by legislation you level down, never up.

I trust, if this measure shall pass the Houses of Congress, that some way will be found to defeat its execution, for it is a lie upon its face, it is far more immoral than the practices it aims at, and it is unjust, oppressive, and un-American.

The bill did not become a law.

LOTTERY INVESTIGATIONS

If any further illustration that the Colorado Senator was not afraid to speak his mind on legislation as against popular prejudice were needed, it is found in his opposition to a resolution introduced by Senator Call of Florida during the third session of the Fifty-third Congress. The resolution provided for the appointment of a special Senate Committee to investigate the question whether the Honduras lottery was doing business in the United States. Speaking to the resolution, February 14, 1895, he said:

It would be just as competent and just as wise, it seems to me, for Congress to appoint a special committee to determine whether or not stealing is still going on in violation of law, or for Congress to investigate whether or not the crime of arson is being committed in the Western States, or whether or not any other evil thing is being done. If somebody can show me what we are to gain by passing a resolution like this, I shall be very glad to vote for it. I cannot understand what the Senator from Florida can hope to gain by the passage of a resolution which shall involve such great expense to the people of this country,—for this means the drawing out of the contingent fund of from $10,000 to $15,000 with which to make the investigation.

MR. ALDRICH. As I understand the resolution, no money can be expended under it.

MR. WOLCOTT. Oh, Mr. President, we all know that at the close of a session of Congress a resolution is slid through giving every one of these committees the right to sit during the recess and the first man who in this race can reach the Secretary of the Senate and file his lien on the contingent fund is the man whose committee does the business; and it is nothing but a struggle from the last hour of the session to see what committee can get public money to expend on these investigations, ninety per cent. of which are intended to be useless. If Senators want to go West, it is to investigate Alaska or the Indians; if they want to make some other trip, it is to investigate some other matter.

This resolution is to investigate whether or not the laws are being disobeyed, when there are laws upon the statute book defining the penalty for the commission of the offence.

If we were to gain anything by the investigation, I stand ready to vote for it; but if it be merely that we are not to put ourselves upon record against this resolution for fear that we may be charged with favoring lotteries—if there is some false sentimentality to be brought in to influence our votes, that is another thing.

But, Mr. President, it is idle and it is wicked, if we are trying to save the public money, that we should embark on a wild-goose investigation, which is supposed to be followed by an appropriation of several thousand dollars, to investigate by a solemn committee of Senators that which the ordinary postal agents of the Department at $150 a month are better able to investigate than any committee of this body.

When a few days later the same resolution again came up, Mr. Wolcott said:

To-day upon our statute books there are laws which permit more espionage than was ever permitted under the old days of the French monarchy. The Post-Office Department may do everything except open private correspondence, and the last law would almost justify them in that. They can prevent, as they do, the selling of lottery tickets. They make it a felony if some servant girl in Washington should buy a lottery ticket, and mail the letter to Honduras or to New Orleans. She may be indicted in New Orleans and taken there and punished for a felony.

Now, we are asked, in spite of all these laws, to investigate as to whether railroads engaged in interstate commerce have carried lottery tickets as a trade. It is the shadow of the old resolution of the Senator from Florida, which he had here two or three weeks ago, and which was so decisively defeated by the Senate. We have laws enough to punish lotteries.

Mr. President, it is time that somebody should not be afraid to speak out and vote against this sort of useless expenditure. The threat that, because a man does not believe in spending public money, he shall thereby be charged as a friend of lotteries, is too absurd and contemptible to meet serious denial. There is no Senator on this floor who is not opposed to the dealing in lottery tickets. We all know the infinite injury gambling and trading in lottery tickets have done all over the world. I do not know of anybody who ever won anything on any ticket when he bought it.

POLITICS IN THE SENATE

NOTWITHSTANDING his unflinching adherence to Republican principles, Mr. Wolcott did not permit partisanship to materially affect his judgment of either men or measures. He was not hide-bound in this respect, and an investigation of his record will reveal the fact that he gave his support to very few measures for the mere reason that they bore the impress of the Republican party. As with measures, so with men. From his seat in the Senate he discussed administrations with freedom, and his remarks were just as liable to be directed against a Republican as against a Democratic President. During his term as Senator, there were three occupants of the White House—Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley. He was extremely fond of McKinley, very antagonistic to Harrison, and inclined to admire Cleveland. But, much as he liked Major McKinley, he did not regard with favor his Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Lyman J. Gage; and while he had a personal regard for Mr. Cleveland and excused many acts of his subordinates, he also found many subjects for censure under that gentleman's Administration.

Apparently there was nothing about General Harrison or his Administration that suited Mr. Wolcott, and while he gave him support in both of his contests for the Presidency, he spoke his mind freely against him while he held the office. The antagonism of the Indiana President to silver coinage was the chief cause of the dislike, but there were also disagreements over the distribution of the Colorado patronage, and even beyond that there was such a wide difference between the temperaments of the two men

that it would have been difficult for them to be friends under any circumstances.

In his first speech in the Senate, the Colorado Senator dealt with Mr. Harrison's attitude toward silver, and he was so outspoken on that occasion as to attract general attention to himself. Unquestionably, too, the President's urgent advocacy, the "Force" or Federal Election Bill was not without its influence upon Mr. Wolcott's action in assisting in sidetracking that measure. While he probably would have opposed the measure on principle, his activities were more keenly aroused in opposition by the fact that the President hoped to benefit by the passage of the bill. It is not, however, so much the purpose here to analyze Mr. Wolcott's view of politics or his attitude toward politicians while in the Senate as to permit him to outline his own position, and for that purpose brief extracts will be made from various of his speeches.

After referring in his speech of 1890 to the opposition of President Cleveland to silver, Mr. Wolcott turned his attention to his successful rival, General Harrison, saying in part:

> The day-star of hope did not rise for us until the National conventions of 1888. Then the Republican conventions declared for silver. It seems droll now to recall the enthusiasm created in the far West in the last campaign. The Republican candidate for the Presidency had been in public life, but his utterances had not been many or particularly important. The motto, in part assumed by Junius, could have been applied to him: *"Stat magni nominis umbra."* But we hunted up the *Congressional Record,* and, being ardent and sanguine and our hearts being illumined with hope, many of us found here and there a phrase or a sentence which indicated a friendly feeling for silver. And we labored among the farmers in the valleys and on the plains, and with the toilers in the mining camps in the mountain gulches and cañons, with these as texts. We held up Mr. Cleveland to contumely and scorn in withering language that would make him feel very badly if he ever heard of it, and we extolled our candidate in glowing terms and assured our friends that upon his election the remonetization of silver would be speedily accomplished, and that meanwhile his

Secretary of the Treasury, whoever he might be, would certainly commence coining $4,000,000 a month.

If I remember aright, we made some other predictions as to the treatment and recognition the great Northwest would receive when he became President which have not exactly materialized; but I am confining myself to the silver question. We gave handsome majorities for the Republican ticket; our hopes were high; our confidence supreme. The awakening all along the line has been somewhat rude. If the Windom recommendation, approved by the President, could have been announced before the election, it is my humble opinion that not a single State west of the Missouri River would have given a Republican majority. Not because the large majority of the citizens of those States were not and are not and will not always be true and stanch and earnest Republicans, loving the traditions of the party and true to its principles, but because they would overwhelmingly rebuke a party that selected as its standard-bearer one unmindful of the interests of the country and disregardful of the wishes of the majority of its members. An open foe is to be preferred to a secret enemy; but who can foretell the future or gather figs of thistles?

January 31, 1893, two months after the election of President Cleveland at the expense of Mr. Harrison, the Colorado Senator reviewed the campaign under the guise of opposition to a bill prohibiting dealing in "options" and "futures" in the stock market. He said:

We have just passed through a Presidential contest, and I am safe in asserting that nowhere was anti-option the issue.

The campaign, I admit, was not a heated campaign. There was nothing in the personnel of either of the candidates to generate warmth or heat or friction except among the members of the same political party; but I am justified in stating that anti-option was nowhere the issue. What the issue was is a question which is not entirely without interest, and one upon which we may not be altogether agreed. Take the State of Massachusetts, that grand Commonwealth, where individuals as individuals count for so little, and enlightened self-interest counts for so much. There and there alone, in my opinion, was the tariff—the McKinley Bill—the issue of the day, and there the Republican party showed a great growth and advance and increased the number of its votes.

In New York, and from New York west to the Mississippi River, the issue was the indifference to the present Executive, and that determined the day. It was a race of indifference, and on that issue the Republican party won. We had that which had been unheard of in the history of the great growth in our population; we found the vote of one party falling off and less than it had been four years ago. As it was in New York so it was in Indiana, where the Republican party fell off more than 7000 from 1888.

Ungrateful Indiana, Mr. President, when the records of the Secretary of the Senate will show that we confirmed two appointments from Indiana as against one from any other State with anything like its population! The same reason existed for the defeat in New York as in Indiana.

All over the country, Mr. President, this last election has presented the most extraordinary spectacle, and in the great States of Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, and others the total vote fell off, showing the cause of defeat—States which heretofore cast large Republican majorities.

In the States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine the total vote fell off. The census showed a growth in the great State of Vermont, but the total vote of the State fell off something more than 7000, and the vote was less than it had been any year since 1872—less even than it was in the year 1868.

In the South the spook of negro domination cemented and held solid that great section as against the economic issues in which the people, irrespective of party, believe.

In Illinois and Wisconsin local school questions, added to indifference to the Executive, brought about the result.

In the far West the result was directly brought about by the attitude of the Administration on silver and by the ignorance and indifference to Western interests which have characterized the Administration for the past four years.

It may be that in Minnesota anti-option was the issue. I read occasionally its newspapers, but I did not see it declared the issue. They must have had some issue in Minnesota, inasmuch as they nominated on the Republican ticket for governor a gentleman who, while in Congress as a Republican, had voted in favor of the Mills Bill; but if anti-option was the issue in Minnesota it was confined to that State only. During the campaign—I know I am not alone in my experience—I never heard the subject mentioned.

In a speech made in the Senate on March 1, 1893, four

days before the expiration of President Harrison's incumbency, and the beginning of President Cleveland's second term, Mr. Wolcott criticised Senator Sherman for his position on the silver question, because, as he complained, it did not fairly represent the general attitude of the Republican party on that subject. The following extract is a fair specimen of his reasoning on that occasion:

For myself, Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that the Senator from Ohio found occasion to attempt to make a comparison of the political complexion of the vote two or three years ago on the subject of silver. It has no place in this discussion. It is pertinent to nothing. He made that statement extensively throughout the last campaign and he may congratulate himself upon the brilliant result with which the country listened to his statements. I desire to say to the Senator from Ohio that if he, as a lifelong earnest Republican, desires the perpetuity and success of the Republican party, and thinks he needs the votes of the States west of the Mississippi, he will cease to make such statements, which are not required by any motive of public policy, and which are not in accordance with the facts. We have been at work for months explaining away the statement of the Senator from Ohio; and I think he can afford at this time, with a party of another complexion coming into power, to give us a rest upon that statement.

The Colorado Senator was not nearly so harshly disposed toward Mr. Cleveland on account of his position on the silver question as he was toward Mr. Harrison on the same account, because, doubtless, the latter had made greater professions in the interest of the white metal and especially because he was of Mr. Wolcott's party. His feeling toward Mr. Cleveland and toward his Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, is well outlined in the following extract from a speech made in the Senate, August 31, 1893, while the Repeal Bill was under consideration:

Except as patronage may be used to affect the action of Congress, there is no criticism to be made respecting the policy of the Administration. There has been much comment upon the present attitude of the Secretary of the Treasury, because while

he represented a constituency in Congress he was an earnest advocate of the free coinage of silver. Such criticism is misplaced. He is a member of the President's household, and committed to carrying out the President's policy or to withdrawal from the Cabinet. The Secretary of the Treasury is not the only member of the Cabinet who must have radically changed the views of a lifetime in subordination to those of his chief.

Nor is the President of the United States open to stricture because of his message. He has been a consistent and persistent opponent of silver coinage since his first entrance into public life. There has never been a moment's doubt as to where he stood. The platform of his party, it is true, declared in favor of silver, but the platform meant no more to him than the wind that blows. We of the West knew perfectly well last fall that, whoever of the two candidates should be successful, we were powerless, and that our reliance must be placed in Congress, which had already on more than one occasion shown its willingness to rise above the personal wishes of the Executive.

The view expressed of these two gentlemen on the following October 9th was not so complimentary, but the fact must be borne in mind that by that time the strife had become intense and he was under the feeling engendered by immediate conflict. The Administration was pressing the fight. He was speaking then to a silver-coinage resolution introduced by himself, and he was dealing with the somewhat famous letter of President Cleveland to Governor Northen of Georgia apropos of the special session of Congress, called to consider the repeal of the Sherman silver-purchasing law:

> Within the last few days [he said] our worst apprehension as to the position of the Executive has been realized. The open letter, bearing date of September 27th, which the President addressed to the whole country, through Governor Northen of Georgia, is one of the most remarkable pronunciamentos of this generation. The conspicuous phrase it contains, having direct reference to this body, is beside the question under discussion, and I do not care to dwell upon it. The President of the United States while Congress is in extraordinary session, convoked by his proclamation, informs the country that he is "astonished by the opposition of the Senate" to the measure he has advo-

cated in his message. Such an utterance is intrusive and offensive, and is unfitting the relation which should exist between the executive and the legislative departments. It would not be tolerated in any civilized country of Europe, empire or kingdom, where a legislature or a parliament exists; and whatever may be our attitude respecting the great question which we are considering, it merits the protest and rebuke of men who value the perpetuity of republican institutions.

But I do not care to dwell upon this, nor upon the extraordinary activity of the Administration in its efforts to force individual views on Congress.

In my own State there is a large and respectable body of Democrats who are unrepresented in either Chamber of Congress; the wishes and requests they have made have been often repudiated and ignored, and the offices of that State are being largely parcelled out to Congressmen living thousands of miles from Colorado, who were never within the borders of the State, but whose vote in Congress coincided with the financial policy of the Administration.

Equally unimportant to the question under immediate consideration is the successful attempt of the Secretary of the Treasury to avoid the effect of existing law in the monthly purchases of silver. It is serious enough. But we are powerless. We know that the zeal of the pervert is proverbial, and that the Secretary of the Treasury is but the automatic register of the wishes of the Executive.

Discussing a resolution by Senator Hill of New York, providing for the payment of bonds in gold, Mr. Wolcott said:

Mr. President, it is a poor time to introduce a resolution calling upon this country to indorse a gold bond. The President's wanton attack upon the credit of the United States has been the most disastrous occurrence of this generation, the most significantly wanton and cruel and deliberate attack upon the credit of our country that could be inflicted upon it.

Again on the 11th of February, 1896, he took up the question of the misuse of patronage by the Chief Executive. He spoke in connection with the consideration of an amendment to an appropriation bill regarding the appointment of money-counters in the Treasury Department, which in-

volved the Civil Service law. President Cleveland was still in the White House, and Mr. Wolcott's remarks on the measure were in criticism of his Administration. He said:

Mr. President, the interest in this discussion is purely academic, and I trust that if I occupy a moment or two of time I will not be considered as unduly prolonging the debate upon the measure, which ought to be passed. But I cannot let go without protest some remarks made by our friends on the other side. The danger to this country and its interests is not through the Civil Service Commission. It is through the exercise by the Executive and his Cabinet of the power of removal and the power of appointment, which have been mercilessly exercised in the present Administration as never before in the history of the country.

In 1893 there never was a chance to prevent the passage of a free-coinage measure through the House of Representatives, which has now expired and about which I can now speak, had it not been for the power of patronage of the Administration, and especially the power of patronage as exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury. Colorado is to-day flooded with appointments, many of them unfit ones, one made by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the recommendation of Congressmen who ratted on the silver question. Again and again have men whose constituents sent them here to vote for silver gone back upon their pledges to their constituents and their promises, because the Administration has offered them the patronage which belonged to it, and which has debauched them, and which they in their turn have sought to use to debauch their constituents.

I will tell you, Mr. President, that whenever we reach a fair administration of the affairs of this country it will be after we have deprived the President of the United States and unscrupulous Cabinet officials of the power of degrading and dishonoring manhood by promising offices for a violation of the pledges which members of Congress have given to their constituents. For my part, I look forward with great pleasure to the time when the civil-service rules shall be so extended as that fitness, and fitness alone, shall govern the appointment of officers; and when public officers, such as we, shall not be compelled to hang about the doors of Cabinet officers or of the White House like servants to beg for our morsel of public patronage.

A general debate over the management of postal affairs,

which took place in the Senate on April 7, 1896, elicited a protest from Senator Wolcott against speech-making tours by Cabinet officials. He took the floor to reply to Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, and said:

I do not agree with him that the corner grocery is the corner-stone of the Republic. I believe, Mr. President, that we rest upon a higher and nobler basis. I believe that efficiency in the public service and a separation of politics from the administration of public affairs is a far better, wiser, and stronger foundation for free government than the hope of petty political patronage, which political leaders can parcel out on promises for votes and for efforts in different Presidential elections.

With much that the Senator from Maryland said I fully agree. The Senator's reference to the practice which has recently grown up, of Cabinet officers leaving their positions of duty and making speeches around the country on the tariff or the currency, was to my mind, a proper remark and a proper caution. With great wisdom, I think, the Senator from Maryland called the attention of the country to the abuses of their offices which are now going on among Cabinet officials of the Administration. One of them, the last I heard of him, was barnstorming down in Georgia in favor of gold monometallism and what he saw fit to call "honest money." I should myself have called attention to it earlier in the session had it not been for the fact that he is better away than here so far as his public duties and his performance of them are concerned.

MR. HILL. What is the point the Senator from Colorado is making? Does the Senator contend that a Cabinet officer has no right to make such speeches throughout the country to the neglect of his duties, or is the point that he has no right to make political speeches at all?

MR. WOLCOTT. I take it that he has no right to make them to the neglect of his duties.

MR. HILL. That is the point of the criticism?

MR. WOLCOTT. Up to this time.

MR. HILL. I assume that that must be so, because it has been the custom heretofore for Cabinet officials to make political speeches. It has been the custom of Mr. Gladstone in England to speak for his party on all occasions. Lord Salisbury has recently been speaking for his party in all parts of England. I have not heard any criticism based on the fact that they were neglecting their duties. While we may not agree with all the

speeches made by members of the Cabinet, I hardly think they have been neglecting their duties, have they?

MR. WOLCOTT. The administration of this country under a republican form of government has extended for a period of something over a hundred years, and if precedents are to be called to justify the conduct of Cabinet officers of the present Administration, I suggest that they be cited from their predecessors in office and not from the practice in Great Britain, where members of the English ministry are themselves members of legislative bodies and are expected to go upon the hustings to justify their action. The analogy does not lie between the two classes of officials.

I do say that at the present time when it has appeared before this body that so far as lands in Utah are concerned, which we are now seeking to have divided, where Congress has acted and the Secretary of the Interior has seen fit to seek only how to evade the solemn duty which Congress has put upon him, when in the distribution of public lands of the United States, and as to the Pacific railroads, where Congress has acted and the Secretary of the Interior has declined to issue patents to homesteaders who are entitled to them, and when the last Congress passed an act opening the Ute Reservation to the public settlement and the Secretary of the Interior has week after week and month after month seen fit only so to exercise the prerogatives of his great office as to make the law impotent and valueless—I say under such circumstances he may just as well be making stump speeches in Georgia as to be sitting in his executive office, the more so, Mr. President, as the arguments which he is unloading upon the public in Georgia are making converts to the cause of bimetallism by the scores wherever he sees fit to make them. With that suggestion of the Senator from Maryland, I am in full accord.

The very lack of attention to their duties which may characterize the Cabinet officials is all the more reason why we should take from them the power to make these appointments. If they do not attend to their duties, how are they wisely to exercise the power of appointment? The Senator spoke as if we exercised the power of appointment of postmasters. Nobody knows better than does the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Gorman] that his own personal wishes, the wishes of his constituents expressed through him—and when I speak of his personal wishes I speak only of his wishes as voicing the sentiment of the best of his constituents—count absolutely for nothing in the making

of those appointments. If that be true as to offices where the Senate does not confirm, how wise would be a provision of law declaring that those men shall pass under examination and that when fit for office their names must be accepted by the officer to whom they are presented, robbing him of the power to reward political adherents or punish political enemies by giving them the spoils of office.

. . . . . .

For my part I should never care to cast my lot in the line of clerkships and salaried offices, but this country is full of splendid citizens who work for other people for an annual compensation. It is not a crime on their part that in the fortunes of life the prizes have not come to them. It is no reproach that they seek an honest livelihood at Government pay or in the employ of others, and it is no fault of theirs or of the parents who reared them that they attended the public schools of the country and fitted themselves to hold those offices with which they are intrusted.

In his negotiations in 1897 with the European Powers for an international recognition of silver, Mr. Wolcott was greatly embarrassed by frequent public statements from Secretary Gage, who was at the head of the Treasury Department, and from his two subordinates, Director of the Mint Preston, and Comptroller of the Currency Eckels, in which his mission was minimized, leading to representations that he did not have the support of the Administration. Both Preston and Eckels had held office under Cleveland, and were Democrats. Mr. Gage came in with McKinley, but he also had been a Democrat.

In his statement to the Senate of January 17, 1898, Mr. Wolcott took cognizance of the utterances of these officials. He characterized the two subordinates as "precious legacies" of the Democratic régime, and he declared that nobody in Europe had cared "a rap" what they said. He admitted that the expressions of the Secretary had been more effective. He declared that a bank of which Mr. Gage had been president had received benefit from some of the bond transactions of the Government, and added:

It is premature to criticise the Secretary's Republicanism,

for his advent into the party and the Cabinet were practically contemporaneous. We must accept the situation. In my opinion, the great majority of the members of the Republican party are bimetallists, and the fact that they are misrepresented by a Cabinet officer is not pleasing, but it is endurable. The selection of the members of his official household is the President's own affair; and so long as he stands on the question of bimetallism where he ever has stood, there is no serious ground for apprehensions.

He repeatedly expressed confidence in President McKinley's desire to procure an agreement with the other nations in the interest of silver.

In March, 1898, Mr. Wolcott found another opportunity to voice his feeling toward Mr. Gage. This came in connection with an inquiry of the Secretary from the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, of which the Colorado Senator was Chairman. The Secretary's reply was not responsive to the committee's inquiry, and it was indignantly returned, as was explained by Mr. Wolcott in the Senate on March 30th of that year, as follows:

Mr. President, on the 10th of March last, by direction of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, I addressed a communication, officially, on behalf of the committee, to the Secretary of the Treasury, asking him for his views on the general subject of postal savings banks. The committee had received a lengthy, courteous, and enlightening answer from the Postmaster-General, and it was deemed of the utmost importance that we should ascertain from the Secretary of the Treasury his views respecting the general character of bills establishing post-office savings banks, which had been asked for by several millions of the people of the United States. We desired his views as to the character of investments, the proper procedure, the question of agencies, and other important matters connected with the subject.

After waiting some time the committee received, through me as chairman, a reply from the Secretary of the Treasury. I have to report to the Senate that the answer from the Secretary of the Treasury was of such a character that I have been unanimously directed by the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads respectfully to return the communication to the Secretary

of the Treasury with the statement that the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads must decline to receive it, as it is not a response to the letter of the committee.

Mr. President, the letter was published in the press of the country, given out through the Treasury Department, before the answer was received by us, before it was laid upon my desk, and therefore, inasmuch as there has already been publicity given to this subject, I shall ask to publish as a Senate Document the letter of the committee to the Secretary of the Treasury, the reply of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the letter which I have this day, by unanimous instruction of the Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The whole circumstance, Mr. President, is remarkable. I do not care at this time to go beyond the instructions which my committee have given me. I do not intend to enter upon the personal consideration of this question, but I have only to say to the Senate that an inspection of these documents will satisfy the Senate that officially, at least, the communication of the Secretary of the Treasury is flippant and impertinent, and that it has no place upon the records of the important committees of this body.

A careful inspection of Mr. Wolcott's criticism of public officials will reveal the fact that it was directed at two evils—an abuse of patronage and a false assumption of prerogative. He hated sham and pretence of every kind and never hesitated to express his disapproval—no less when they were displayed by one in high position than by one engaged in a lower walk of life.

WOLCOTT AS A DEBATER

MR. WOLCOTT'S reputation as an orator was made in his set speeches, but while in the Senate he was regarded as one of the most effective debaters of that body. Obviously, it is quite out of the question to repeat all the running discussions in which he participated. The best that can be done is to reproduce a few colloquies, and necessarily they must be so brief as scarcely to afford an adequate idea of the effectiveness of his speech when engaged in linguistic combat with other Senators.

As we already have seen, one of the objects of Mr. Wolcott's constant ridicule was the Geological Survey whose activities, he thought, resulted in anything but usefulness, and some of his speeches protesting against the vast appropriations placed at the disposal of the Bureau were masterpieces of satire. In one of these addresses Mr. Wolcott demonstrated that the Survey had actually prepared a map, at the expense of great time and money, in which it located a town near which he lived on the wrong side of the Platte River. On the shortcomings of the Bureau he spoke his mind so often that his remarks became a subject of jest in the Senate—a jest which he enjoyed quite as freely as did other Senators. One instance will suffice to show how the subject was treated and at the same time to illustrate his persistency in forcing home a point whenever opportunity offered. The occasion arose late in the night of March 3, 1899, when the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress was within a few hours of adjournment. The bill making appropriations for sundry expenses of the Government, generally known as the Sundry Civil Bill, was under

consideration. Senator Hale had the measure in charge, and with the session so near the close naturally was anxious to force it to a conclusion. Mr. Wolcott had spoken earlier in the day on the general subject of appropriations for the benefit of the Survey, but when in the course of the reading of the bill a provision appropriating $7000 for surveys in Alaska was reached, he offered an amendment and again took the floor. Mr. Hale made an effort to head him off, but failed. The colloquy ran thus:

MR. HALE. Are those the same items in regard to which the Senator made an eloquent speech this morning?

MR. WOLCOTT. The same items. The remarks which I then made were extremely applicable, except that they were upon the wrong bill. It was the right number and street, but the wrong town.

MR. HALE. The Senator having made his remarks upon that bill, and that bill having gone through, will he not now kindly let this bill go through?

MR. WOLCOTT. Without a speech?

MR. HALE. No; let us consider that that speech was made on this bill.

MR. WOLCOTT. I will, with great pleasure, if the Senator was convinced by it.

Mr. Hale made a point of order against the amendment, at the same time explaining that he agreed with the views of his associate on the unwisdom of many of the appropriations for the Survey, but saying in effect that the pressure for them was so strong that they could not be resisted. He therefore advocated the passage of the bill, including the objectionable features in the interest of expedition. He concluded by saying: "The Survey will be here after appropriations when the Senator and I are mouldering in the dust."

Mr. Wolcott replied: "That is what is going to happen to us, and that is what is going to happen to them also. Only one word. I will not repeat any remarks I had the pleasure of making on the other bill a little while since, and will make only one suggestion as a Western man."

MR. HALE. Will not the Senator, under the rule, consent that we simply go on with the amendments of the

committee? And then, when we are through with those amendments, any other amendment will be in order.

MR. WOLCOTT. I see I have got to make that speech over again.

MR. HALE. That is the reason I am invoking the point of order, so that we may have a third speech of the same kind from the Senator.

MR. WOLCOTT. I am very sure that the Senator will get it if I am here. I now give notice that at the proper time, if the proper time shall ever arrive, I will again present the amendment.

He did present his amendment later, but he was not able to circumvent the Survey.

In another connection he had this to say regarding the timber agents of the General Land Office, whose operations at the time were most distasteful to him:

Reference has not been made until now to the civil-service provision. It is an admirable provision. I can understand the hostility it would create. I can understand that, if we compel an examination of the applicants for these positions, there are some sections of the country which would naturally be deprived of the opportunity of furnishing timber agents. I suggest that if we could have timber agents undergo a proper examination, and as a part of the examination should require a recital of the Ten Commandments, and as one of those the Divine injunction, "Thou shalt not steal," we might have timber agents who would do a great deal better service than any that have yet been sent out by either party.

When on February 7, 1893, Mr. Wolcott was discussing the bill requiring railroads to supply their cars with safety appliances, which became a law, he was interrupted by Senator Cullom, of Illinois, who cited some figures giving the number of freight cars in use in the country, then 220,000.

"I am coming to that," responded the Colorado Senator, "and I prefer that the Senator should make his suggestion of fact later."

MR. CULLOM. I thought the Senator would like to hear what the statement of fact was.

MR. WOLCOTT. Yes; but I would rather hear myself give it than the Senator.

In 1896 Senator Allen of Nebraska made an effort to obtain an amendment to the Naval Appropriations Bill, so as to provide for a torpedo-boat on the Missouri River. "One of the boats," suggested the Nebraskan, "is to be constructed on the upper Mississippi River, I understand, which is not as large nor as important a stream at the location of the proposed construction as the Missouri River."

"May I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska, as I hope he will not forget, that the South Fork of the Platte also runs through his State?" suggested Mr. Wolcott.

The point of the remark lay in the fact that at many places the Platte would not float a toy boat. But it stood in about as great need of a torpedo-boat as did either the Missouri or the upper Mississippi, and none was provided for either of the streams, the Platte suffering with the other two.

That he could be blunt and abrupt when that course appeared desirable is shown in a reply made to Senator Aldrich during the discussion of the Sherman Repeal Bill in 1893. He was discussing the question of a cloture resolution when the Rhode Island Senator interrupted with a question as to whether he intended to say that there could not be a vote on the bill within a reasonable time. "I mean to say," responded Mr. Wolcott, "that there will be a vote in such time as the wishes of those who debate the question on this floor shall determine may be reasonable, and not before." The bill was discussed for a month longer, and no cloture rule was adopted.

In the same speech he said:

> As the Senator from New Hampshire said, we are all equal here, and no man has a right to inquire into the motives of another. I agree to that proposition. I agree that we are all equal here. The changes which have taken place on financial questions remind me very much of the wise saying of Sancho Panza, that "every man is as God hath made him, and oftentimes a great deal worse."

In his remarks to Mr. Voorhees in response to his de-

mand for the adoption of a cloture resolution to hasten the passage of the Repeal Bill, he said:

I say to the Chairman of the Committee on Finance and to those who claim a majority in favor of immediate repeal, that if you have a majority and if you will not give us this privilege and this right, we shall take it, and, with the taking, we shall have a full realization of the criticisms and denunciations which will be showered upon us by the Eastern Press.

The public opinion which is invoked in this cause is a bastard public opinion; it is a public opinion of the bankers, who rightfully enough want their money as dear as possible; it is a public opinion which banks have forced upon the small dealers who are accustomed to get credit at the bank, and who, when they now ask for it or seek to have their notes renewed, are told they cannot be accommodated so long as the Sherman Act remains upon the statute books; it is a public opinion created by men who "grind the faces of the poor"; and against such a public opinion I am rejoiced to stand.

The following from a speech in the Senate on the silver question, August 31, 1893, is a fair illustration of his ability to turn a popular belief to his use:

Mr. President, it is said that a financial panic is invariably accompanied or followed by a widespread religious revival. Up to this time we are unfortunately without that beneficent occurrence. The ready and complete change of heart, however, on the financial question which we have witnessed in this Chamber gives evidence that this is a time when men are especially open to conviction. And if the Administration, with its petty spoils and patronage has been able to make so many converts, what may we not hope when the assurances of future happiness will be, not for four short years, but for eternity? The misfortune under which the silver men suffer is that the Administration conversion came first. For if the hearts of Senators had first been impressed with the littleness of the things of this world and the glory of things supernal, the people, who are to be the sufferers, would not have been deserted by their representatives.

And the following, from the same speech, referring to Senator Sherman of Ohio and Senator Voorhees of Indiana,

is a fair specimen of his ability to delineate situations and contrast men:

For the first time in the legislative history of either of them, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Ohio are in complete accord in financial matters. For a generation they have both served in public life, the one, in public estimation, standing for the masses, the other for the classes. Yet both meet at last on common ground! It has not been always so. . . . But it is different now. The wolf is dwelling with the lamb, and the leopard is lying down with the kid. This delightful harmony, I fear, will not long continue, and when they arise they will be fewer in number. There can be but one Chairman of the Finance Committee, and without in the least underrating the abilities of the Senator from Indiana, those of us who have watched the course of financial legislation for the past twenty years, commencing with the demonetization of silver in 1873, must be pardoned if we look forward to the resumption of the control of the committee by the Senator from Ohio, and if we recall in this connection old Pharaoh's dream of the lean kine.

In what I have said I beg to be understood as offering no harsh personal criticism respecting the Senator from Indiana. He has been so long the advocate of silver that I cannot yet believe he will desert the cause or cast his vote for the unconditional repeal. I only venture to remind him, in view of his past utterances, that old Solomon did not belie his reputation for wisdom when he said: "It is better thou shouldest not vow than that thou shouldest vow and not pay."

In connection with the Indian Appropriations Bill of the third session of the Fifty-third Congress Senator Wolcott engaged in a controversy with Senator Call of Florida regarding the character of certain schools for the education of Indians. Mr. Call was a member of the Committee on Appropriations, which had reported a provision making an appropriation for the benefit of the schools, and when the Colorado Senator sought to procure information concerning them, gave him little satisfaction.

"Is there not some Senator upon the Appropriations Committee with intelligence enough and information enough

to tell us something about these schools, so that we may be informed regarding them?" he asked with some display of impatience.

Mr. Call responded: "If we had the Senator from Colorado, with his omniscience, upon that committee——"

"No," said Mr. Wolcott in reply, "you would not have my omniscience, but you would not have me standing on my feet in the last days of the session saying I would accept the statement of a couple of Senators as to whether a school was denominational or not, and you would find me, I trust, prepared to state for the information of the Senate what kind of schools these are."

After further discussion the colloquy proceeded:

MR. WOLCOTT. We do not ask the Senator from Florida to be a judge; we ask him to be a witness, and to tell us something. He now tells us that these schools are "a kind of half-and-half schools," that they are half Protestant and half Government, as I understand him. Am I rightly informed?

MR. CALL. Oh, no; the Senator is not right in that.

MR. WOLCOTT. Then I should like to have the Senator state what he does say they are.

MR. CALL. I said they were of doubtful denominational character.

MR. WOLCOTT. In other words, Mr. President, does the Senator mean that they are not above suspicion?

On another occasion while a question of the administration of Indian affairs was under discussion in the Senate, on March 18, 1896, Senator Wolcott became involved in a colloquy with Senator Vilas of Wisconsin, and speaking of a certain report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, said that information contained in it had been in the possession of Congress "long before the present incumbent [Hon. Hoke Smith] had become Secretary of the Interior."

MR. VILAS. I think it was, but perhaps the present incumbent of the Secretaryship of the Department of the Interior did not happen to know that fact.

MR. WOLCOTT. Oh, Mr. President, I think there is no fact which the present incumbent of the office does not consider that he knows.

General Public Addresses

BY WAY OF EXPLANATION

IN Mr. Wolcott's political speeches in Colorado will be found occasional reflections upon his contemporaries in active political life in the State—some of them merely trivial, others more serious. They represented slight feeling at the time, and they constitute no permanent disparagement of the objects of his criticism. Nevertheless they would be omitted if this course could be pursued consistently; but in the period covered by this record personalities held such a prominent part in all political controversy in Colorado that their elimination would so alter the speeches as to rob them of one of their important characteristics—fearlessness of expression. This quality added much to Wolcott's popularity as a campaign orator, and in it is shown a trait of character which could not be properly preserved without presenting the addresses as they were delivered. While there was no malice in them they were meant to be effective. In politics as in every other species of rivalry, Mr. Wolcott treated his opponent as his enemy, and he sought not only to discredit but to annihilate him politically in so far as he was in his way. With him politics was war.

Chief of his many lifelong political antagonists in Colorado were Hon. Thomas M. Patterson and Hon. Charles S. Thomas, both leading Democrats. He entered very few, if any, campaigns in which they were not engaged. They were keen debaters and fierce antagonists, worthy foemen, and his theory as to the necessity of disparaging a rival was also theirs. In addition, Mr. Patterson was the proprietor of the leading Democratic newspaper of the State, and was constantly engaged in attacking Mr. Wolcott. Whenever he took the stump, he naturally made reply to

the assaults, and frequently used expressions which might well be omitted were it not that they illustrate the character of the man and throw light upon the times of which we treat. Personally, however, he had high regard for both Mr. Patterson and Mr. Thomas, and they entertained a similar feeling toward him. Mr. Thomas is one of the most generous contributors to this memoir, and those who know him will appreciate that he would not praise the man who had made an intentional and unprovoked assault upon him. Mr. Thomas understands perfectly well that in all that he said, Mr. Wolcott was merely "getting even."

Other opposing politicians of the day were Hon. Alva Adams, Hon. Charles J. Hughes, Jr., who was elected to the Senate in 1909; Hon. Lafe Pence, Rev. Myron Reed, and Governor Waite. They received more or less attention at his hands, and there is no doubt that in these cases, as in others, his remarks were actuated wholly by political considerations.

During a part of his political career, Mr. Wolcott found himself in sharp antagonism to Hon. N. P. Hill. Mr. Hill was at the time proprietor of the *Denver Republican*, and that paper devoted much space to criticism of Senator Wolcott. This circumstance accounts for the Senator's frequent references to Mr. Hill and to his newspaper, but that his reflections in this case were largely of the same character as those made upon Messrs. Patterson and Thomas is evidenced by the fact that when Mr. Hill was lying upon his death-bed Senator Wolcott took occasion to speak of his character and career in terms of praise.

In one or two of his speeches made during the heat of the campaigns succeeding the split in the Republican party on the silver question, there is mention of Hon. David H. Moffat. Mr. Moffat was a lifelong friend of Mr. Wolcott's, and any feeling that he may have shown toward that gentleman certainly was not more than "skin-deep." During that period, there also were references to Senator Teller, A. M. Stevenson, James H. Blood, I. N. Stevens, W. S. Decker, A. B. McGaffey, Hon. Simon Guggenheim, and others. It is sufficient to say that in most if not all these

instances, there was complete reconciliation before the Senator's death.

Indeed, there never was any antagonism between him and any of those mentioned except such as was aroused by the political exigencies of the time. He was fond of most of them, as they were of him. Mr. Moffat was a highly-esteemed business associate; Mr. Stevenson was a personal friend and trusted adviser; Senator Teller he loved and respected. In a word, politics explains all the disagreeable personal characterizations of his speeches. While his political conviction was deep and while he felt intensely on matters of principle and spoke his mind freely regarding those who chanced to oppose him, he did not form lasting personal estrangements because of political disagreements.

In explanation of crudities in the text of some of the campaign speeches, it should be stated that few, if any, of them were revised by Mr. Wolcott. They are reprinted from newspapers for which they were hurriedly reported, often by stenographers unfamiliar with the subjects discussed. There was no opportunity for the careful editing to which the speeches delivered in the Senate and at National conventions and formal dinners were subjected.

POLITICAL SPEECHES IN COLORADO

IN THE GARFIELD-HANCOCK CAMPAIGN

FIRST SPEECH

AT Denver, October 23, 1880:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am by no means certain that either my years or my experience entitle my political opinions to any great weight, and yet in one sense I am here of right as a representative of that class, increasing each year and growing with the growth of Colorado, known as the younger Republicans, who are content to follow, not to lead, and who ask only to bear their share of the burden in the heat of the day; of that class whose first recollection is of the flag struck down at Sumter and replaced and unfurled again by our brethren, whose hearts still thrill at the name of "Union" and the sight of that old banner, and to whom the clang of the approaching political conflict is sweetest music. And there is no member of that class, Mr. Chairman, who would not consider himself a coward if his tongue should refuse to utter or his arm to strike when called upon by the leaders of the party in whose ranks we fight.

These Presidential contests, which occur once in four years, accomplish at least one good purpose, in that they serve to remind us of the grandeur and glory and beneficence of our form of government, where no man calls another master; a country where we welcome to our shores the downtrodden and discontented, the poor and oppressed, and where we do not colonize, but assimilate them; a country where there are no French, no Germans, no Irish, and no Cornish, but where we are all American citizens (if you go back far enough, we are all foreigners, except the Utes,[1] and I wish they were); a country where there

[1] An Indian tribe inhabiting the western part of the State which then was making much trouble.

is no rank, and no nobility—we are all nobles by right of an earlier creation; we are all dukes, we are all earls, all viscounts; a country where no man who struggles with all there is in him to get upward and outward, finds himself branded with any mark of caste, or finds about him a crust through which he cannot penetrate, but where the highest is within his reach; where every mother knows as she sings her lullabies to her baby, that the infant which she nourishes at her breast, if he be able and industrious, and honest, and have the qualities that go to make up true manhood, may reach the highest seat in the nation. And the people of the United States are to make the grandest exemplification of that fact the world has ever seen, in that they are about to raise up James A. Garfield, the man of the people, and place him upon the grandest throne the world has ever seen, in that it is a throne erected by the people, themselves kings, and cemented by the patriotic blood of those who built it.

Good government, like everything else that is good, cannot be had without taking some trouble for it, and it is one of the best features of our system of government that it demands of every citizen the intelligent exercise of his right of suffrage. This duty he cannot evade. Every privilege brings with it some corresponding obligation, and each one of us is entrusted with the equal and the same duty in respect to the management of the affairs of the nation. And the votes of this people shall determine whether we shall send the country along the new century with aims higher than the achievements of the century past or whether we shall let it go back three decades; for it never can stand still. We do not forget that the precious institutions which we enjoy have been handed down to us as a legacy from those who have gone before us, and that we are indebted for them to the priceless valor of our fathers and our brethren. We should be false to our principles and our traditions, and to the memory of the sainted dead; we should be unworthy of the privileges which we enjoy and the names we bear—nay, even the pure air of these mountains would stifle us, if we should be so base and recreant to our trust as to fail to transmit these privileges unimpaired and strengthened to those who are to come after us. Under God that delinquency shall never be laid to our charge.

I should not address you in this strain, I should not be here to-night, if I did not believe that the impending political contest was a crisis in the affairs of this people—that it rises above all party demonstrations and partisan pleas. I come, there-

fore, in no mood of partisanship; I do not desire the success of my party for any other reason than that it is the party of principle and the party of right. If it ceases to be such a party, let it perish from the earth. I have, therefore, no personalities to indulge in, no prejudices to arouse, and no passions to foment. I have no reflections to cast upon the military character and career of General Hancock. I am not even tempted into retaliation by the miserable attacks made upon the character of General Garfield, taxing the credulity of rational people with the theory that this man whose whole life has illustrated the virtues of sturdy integrity and independence; who carries in his open and transparent brow credentials of truth and honesty; who has had the confidence of all who have known him, political friends and enemies alike; who was for years at the head of the House Committee on Appropriations, surrounded by a corrupt lobby, through whom he could have secretly enriched himself and no man had been the wiser, and who came out of it poorer than he went in—that this man would sell himself to the devil for the paltry sum of $329! The lie has recoiled upon the mendacious wretches who put it in circulation. It has gone to the gutter, and no decent man will defile his fingers with its touch.[1]

I cheerfully concede the gallant bearing of General Hancock upon the field of battle. Is it for that he has been made the nominee of the Solid South? Is it because he fought against them and fought bravely that they are resolved that, by fair means or foul, he shall be put into the Presidential chair? To ask these questions is to answer them. You know, and I know, that he was nominated at Cincinnati solely and only in the hope that his reputation as a Union general would draw loyal voters to the support and aid of the nefarious schemes and purposes of these men who were lately in arms against this nation. The nomination of General Hancock is no bugbear. Once before when they met in 1864 they resolved that the war was a failure and nominated a Union general—McClellan—to lead a disloyal party. It was in the dark days, in the shadow of the war, when the women went mourning about the streets, when Grant was in the Wilderness and Sherman was marching to the sea, and our boys came home and cast their votes and went back to the trenches and the weary march, and proved that the war was not a failure.

[1] This was a reference to the charge that General Garfield had been connected with the Credit Mobilier scandals.

At the head of his troops General Hancock represented the loyal sentiment of this nation; at the head of the Democratic party he represents a disloyal and a dishonest party, and the nomination of General Hancock, of a hundred General Hancocks, cannot efface its history or wipe out its treason.

The Republican party has had charge of the administration of this government now for about twenty years, and we are called upon to determine whether we will continue that party in power or whether we will give it over to the other great party which claims it. It is a peculiar characteristic of the American people that they want the "best in the shop," and if there is any other party that is better than ours we want to know what it is, so that we can turn the government over to it. Parties are but an incident, although a necessary incident, in the government of the people. This government is founded solely and only upon the will of the people. A great many wise men believe that great danger to this nation lies in universal suffrage; that only by restricted and qualified suffrage can it be perpetuated and secured. Conceding the weight of these opinions, and that our only hope for the future lies in popular and general education, and in the broad domain of this country, which offers to every man a home and an opportunity for a competency, it is yet true that the only safety of the Republic lies in the protection of the ballot-box. Any party that sanctions any other method is the enemy and not the friend of free institutions.

I am not of those who believe that one party should be always continued in power in a republic when there are two parties in that republic equally devoted to its preservation and perpetuity. But I say that there is now but one such party, and that until another such party arises the Republican party should be continued in power, if it is as long as the stars shine in the heavens. He would be a foolish man who would claim that party to be perfect; he would be a foolish man who, in this vale of tears, would claim that any man is perfect. The party can be no better than the men who go to make it up. But if bad men have hung on to the party it has been quick to cast them off; and I say if in the last twenty years the Republican party has done wrong it has done wrong by mistake, and it has been quick to rectify it, and I say if in the same twenty years the Democratic party has done right it has done right by mistake and been quick to rectify it. And although it is an unfashionable thing, perhaps, to say, I believe

there is no grander illustration of the possibilities of the Republic than the Administration of President Hayes, which will live in history when other administrations are forgotten, as one of the purest and best any nation has ever known.

I believe that the Republican party ought to be continued in power, because it is the party that saved the Union and preserved the honor of the flag. Its record and its history are the record of the country for the last twenty years. Born in obscurity and poverty and hate, and nurtured by the few intrepid spirits who believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, who believed that the Almighty had created all men in His image, free and equal, it has struggled and everywhere been successful. It struggled for four years, not only against the enemies of our country in the field, but against a certain section of the Democratic party in the North, who, unwilling to go to the front and fight her battles, crouched and slunk in the rear "like the butcher's dogs in the shambles fattening on garbage, while the good and true were dying around them."

Our armies triumphant, we shed no man's blood for treason, but we said to these men who had been fighting against us: "Come back; come back with us, and help make this country now a free Republic in fact as well as in name, more grand and more august than before." We shed no man's blood for treason, I say, but our veterans did return with their battle-flags riddled and torn, and all over them were written the words that will be indelible as long as that banner floats: "Liberty and Union; Now and Forever; One and Inseparable." Not only has the Republican party saved the Union and preserved the honor of the flag, but it has made this country a nation, not a mere confederacy of States bound together by ropes of sand.

We all know how when the colonies threw off the yoke of Great Britain they were not united except by geographical connection; that each colony formed a government of its own, with laws of its own, and they united for one purpose. That accomplished, they found themselves burdened with numerous debts; found themselves flooded with Continental currency, a bushel of which was not worth a continental, and found themselves troubled with vexed State and economic questions. They found themselves burdened with problems they could not solve and found themselves unable to say what colony ought to pay this and what colony ought to pay that. So our fathers got together prayerfully, carefully, and deliberately, and de-

termined that there should be a compact between the States; that every man should give up something of his citizenship and something of independent statehood, and that he should give it to a general government which should be supreme over all.

The Republican party has endeavored to carry out these principles; it has passed the Supervisors law; the only law which makes the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of any value; a law which no honest man objects to; a law which nobody but the ballot-box stuffer wants repealed; a law which provides that the Marshals of the United States may attend at the different elections, may see that those entitled to be registered shall be registered, and that those who are entitled to vote shall vote, and shall have the right to scrutinize the ballot-box and watch it, and see that it is not tampered with, and that no tissue ballots be allowed.

During the past few years the Democratic party has been telling us that this law is unconstitutional, but the Supreme Court decided the other day that it was not unconstitutional at all, but perfectly valid. And now they are saying it is contrary to the principles of the American people, contrary to the essence of the Constitution that United States officials should interfere in national elections in the different States. I want to remind you that, as many of you may remember, in 1850 a law was passed which still causes every free man's cheek to blush with shame, the Fugitive Slave law, which provided that any man in the South that should lose a slave could cross Mason and Dixon's line and come to the North, call upon the Northern United States Marshals and their deputies to hunt up these men; that all good citizens in the North could be compelled to join in the hunt for that man. Under another provision, should they capture him they could bring him before a United States Commissioner, another United States officer, who, if necessary, should hold an *ex parte* hearing, in which the negro should not be represented by witnesses or counsel, and in order to make it an inducement to that commissioner, it was provided further that if he found the negro to be a slave he should receive a fee of ten dollars, and that if he found him to be a free negro he should receive a fee of five dollars. So, you may see how recently it is that the Democratic party has begun to object to the interference of the United States Marshals!

When the war came the general government was strong enough to call upon every able-bodied man in the North and compel him to go to the front and fight her battles. I believe a govern-

ment strong enough to demand the goods and the lives of its subjects in time of war ought to be strong enough in time of peace to protect them in their exercise of the rights of suffrage. And I believe in a government strong enough, and big enough, and willing enough to reach out with its arm on election day to the humblest voter in the land and take him by the hand and accompany him to the ballot-box, and say to him: "The majesty of the United States Government is beside you and its flag floats over you; you may cast your vote as you will, and the Government will see that it is honestly counted as you have cast it."

I believe the Republican party should be continued in power because its principles and its management entitle it to our confidence. The war left us erect and reliant, but exhausted by the great struggle through which we had passed. We had eleven States out of the Union without knowing how to get them back, and after years of trouble and legislation we brought them back, making it only a condition that their people should take an oath to support the Constitution, and that they should recognize the validity and constitutionality of the Amendments. This we did against Democratic effort and Democratic protest.

The war left us 86,000 widows, 221,000 orphans, and 282,000 maimed and disabled soldiers. The Republican party has, during the last few years, since the war, been able to pass such laws as will protect these widows and orphans and give to them the bare necessaries of life, and this it has done against Democratic effort and Democratic protest. And yet we are asked to transfer the determination as to what the orphans shall get, as to how much food these widows shall have, and what pensions these soldiers shall receive, over to the same party which made these women widows, these children orphans, and which maimed and disabled these soldiers.

The Republican party has passed the Amendments to the Constitution which have made all men free. This it has done against Democratic effort and against Democratic protest.

The Democratic party has always been opposed to the paying of the debts of the country. Why, during the war when we had spent all the money we had, all we could raise and borrow, and when we had nothing more we could "soak," we concluded we would issue greenbacks. Then George H. Pendleton, now a Democratic Senator from the State of Ohio, rose in his place in the House of Representatives and said: "You have

stamped these bills with the brand of Cain, and, like Cain, they will go forth as outcasts and refugees upon the earth."

They said it was unconstitutional and violent to attempt to issue them then, and now when the Republican party has resolved to pay the debt in honest money they tell you this is unconstitutional.

Not only was the Republican party resolved to pay our debts in honest money, but by the financial management of the party the debt which we received as the heritage of the war has been funded and the interest has been reduced from eight to seven, from seven to six, six to five, and now from five to four per cent. Not only is this interest-bearing debt reduced, but the rate of interest is said to have been reduced all over the country. I think the people in the East are to be congratulated on that fact, although my personal experience has taught me that the bankers in Colorado have not yet learned of this reduction.

But they tell us Providence has done all these things. We would be weak and blasphemous were we to doubt that kind and overruling Providence which watches over this country. But of what use would this splendid harvest have been if for every bushel of wheat a bushel of money was required to pay for it? How much good would these bounteous and splendid crops have done unless we had had an able financial manager at the helm of State? It is as if you had transferred yourself, your family, your household gods and goods into some ship and started across the ocean, and, sped by favoring gales, you had finally reached the harbor of which you were in search, and when you had unloaded yourself, your family, and goods you should turn and give the credit to the winds and not to the captain. And if we are to give Providence the praise for all that has been bestowed upon us, I think we ought to go a step farther and thank Providence also that during these years of good and bountiful crops He has given us the Republican party, which has enabled us to make these crops and this providence available.

Now, if there is going to be a change in the administration of the affairs of this government it behooves us about this time to rustle around and find out what kind of a change we are going to get. The only way we can ascertain what the other party would give us is by finding out what is the record of that party—what its financial and political policy has been and would be. And if we look at the political history of the Democratic party what a dreary record do we see!

The Democratic party meet every four years, and when they find there are no birds for them in last year's nests, they take the pith and fibre from the good Republican work for the preceding four years and weave it all together and present it to an admiring constituency as a Democratic platform; and for fear there is some old Bourbon who will not appreciate this modern work, they add as the tail end of the platform that they pledge themselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party. I would like to know what these doctrines and traditions are! In 1856 they said we had no right to improve our harbors, rivers, or inland lakes; they met in 1860 and resolved that slavery was an institution with which the general government had no right to interfere; they met in 1864 and said the war was a failure; they met in 1868 and said the Reconstruction acts upon which the Amendments to the Constitution were based and depended for efficacy were violent and unconstitutional and void; they met in 1872 and gave us one of the best Republicans in the country as their nominee; they met in 1876 and demanded the repeal of the Resumption act, and they met in 1880 and congratulated the country on its general prosperity.

Now I would like to have you tell me, from that outline, what the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party are. Examine that party, ladies and gentlemen! They mask themselves occasionally behind a Union General, but they are the same old party!

If we look to the financial policy of the Democratic party, we find nothing encouraging. Their orators have for years been prating of their State honor. They have told us that the honor of their States was closer to them than life itself, and yet during the years since the war this same party in the South has, in ten out of the eleven Southern States, repudiated or scaled down the State debts. And when they tell you that it was by reason of expensive and ruinous carpet-bag governments that they were compelled to repudiate, they tell you that which is not true, for before the commencement of the war the debt of these States was over ninety millions of dollars, while now they are paying interest on but forty millions. What hope of redemption is there in such a party? What good can come out of this Nazareth? The people do not propose to "come and see."

The Democratic party has been no more successful in its political policy. It has had control of one House of Representatives for five years, and of both Houses for the past two years.

The only measure of any importance it has succeeded in passing has been a law materially reducing the tax on whiskey and tobacco, but it has thereby earned the eternal gratitude of its constituents.

Since we have had a Republican President in power he has stood as firm as a rock. They have not been able to accomplish much; they tried hard, during the hot summer of 1878, to starve the Government into a compliance with their repeal of the Supervisors law, but he stood firm and they failed. But let them have a Democratic President, backed by a Democratic Supreme Court, and then you will see where we stand! There was a law introduced by a man named Manning, I think, from Mississippi, to add twelve members to the Supreme Court of the United States. When it was ascertained that Hayes and not Tilden was elected, this bill was shelved with the Judiciary Committee, to be brought out, bright and shining as the sun, when Hancock shall be elected. They will appoint a Supreme Court which honestly believes, as these Southern men do, that the war was right instead of being forever wrong, and that these Amendments are unconstitutional and void; and they will allow money to pay the rebel claims, say what they may, and there are three hundred millions of them already approved. In many of the States of the South there is a statute which allows every man who lost a mule, or anything, in the war, to make his claim to the Secretary of the State. He receives from him a piece of paper, something in the nature of currency, in which he is promised that the claim shall be paid when the General Government pays the State. The South, that section of the Democratic party which swings the party, is in favor of these claims, and they will be paid when the Democracy comes into power.

When General Polk was a candidate for the Presidency, he came out in a letter in which he stated that he was opposed to the annexation of Texas, and that he would veto any bill respecting its annexation or respecting the management of its State affairs. He was elected President, Texas was annexed, and many bills relating to its statehood were passed, without his veto and with his consent. When Mr. Pierce was a candidate for the Presidency, he came out in a letter in which he stated that he would veto any bill relating to the subject of slavery, and that he considered the law of 1850, on that subject, as finally settling the question. He was elected President, and law after law was passed respecting the question of slavery, without his veto and with his consent. When Mr. Buchanan was

a candidate for the Presidency, he, too, published a letter in which he stated that the question of slavery should not be agitated, and that he would veto any law changing its then present status. Mr. Buchanan was elected President, and during his Administration infamous laws on the subject of slavery were passed with his consent and without his veto. No President can be stronger than the accepted sentiment of his party, and if history teaches anything we may well believe that the recent letter of General Hancock, on the subject of rebel claims, contains pledges which will remain unfulfilled, and promises which are made only to be broken.

If a Democratic victory this fall should be an honest expression of the will of the people, we would not complain, for in this Republic an honest majority of one is as potent as a majority of a million; but the coming election will not be an honest expression of the will of the people. Five Southern States, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with an honest vote, would to-day cast larger Republican majorities than the State of Colorado; and yet Wade Hampton, in his old autocratic manner, which savors of the crack of the overseer's whip, pledged a Solid South, at Cincinnati, to General Hancock. The nation, as a nation, has ceased to exist in six Southern States, where to men who have the same right to vote that you and I have, the Amendments to the Constitution seem the hollowest mockery. Since 1872 more than 520,000 Republican votes have been utterly extinguished. During these same years the Democratic majorities in these States have not materially increased, so that it cannot be claimed that these men have been converted to Democratic doctrines.

We conferred the right of suffrage upon the negro. I have seen men among them who were almighty poor, but I have never yet seen a negro who was poor enough to sell his vote. They have been hushed up and extinguished by the devilish arts of the white citizens of the South, of which centuries of oppression have made them the masters. They have tried cajolery, and when that would not succeed they have tried threats; when threats would not effect their purpose they have tried terrorism, and then mutilation. And when these would not accomplish their ends they have not hesitated at murder and assassination.

Nor is this all; for inasmuch as representation is based upon population there are from the South to-day thirty-five Representatives in the lower House of Congress, who are supposed to represent the interests of the black man, but who represent instead

white malevolence and hate. And by reason of the suppression of this negro vote 60,000 white men in the South have by their votes the same political power that 142,000 white voters have in the North. It is by such means, by this false and fraudulent representation, that the lower House of Congress is Democratic. This stolen and fraudulent representation is equal to the combined Congressional representation of Ohio and Indiana; equal to that of New York, and equal to the whole Congressional representation of the States of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Nevada, California, and Oregon. Nor is this all:—These Southern orators have for years been telling us that their people were leaving their ancestral homes; that the South was impoverished, prostrate, and in the dust, and that she was shunned by capital and by immigration. There was too much truth in these statements. But they have been having a census down there recently. The President, in a moment of conciliation, allowed the Southern members to name the enumerators, and the result has been, on paper, a most marvellous growth. By the recent census, Kentucky is shown to have grown more than Indiana; Tennessee than Illinois, and Alabama than either Iowa or Wisconsin. South Carolina is shown to have increased forty-three per cent., and the State of West Virginia, with its sterile mountains and narrow valleys, is shown to have increased more than the great State of Minnesota, to which immigration has been flocking for the last ten years. The immigration statistics show that in the last ten years but one hundred and forty immigrants have settled in West Virginia, and that during the last five years there have been none, and yet the State has increased sixty-five per cent! Don't you think that is the most prolific State you ever heard of?

They tell us that this contest is sectional. It is true, but the South alone is to blame. If we venture to doubt, they call us apostles of hate; if we venture to criticise, they tell us in their elegant vernacular that we are waving the bloody shirt. They ask us to forgive and forget. We have forgiven them seven times seven times, and we will, if necessary, forgive them seventy times seven times; but they must not ask us to forget, until the tears of the widow and the orphan shall have ceased to flow, and until time and the ploughshare shall have levelled graves which still are fresh, which we decorate each year with immortelles, and which, as each recurring spring renews their verdure, remind us in solemn and impressive manner that in our day and generation there have been men who acted upon the

belief that there was no higher or more glorious immortality than in laying down their lives for their country.

If by reason of this suppressed vote in the South, and of these census frauds, the Democratic party should succeed in the coming election, it would be because the people of the North are no longer inspired by patriotism and the love of liberty. But I still should not despair, for I believe that somehow, in God's own time and way, the principles of Charles Sumner and of Abraham Lincoln will yet be maintained and vindicated by this people. But we will not fail. The man whom we all delight to honor, and who, please God, will be elected and inaugurated next President of the United States, struck the keynote of this campaign the other day in New York, when he said to the assembled Boys in Blue: "We meet to-night as comrades and veterans, to stand sacred guard over the truths for which we fought." And I tell you, men of Arapahoe County, there are ten thousand new recruits in Colorado, who want to join that army and do duty along the picket line. The fight has already begun, and, as in the old days in Scotland, when trouble was approaching along the border, the people were aroused by the building of a fire upon a hill, which was taken up and repeated from summit to summit until the whole country was warned, so with us, in a different fashion. And the fire which was kindled a month ago upon the granite hills of Maine, cloudy and smoky and obscure, but still a flame, was seen, it seems, in the grand old States of Ohio and Indiana, and they have built a fire that has illumined the Union. Its rays have crossed the great plains, the rivers and the prairies, and have lit up our mountain peaks, and the people of Colorado are preparing an answering signal for November. It will not be kindled by the smoldering embers of sectional hate, but it will tell the Solid South that we have resolved to garner and store away what we have reaped; it will tell that Solid South, in language which they will do well these days to heed, that their Lost Cause must remain forever lost.

In the excitement of the Presidential campaign, State issues must not be lost sight of. No matter how the country at large may go, Colorado is Republican, and at the head of that party in this State, sent to the front as the exponent of Colorado Republicanism, we have put our best foot foremost in presenting again for Governor, followed by a list of gentlemen worthy to be associated with him, the name of Frederick W. Pitkin. The office of Governor of Colorado has been no sinecure for the

past two years. Embarrassed by the most serious Indian complications Colorado has yet experienced, he has ever been true to our interests and jealous of our honor. Though affable, courteous, and approachable, when anarchy rears her threatening head he has the courage of his convictions. Every citizen is entitled to just so much liberty as is consistent with the equal liberty of every other citizen, no more and no less, and every man has the right to be idle, to "loaf and invite his soul" twenty-four hours in every day, provided he does not thereby compel others to contribute in some fashion to his support or the support of his family; and every man has also a God-given right to work, without let or hindrance from any man, or band of men, and the Executive who will not protect him in that right is not fit to be Governor of Colorado. The State that will not uphold and maintain its Governor in such protection is not worthy the name of a sovereign State. If our President is elected he will need the support of both Houses of Congress. Colorado has all the guaranty she needs in Senators Teller and Hill in the upper House, and we offer them a worthy compeer for the lower House in Judge Belford, whom we have renominated. Twice has he been elected to Congress, and the people have not yet forgotten the miserable juggle by which he was swindled out of his seat. They have rebuked it once, and they propose to rebuke it again in mightier tones. There is no community in the State which has not been entranced by the eloquence of the honorable member, and we have no man whom we could more properly send to meet the enemies of our country.

And now what shall I say of him whose name is upon all our lips, and in all our hearts to-night; who is the recipient of our fondest hopes, and in whom we repose our fullest confidence?—what shall I say of Garfield? Brave and conspicuous on the field of battle; honest, God-fearing, and conscientious in the halls of State; in public life, ever since he attained his political majority, there is not a line he has ever written, or a word he has ever uttered, or a single act of his daily life that will not bear the closest scrutiny. James A. Garfield has borne upon his willing back the hard work of the Republican party for the last sixteen years, and now in the prime of manhood, having reached the level of true statesmanship, he finds this, the crown of all his labors, thrust upon him by the greatest party that has ever yet risen to aid in the progress of humanity and the establishment of human liberty. It is a high and glorious privilege to fight under such a leader, and we will march

with him in serried column and unbroken front until the South is no longer a region

> "Where bastard freedom waves
> Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves,"

until there is no longer a Solid South confronted by necessity with a Solid North, and until both are merged into a Solid Union.

I want to say a few words to the younger voters—to those who this year cast their first Presidential vote—and I feel I may with propriety address them, as I am bridged from them but by the span of a decade.

We do not invite you to a feast of the dead; we do not ask you to join a party whose record and whose principles go to make up the only dark pages of American history; a party which has distinguished itself in the last twenty years only as the party of impotency and obstruction. We ask you to join the party of progress and of right. Come with us and let us make this grand party even grander and greater than ever before. Victory perches upon its banners; its issues are all alive; it is the party of liberty and humanity, the party of the future. Come with us! I speak thus earnestly, because I know that if a man once allies himself to a political party, his pride often leads him to cling to it, whether it be right or wrong.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife 'twixt truth and falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever, 'twixt the darkness and the light."

We can none of us know what awaits us in that hereafter, in that Unknown to which we in our turn shall go, as a bird flies from the lighted room out into the darkness and the night. It may be that we shall realize the Buddhist hope, and spend the illimitable future in calm and passionless contemplation of the worlds below us, without longing and without desire. Perhaps there awaits us the Heavens of Mohammed, with their barbaric splendors; or it yet may be, as so many of us hope and

believe, that, redeemed and sanctified, we shall sit at the feet of the crucified Saviour, the Christ no longer bearing upon his body the marks of the spear that pierced him, or of the cruel nails or the crown of thorns, but rehabilitated in his majesty and resplendent in the ineffable glory of his divine presence. It is not given us to know of these things, but it is given us to realize and to remember that until we go to join the silent majority, silent to all human ears, we dwell in the living present; that to our times and to this generation is confided, in the government of men, the one hope of the world; that to us is entrusted the manhood, the equal manhood, and the liberty, the equal liberty, of mankind. These duties and these trusts are upon us. And the young men of Colorado will highly resolve that to these duties and these trusts they will not prove false. Our eyes are turned upward, our feet press forward. Armed with these resolves, we can never be dislodged, for our feet are planted upon the eternal rock.

Colorado is the youngest, the latest born, the Centennial State. She brings to the Union youthful blood and fresh devotion to liberty. Do you not know that in all ages the mountains have been the haunt and home of Liberty? Thwarted and defeated on the plains, she has ever sought refuge in mountain fastnesses, and there hurled defiance at her foes. The hill-country of Judea, the Highlands of Scotland, and the summits of Switzerland have once and again borne witness to this scene. Our whole country, hill and valley and plain, consecrated by a fresh baptism of blood, will, we trust, be loyal to those principles which our fathers sealed with their life's blood a hundred years ago. But should there be wavering elsewhere, there must be no faltering here. The heights on which we dwell are consecrated forever to liberty.

"We are watchers of a beacon
Whose lights can never die;
We are guardians of an altar
'Midst the silence of the sky."

SECOND SPEECH IN 1880

At Denver, November 1, 1880 (newspaper report):

The gathering at Walhalla Hall was as magnificent a success as the rest of the demonstration, and proved the most enthusiastic overflow meeting of the campaign. Long before

eight o'clock the seats in the hall were taken, a large number of ladies being present. When the procession passed, the standing room was being rapidly taken, and when, immediately afterward, the meeting was called to order, an eager crowd was outside trying to catch the words of the speakers.

The first speaker of the evening was the Hon. E. O. Wolcott. He said that he had but few words to say, and those words would be mainly directed to introducing the speaker of the evening Hon. J. B. Belford who was to follow. He desired to call the attention of the audience to the fact that meetings like this were being held all over the Union except in the Solid South, where alone the people find no cause for thankfulness in our present prosperity, where alone the people find nothing in the old flag to love and to honor, where alone the triumph of the Republican party is feared, because it means the downfall of the sectional pride of the Solid South. "This meeting," he said, "is not held to screw our courage up, for we in Colorado have never failed and never faltered. We have met only to see that every man has his armor buckled on for the contest, and we have met to see the man whom we shall once more send to Congress as a mark of honor and respect and regard. We shall meet again to-morrow night, as sure as to-morrow's sun shall set, to celebrate a victory which means that a government of the people, for the people, by the people, shall not perish from the earth.

"The woods this evening seem full of Republicans. There is victory in the air. You remember that just before the battle of Waterloo the Duke of Wellington waited for his Prussian auxiliaries before he commenced the attack, and at last he saw a small cloud in the distance, the dust of Blücher's approaching army, and his command straightway went forth, 'Up and at 'em! Blücher has come.' So we saw our Blücher in the fire over the States of Ohio and Indiana; so we see our Blücher in the patriotic impulses that are stirring the loyal hearts of the nation; Blücher is here, and to-morrow we will fight our Waterloo.

"Fortunately for us, the Democrats in this campaign have done most of our work for us. They came with clamor for a change. But the people began to remember that things were getting on well enough, and that they would better let well enough alone. The people remembered that the party whose record was one of financial dishonor and financial shame was not the party to be entrusted with the management of that

national debt, which was our heritage from the Democratic party. They remembered that the party which denied the ballot to a whole race of freedmen, which denied our existence as a nation, was not a safe party to have control of the Government. The people determined that the Republican party which has always protected commerce and labor should not be driven from power; that the Republican party which has paid honest money to the laborer for his hire was not the party to be turned out. All the change that the people want is a change from a rebel Senate and a rebel House to a Congress in accord with a Republican President.

"The people also happened to remember that by electing Garfield they would elect to the Presidential chair a man of more learning than any who has filled the chair since John Quincy Adams. The Democratic party tried to throw dirt on him, but in that attempt they have only besmirched themselves. The attempts at slander have culminated in the past few days in forgery. And I say to you that the responsibility of the disgraceful proceedings of last night rests not only on the scum of the earth and the riff-raff that makes up the Democratic party, but it rests at the doors of those who have echoed that forgery, who have upheld it persistently with evidence that would fall to pieces in any court of law; it rests on those newspapers who have stuck to that lie; and it lies principally at the doors of the Democratic demagogues of Colorado, who led on that mob and stirred up the passions of the brute part of the people until the scene ended in disgrace and murder.[1] The people happened also to remember that, at Cincinnati, the roll-call of the States had hardly been finished in the Democratic Convention when Hancock was already promised the vote of the Solid South; a Solid South which aims to control the Government, and which, to gain that control, threatens to divide Texas and to add the polygamous Territories of New Mexico and Utah; a Solid South, solid for the same principles for which they fought us for four years; a Solid South, which was scattered by General Garfield on the battlefield of Chickamauga. The Democratic party is still talking about the principles of Thomas Jefferson, as if they did not know that the Republican party has adopted every good principle of Thomas Jefferson, while all the rest of his doctrines are part of the dead past. The Democratic party will be carried to disaster by the dead

[1] Reference was made here to an anti-Chinese riot in Denver, in which one Chinaman was hanged and others maltreated.

weight of the Solid South, and when, after election, they ask, 'Who killed Cock Robin?' we can reply that it was

'The Solid South,
With its loud mouth,
That killed Cock Robin.'

"I see from the papers that Thomas M. Patterson has returned to Colorado to take charge of this election. This is important and may be regarded as fortunate, for otherwise Patterson might have got up a little election all by himself somewhere. The importance of Tom Patterson in the election is very like the importance of Mickey Free at Salamanca. According to Mickey's letter to his folks at home, the troops were all in line, waiting for the battle to begin, and everybody was wondering why the attack was delayed, when the Duke came riding along the line until he reached Mickey Free's regiment.

"'Are ye there, Mickey?' said the Duke.

"'I am,' says Mickey.

"'Then,' said the Duke, 'let the battle begin!'"

The speaker then ran cursorily over some of the names on the Republican ticket, to show the high character of the nominees, mentioning among others Judge Wells, Governor Hunt, and General Hamill, for Electors; J. B. Belford, for Congress. The popular way of speaking of Belford, he said, was as Jim Belford, or as the Red-headed Rooster. That was all right, for it pleased the boys; but for his part, the speaker liked best to regard him as the Hon. James B. Belford, "who goes to Washington with an untarnished reputation to fight the battles against all the enemies of the Union and against all the enemies of Colorado."

IN THE BLAINE CAMPAIGN

FIRST SPEECH

At Blaine ratification meeting in Denver, July 16, 1884:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is now four years since we have met together in Colorado to discuss the national issues of the day. Then the Republican party fought shoulder to shoulder. The result was a triumphant victory, and when, by our suffrages, we had elected to the Chief Magistracy of this nation the ablest and purest President since Lincoln, we rejoiced because we saw before us safety and the perpetuity of the Republic. And when Garfield called to his right hand the one man who had the confidence of the people of the nation, the man whose life had been devoted to human rights and human freedom, the man who believed that the American flag and the American doctrine were a flag and a doctrine that should be respected the whole world over, we all rejoiced because we thought that we had been repaid a hundred-fold for the toil of a bitter canvass. In the darkest days which followed the assassination the hearts of all men followed the fortunes of Garfield's policy and Garfield's secretary. The nomination in Chicago was a triumphant tribute to the memory of the dead President, and a suggestive expression of the will of the people.

We meet here to-night to ratify that nomination, forgetting and burying, I hope forever, all faction and all clique wherever it may have existed; remembering only that the record of the Republican party for the last twenty-four years, luminous with bright achievements, must not be erased or destroyed. We meet here to-night to tell our brothers at the East that the watch-fires and the beacons are kindled along these mountains and upon these plains as tokens of victory, and that we will keep them kindled and burning until the day of election and the day after.

There was some doubt, fellow-citizens, in my mind at one

time whether I should have an opportunity at all of having the honor of addressing a Republican meeting in the city of Denver, and as I may never have another opportunity, I know, fellow-citizens, you will pardon me if I indulge in something of personal allusion and personal comment. And first, I wish to commend to the attention of every man within the sound of my voice, and especially do I wish to commend to the attention of any committee who, at this crisis in the nation's affairs, believes that the destinies of one of the two political parties is cast upon their shoulders, the proposition that no individual has a right to support an unworthy man for office. Every good citizen has a definite idea of the policy which the Government should pursue, and believes that the greatest good to the Republic can come by means of one of the two political parties which now so evenly divide the suffrages of this people. No one man's voice in either party can control its policy; this must be left to the majority of its members. If that policy is in accordance with the principles which govern his actions in public matters, he yields acquiescence; if not, he goes out of the party. But in these "piping times of peace," when money getting is the chief end of most men's ambition, and especially in this young State, where money is quickly made and lightly held, and where corrupt methods have already taught us that the longest purse can reach the honors, there is no room for doubt as to the duty which every honest man owes his party.

Parties, like individuals, become sometimes careless of the appearance of things, and if for the time no great issues are presented in local matters, it sometimes happens that primary elections are carried in the interest of some unworthy man who seeks office and preferment to glaze and cover an unsavory record, or of some man whom the acquisition of wealth, which he never earned by the sweat of his brow, has made ambitious, and who fancies that his dollars will serve instead of brains and sense. If enough primaries are carried in this way the minority of the convention is powerless; and when we are told that the majority must govern and that we must "take our medicine" without wincing and vote for unfit men for the sake of the "grand old party," such a doctrine, gentlemen, may do for some. But it won't do for me.

I love the party to which I belong. I love it for its splendid record in the past. I love it for the principles upon which it has planted its feet as upon the eternal rock. I learned to love it as a boy when fugitive slaves were hidden in the attic

of my father's house by day to leave it by night to follow their weary way to freedom out of this slave-holding country to the free air of Canada. I loved it when as a boy I took my musket and earned an honorable discharge from the armies of my country. I loved it four years ago, when all of us young men fought gallantly together for the martyred Garfield, and I do not propose to be driven out of it because I refuse my vote to a man who seeks office as in old days criminals sought the sanctuary as a refuge from prison, or because I work and fight and protest against conferring public honor upon a man who is not entitled to private respect. And I say that if it is essential that any party should find its success through bad leaders or with the aid of men who are unworthy of public confidence, then such a party has outlived its usefulness, and should sink forever under the waves of defeat. "Necessity is the argument of tyrants, the creed of slaves." We build for the future or destroy for the future; this year is not the only year in the calendar. Whatever of good or of evil we throw into the scale will grow with the weight of years; and in the long run the party which contains within its ranks members who have the moral courage to reject the unfit men who have foisted themselves into prominence will have done a hundred-fold more to preserve the "principles of eternal justice" which make the party worth saving, than all the "committees" now or hereafter organized, whose business it is in a campaign to shut their eyes, swallow the ticket, and cackle about "party fealty."

My judgment and my opinion upon the question of individual freedom within party lines has but the weight of one man's opinion, and I have no personal grievances which I seek to redress; but to some of us who belong to the younger ranks of the party, who follow and do not lead, the question of fidelity to conscience is one of importance, because it is a question we are called upon to solve each for himself and not for the other. The men who now mould public opinion will some day pass away and the trust will devolve upon us. To every true mind come "thoughts that wait to perish never"; the obligation which rests upon us cannot be delegated to any committee or to any convention; and the man who is willing to have his convictions stifled because a party whip is cracked over him and who is afraid to hold up his head as a freeman, who does not do his own thinking and give a reason for the faith that is in him, is unfit to enjoy the right of suffrage.

There is a better way to meet these questions, gentlemen, and that is to nominate good men for office. When you have nominated them stand by them, and when any man assails them, prove him to be wrong or prove him to be a liar. When they say that our candidate is "tattooed," we tell them if they tattoo him until he is as dark as the black man whom he gave the best years of his life to make free and enfranchise, yet through the mud and ink they throw upon him we see the pure soul of the broad and enlightened statesman. We tell them that we recognize the Democratic slanders which were attempted upon the martyred Garfield and which recoiled upon those who assailed him. Beyond all, gentlemen, we tell them that although they tattoo him as dark as they like, we still recognize the man who is enshrined in all of our hearts, an uncrowned king, and that if they will wait three months and a half we by our suffrages will raise him to the chief seat of this nation, vindicated and enthroned.

So much, gentlemen, as to the question of individual freedom. The question of faction politics is another question, and the whole matter of faction politics is one which every good citizen must deprecate and deplore. I suppose it is a necessity in Colorado, where we have one statesman to the square acre and only one office to the square mile; but the trouble of it is that blows are given and scars received which are never obliterated. But on this occasion, when we all meet as friends and brothers, and under one common flag, and with one battle-cry, it is pleasant for us all to remember some things, and among them it is pleasant for us to remember that during the last three years of the present Administration, the most important Cabinet office in the gift of the Executive has been filled with dignity and ability by a Colorado gentleman. The success which he has achieved is our success, and we share in his honor; and I tell you, when the influence of the Teller family, either in politics or in morals, ceases to be felt in Colorado it will be the worse for us.

The canvass is still young and some reasons may be advanced which we have not yet heard why Mr. Blaine should not be elected, and why there should be a change in the administration of this Government. So far, I have heard but two. It is said, fellow-citizens, that the English Government and the English people object to Mr. Blaine. It is a great pity; but I am afraid the English Government will have to stand him. There are some Americans who believe that if the Republic of America is founded upon the right theory; if it be true

that "all men are born free and equal" and with certain inalienable rights; if it be true that on the world's broad area there should be no "nobility," no royal blood, and no state church; if it be true that "we are all nobles by right of an earlier creation," then they believe that the doctrine which is good enough for the confines of the United States should be good enough the wide world over. That doctrine Mr. Blaine shares, and the English Government doesn't like it. There are a good many Americans who believe that the flag which floats over us to-night, the flag which floats over this United Nation, is a flag worth respecting at home, and that although our Navy be weak and puny, yet, wherever that flag floats, on all the seas of the world, it is entitled to respect. And Mr. Blaine is the exponent of that view, and the English Government probably doesn't like that. The only other argument I yet have heard advanced as to why the Republican party should go out of power and the Democratic party should go in, is that the Republican party has been twenty-four years in power in this country, and it is time that it should go out. It is true, fellow-citizens, that the Republican party has been in power in this Government for twenty-four years; it is equally true that when it took possession of the Government from the hands of the same Democratic party which seeks now to regain it, it found that the same Democratic party had stolen its forts and munitions of war, depleted its Treasury, ruined its credit, and that a large part of the same Democratic party had organized itself into a Rebel army and was marching upon the Capital.

In the four years that followed, fellow-citizens, each party was decimated by war; the Republican party lost its members in fighting for the Union, and the Democratic party in fighting for the Rebellion, and from that time to this every measure that has had in it any element of human rights has been passed by the Republican party against its opponents, the Democratic party. It has sustained the public credit against Democratic opposition; it has resumed specie payments against Democratic opposition; it has enacted that these thirty-eight States are a nation, not a loose confederation of States; that it is indestructible, alone, one. All this it has accomplished in spite of Democratic hostility and Democratic opposition.

Beyond all that, gentlemen, the Republican party built its edifice upon the broad and solid corner-stone of human rights and human liberty, and the edifice which it then constructed has for the last twenty-four years been a refuge for the down-

trodden and the oppressed of every race, and we don't see now, fellow-citizens, why that edifice should be destroyed simply because the hungry wolves outside cannot otherwise get in.

Fellow-citizens, the hour is late and there are many gentlemen to speak. I won't further occupy your time. The duty of the hour respecting both national and State affairs is upon us. Colorado is still young; she is "in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." Truth, fidelity to conscience, and patriotism are consistent with party politics. If we are to make this commonwealth a power among the States of the Union; if she is to take her place, not as a "rotten borough" but as a positive power for good, and is to keep abreast of the age in those qualities which go to make people and States great, we must all be animated by a common purpose. If this nation which our fathers fought to create and our brothers died to preserve is to be held by us and transmitted to those who come after us, every good citizen must bear his share of the burden. We have a mighty heritage of freedom. The duty which it imposes is great, the incentive and reward are great, for

"Right is right as God is God,
And right the day must win."

SECOND SPEECH IN 1884

Denver, October 25, 1884:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In these times of faction quarrels, when high office is viewed not as a reward which a grateful party bestows upon its leaders; when in addition to private efforts and individual debauchery the whole machinery of municipal and official patronage is brought to bear to aid in one man's advancement or another man's overthrow; when committees meet from time to time to adjust our tickets for us and tell us from week to week who are the proper men upon whom we shall bestow our suffrages, it speaks splendidly for the strength and durability of republican principles that the Republicans of Colorado have the moral courage this year to vote the Republican ticket. But there are at this national crisis most vital and serious questions which every citizen is called upon to settle for himself—which can be delegated to no committee and settled by no compromise.

Good government, like everything else that is good, cannot

be had without taking some trouble to secure it. Every privilege brings with it some corresponding obligation. We live under a free government because our fathers fought to make it free and our brothers died to maintain it so; and we should be false to our principles and our traditions, unworthy of the privileges we enjoy and the names we bear, if we failed to transmit these blessings unimpaired and strengthened to those who are to come after us. The candidates, the platforms of the two parties, and their history and their records are before us.

The Republican party has been in power for twenty-four years, and we are called upon to determine whether we shall continue it in power, or give it over to the other great party which claims it. My lack of political experience leads me to doubt whether any words of mine will be entitled to great consideration at your hands. The honorable and distinguished gentleman [Senator Teller] who is to follow me, ripe with political experience, and fresh from the councils of the Administration, can give you more definitely and more authoritatively than I the purposes and plans of the Republican party.

I represent no faction and I speak for no candidate, and yet it may be that I can give words of friendly cheer to some in this vast assemblage, who belong as I do to the younger membership of the Republican party; who are content to march in the ranks; who love the party to which they belong for its luminous record in the past and the bright promise of its future; who care but little what man's ambition may be gratified or disappointed, but who have implanted in their breasts a firm and abiding faith in the dignity of labor, and who believe that the principles which animated Charles Sumner and Abraham Lincoln should be kept alive and cherished in this Republic as long as the stars shine in the heavens.

Public office is not a reward; it is a duty. No party has ever nominated, and no party in all human probability ever will nominate for the office of President of the United States a man whose private life is not fit and decent. The nomination itself is a guaranty which right-thinking men are content to receive. I wish that all Presidential nominees, and, for that matter, all campaign orators, were men "who could hear the Decalogue and feel no self-reproach." There are few men in whose past lives there is not something to regret, and I desire to record it as my individual opinion that the attempt of partisans or partisan newspapers of either party to drag into a Presidential contest a discussion as to the past errors of

the private lives of either candidate is unworthy of the American people, and infamous politics.

Last Sunday I read in the public prints that the most distinguished Democratic orator of this State in an address at the Academy of Music made reference and comment, apparently without rebuke from his audience, to what he was pleased to term "the double marriage" of one of the Presidential candidates.[1] I may be mistaken in my estimate of the manhood of Colorado men, yet I cannot but believe that when an American statesman has added to his public service the example of a Christian home adorned with the sweet graces of womanhood and wifehood and motherhood for a quarter of a century, any attempt to drag the sewers of scandal and calumny for mud to throw upon it will be met with scorn and contempt by every man, Republican or Democrat, who cherishes the memory of his mother.

The public, personal, and official character of the candidates is, however, fair subject for investigation and discussion. It would be a novel experience for the Republican party to fight a Presidential campaign without having to meet calumny and slander and charges against its candidate. Lincoln was "a liar," "a mud-sill," and "a traitor." Grant was "a butcher," "without military excellence," and "unfit to govern a people"; Garfield, the martyred Garfield, stole $329,—and now they tell us that our candidate, the splendid statesman who has lived in the bright light of public gaze and scrutiny for twenty years, whose name is identified with all that is humane and glorious in the history of the country since the Republican party was born—Blaine, the fearless advocate of human liberty and equal rights, is tattooed. No charge is made against him now that was not made and published when he was Speaker of the House of Representatives. His own State, with all the knowledge that we have now, soon after elected him to the Senate of the United States. When Garfield became President he called him to the head of his Cabinet, and during his short but successful Administration, every Republican felt proud of the Secretary who believed in maintaining the dignity of the American flag. Since his nomination and after the vials of calumny and denunciation had been poured out upon him by every Democratic and assistant Democratic paper in the land, the State which knew him best tattooed him with sixteen thousand majority, and Garfield's State followed suit. The testimony of

[1] The reference is to a campaign attack on Mr. Blaine.

one's neighbors is pretty good testimony, and if God spares Mr. Blaine's life until the fourth of next month, the American people will vindicate him so completely that the Mulligan letters will go to join the Morey letter in the garbage pile which the Democratic party has heaped.

Even the gallant Logan is not free from their attacks. One of the most serious charges of the campaign, in fact, is made against him. It is stated that he once belonged to the Democratic party. This may be true, but let us say in mitigation of his offence that he was a very young man at the time and has been getting away from the party farther and farther every year, until he has become as staunch and true a Republican as ever buckled on the sword and imperilled his life for the maintenance of Republican principles. They say, too, that he is not a grammarian. This atrocious charge may likewise be true, but in the dark and perilous days of the war, when the fate of republican institutions was trembling in the balance, John Logan's soldiers always understood him when he ordered them forward, and where he led they followed. And while General Logan was fighting the battles of his country, his opponent for the Vice-Presidency, then, as now, an Indiana Copperhead, was declaring that war a failure, advising his neighbors not to enlist, designating Lincoln as "a smutty old tyrant," and denouncing him for calling out the colored troops.

A comparison of the platforms of the two parties should give us some light upon the questions we are called upon to determine. The platform of the Republican party renews the allegiance of the party to the principles which have governed it in the past and appeals to its glorious traditions. For the party it demands the protection of American industries and pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff, which necessarily arise from year to year as the character and extent of our manufactures change. It pledges itself to the protection of the wool industry and declares, as it has declared in the past, for honest money. It proposes to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and to secure, alike to the people and the corporations, the equal protection of the laws. It advocates the eight-hour law and denounces contract and servile labor. It takes high ground in favor of the Civil Service; it opposes further land grants; favors the pensioning of all invalid soldiers; demands that Territorial appointments shall be made from residents of the Territories; speaks in no uncertain voice on the Mormon evil; declares that this people constitutes a Nation and

not a loose confederation of States; and renews its purpose to secure in spite of Democratic hostility, which has hitherto defeated it, the protection of the law to every voter in the land. This is the Republican platform. Frank and fearless, it speaks to the hearts of men.

The Democratic platform is a horse of another color, or rather of no color at all. It first declares that the Republican party is a reminiscence and its issues dead. It arraigns the party for the bad men that are in it and the mistakes it has made. Then follow a series of paragraphs in which the makers of the platform have copied a number of the salient points which they found in the Republican platform, changing the language a little, and in which they declare these measures which the Republican party has always advocated and maintained, and which the Democratic party has uniformly opposed, to be good Democratic doctrine.

On the one great question between the parties, that of the tariff, I defy any man to interpret or understand the Democratic platform. The question is one vital to every citizen of this Union; and the Democratic party, true to its instincts and its past, shuffles and evades it. It reminds me of the little girl who went to Sunday-school for the first time, when the teacher asked her what her name was. She said it was Helen French, and the boy next to her asked her what it was in English. The English of it, if it is anything, is Free Trade. This Democratic platform must give us, if anything will, the reasons why the Republican party should be relegated to the rear and the welfare of the country entrusted to the party whose last President was James Buchanan. Let us see about it.

The platform declares that our party is a reminiscence and its issues dead. Dead! The history of the Republican party and the issues which gave it life and strength can never die or be forgotten. The Republican party came into being because, in this country, cursed with slavery and dominated by Southern slaveholders and their cowardly contingent in the North, there were men who believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Three hundred and fifty thousand Northern men laid down their lives because they were true to the principles which created the party. They lie buried on Southern battlefields, and although the Democratic party may declare that issue settled, yet, so long as republics endure, the courage of all men who love liberty and hate oppression will be stimulated by the heroic history of the Republican party during

the past twenty-four years, and that history will never be forgotten or cease to move the minds of men until America has ceased to cherish the memory of its heroes. It is true, as the Democracy allege, that there are now few issues to divide the parties. The reason is not difficult to find. The parties thirty years ago were as far apart as the poles. With each succeeding year new ramparts were carried by the Republican party and a forward step taken in the march of progress and civilization. The old issues became settled because they were wiped out, and the Democracy forced to the wall upon them.

In 1856 the Democratic Convention said the Government had no right to improve our rivers or inland lakes. The Republican party, upon its accession to power, proceeded to improve them and to make them navigable, and a vast accession of wealth and population was the inevitable result. The Republican party settled that issue, and in its last platform the Democratic party pledges itself to internal improvements. In 1860 the Democratic National Convention declared that slavery was an institution with which the General Government had no right to interfere. The Republican party, with millions of treasure and by the arbitrament of battle, in spite of Democratic hostility, decided that issue forever. And now, in its present platform, the Democracy glibly declares that equal and exact justice should be meted out to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion.

In 1860 James Buchanan vetoed the Homestead law. The Republican party carried the measure through. By reason of that wise and beneficial provision the Great West has been peopled, railways have been built, and a home and a fireside been given to thousands of the oppressed of every nation. And you will notice that the Democratic platform of 1884 advocates giving the public lands in small parcels to actual settlers. In 1864 the Democratic Convention declared the war a failure. This was in the dark days, when the women went mourning about the streets, when Grant was in the Wilderness and Sherman marching to the sea, and our soldiers came home and cast their votes for Lincoln and went back to the trenches and the weary march and proved that the war was not a failure. The Democracy this year follows in the Republican wake and favors the pensioning of the men who proved it wrong. In 1868 the Democracy said the Reconstruction Acts were violent and unconstitutional and void. Four years afterward they accepted them. During the war, when the North

proposed to issue greenbacks, the Democracy denounced their issue as unlawful, and George H. Pendleton, then in Congress, said: "You have stamped these bills with the brand of Cain, and, like Cain, they will go forth as outcasts and refugees upon the earth."

Yet in 1876, when the Republican party was trying to meet our just debts as an honest nation, the Democratic Convention demanded the repeal of the Resumption Act passed for the purpose of paying these same greenbacks. All sorts of disasters were predicted if specie payments were resumed, and numberless flat-money schemes were advocated by the Democracy. Yet in 1880, after specie payments had in fact been resumed, the Democratic Convention congratulated the country on its unparalleled prosperity, and in this year of grace, 1884, the Democratic platform bobs up serenely with a plank pledging the party to honest money—gold and silver. This is why there are so few issues now before the people. The charge is made by the Democracy that bad men have allied themselves to the Republican party, that they have a voice in its councils, and that they practise corrupt methods under its cover and shield.

This charge is the only serious one that has been brought against us. By means of it a certain number of men and papers have been alienated from the party, and we must meet the charges fairly and without evasion. It is true that bad men and corrupt men abound all over the world, and there is a fair proportion of them in the United States. Some of these are members of the Republican party. Like the camp-followers of a victorious army, they hang upon our ranks and their evil methods and corrupt practices dishonor the party to which they belong. They have no share in the splendid history of the past. They are Republicans because the Republican party is in power, and not because they are attached to its principles or its traditions. Is this a reason for giving over this Government to the party whose very leaders were lately in arms to destroy it? The Republican party is still instinct with loyalty and devotion to human freedom and human progress.

When principles are at stake the way to purify the National Republican party is from within, and not from without. Whenever a man in office is shown to be corrupt the Republican party spews him out, and whenever such a man is kicked out of the Republican party he finds the Democratic party ready to receive him with open arms. And the Republican who this year votes

with the Democratic party because there are corrupt men in his own, gives a vote to aid a party whose advent to power would be signalized by such a reaching after the spoils of office as this country has never witnessed since the Democratic party went out of power in 1861 and carried our arms and our treasury with them.

This disposes of the Democratic platform except so far as it relates to the question of the tariff. The position of the Democratic party as expressed in the views of its leaders on this proposition is as difficult to determine as is the meaning of the tariff plank in its platform. Mr. Randall in Pennsylvania insists to his constituents that the Democracy mean to protect American industries; Frank Hurd, another leader, in the West, declares that the Democratic party is a Free Trade party. From the Ohio returns it is apparent that the people believe neither of them. The party falls between two stools. It is like the story of a country fair they had down in Kansas in the early days. The country was not settled up very thickly, but they thought they might have a fair, and so they got one up. There were only two entries in the fair. One was a prize bull, and the other a prize pumpkin. On the first night the prize bull broke down the enclosure and ate up the prize pumpkin, and it gave the prize bull a colic and he died, and that broke up the fair. But in spite of Democratic evasion there can be no doubt that the question of protection to American industries is an issue in this campaign; and Colorado with her plains, upon which thousands of sheep are herded, with her splendid water power, and her mountains rich with iron, lead, copper, and the precious metals, has an enormous and living interest in this issue.

The Republican party maintains, and has always insisted, that the revenues necessary to the maintenance of our Government shall be mainly raised by duties on foreign products, so levied as to protect and encourage American manufactures and American industries. The Democratic party has always been hostile to this kind of legislation, and whenever it has been in power it has disturbed and prostrated the industries which depend upon this protection. One party must be right, the other wrong. The prosperity of this Republic for the past twenty years suggests the best answer to Free Trade theorists. The policy of Protection to American industry has afforded employment at living wages to our laborers, has saved them from competition with pauper labor from abroad, and has fur-

nished our farmers and stockraisers with a market for their home produce. It touches the spring of every industry among us. It promotes our agricultural, our manufacturing, and our commercial prosperity, and makes us independent of foreign powers. It is the true American doctrine, and none can be more convinced of this than those American citizens of foreign birth, who, before coming to this land, knew the oppression of those who "grind the faces of the poor." It is to get away from this experience, and not to repeat it, that they come here. And we owe it to them, and to all citizens of this Republic, of whatever nationality, to uphold the tariff policy which has always been dear to the Republican party, and which the Democratic party has uniformly opposed.

There is another issue before the people, put there by Democratic hostility and Southern hate. Four years ago we all believed that under Garfield's administration equal rights would be secured to all our citizens and the last fruits of the war be garnered. But to-day, twenty years after the war, it is as true as it has ever been, that a free ballot and a fair count cannot be had at the South. Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina have all of them a legitimate Republican majority. Yet, year after year a full Democratic vote is cast, and the Republicans are prevented by fraud and intimidation from depositing their ballots. The war was too costly a sacrifice, fellow-citizens, to permit the enemies of our institutions to fritter its effects away. Too much loyal blood was shed for the cause of human freedom, for the people of these United States to submit to the stifling of the voice of the actual majority. And whether it shall be four years or four times four years, the Republican party will not be permitted to let go its hold of this Government until it is settled finally and for all time that the flag of this nation floats only over freemen, and that there is sufficient power back of the flag to protect every citizen of this Republic in the right which the law gives him.

Did you ever stop to think who compose the party which demands that we shall deliver up the keys of government, and what influences dominate that party? There are 400 votes in the Electoral College. It takes 201 to elect. The Southern States, most of them brought back into the Union by force, furnish 153 of those votes, and it is necessary to break the Northern ranks only sufficiently to secure forty-eight votes. New York is depended on to furnish thirty-six of these, and, saving only exceptional years, the Democracy have never carried the

State of New York unless the city of New York and its sister city of Brooklyn furnished a Democratic majority of 30,000 or more. The city of Tweed and Boss Thompson does not invite the confidence of the American people in the management of the nation's affairs and the South offers us still less hope. Ten out of eleven of the Southern States which were in the Rebellion have repudiated or scaled down their debts. They constantly prate about their honor. In their financial policy their honor has been that of the highwayman. If they tell you that their debts grew onerous because of expensive and ruinous carpet-bag governments, they tell you that which is not true, for before the war their debts aggregated $90,000,000, and today they are paying interest on only two thirds of that sum. For twenty years the Republican party has been carefully managing the affairs of the people and it is not going to turn over the fruits it has garnered to a repudiating and dishonest South.

"By their fruits ye shall know them," and before dismissing the pretensions of the Democratic party to the control of this people it is fair to examine the record of the party for the past few years and since it has controlled the House of Representatives. For eight out of the last ten years the Democratic party has had control of the lower House of Congress. The Civil Service Bill passed the Senate. It also passed the Democratic House, but with forty-seven votes against it, nearly all of which were Democratic votes. Senator Pendleton, who had advocated the measure in the United States Senate, was elected to stay at home by the Democratic Legislature as soon as his term had expired.

General Logan introduced a bill providing national appropriations for the education of the people, so worded as to give the benefit of the appropriations to those sections where the densest ignorance prevailed. Nearly all of this money would go to the Southern States, mainly for the colored people, but a good share for the white population. It passed the Senate, its only opponents being a few Democratic Senators. A Democratic House declined to take up the measure, and the bill fell.

The great evil of polygamy is one which every decent citizen desires to see decisively dealt with. A Republican Senate passed a bill to wipe it out, a few Democratic Senators only voting against it. The Democratic House was too busy tinkering with the tariff to take up the measure, and it went by the board—and the fact remains that during all the years that

the Democracy have controlled the House of Representatives that body has passed no bill which has tended to elevate mankind or to benefit humanity. Its legislation marks simply a steady advance in appropriations, a settled hostility to all measures for the purification of the ballot, and a reaching out of a hungry party for spoils. With these cold facts before us, and remembering the whole history and record of the party, it is difficult to see how any true citizen can willingly put himself, his interests, and his country into such hands.

But they tell us that Governor Cleveland is a reformer and better than the record of his party. The only evidence before us that he is a reformer up to the present time is based upon the fact that he signed certain bills looking to the purification of the New York City government. These measures were Republican measures, passed by a Republican Assembly, introduced and advocated by young Roosevelt, who is to-day supporting the Republican ticket. A Republican Governor would have signed them and nobody would have thought anything about it. It was remarkable only because one Democrat was found who did his duty, remembering always that the bill which affected his henchman Hubert A. Thompson was vetoed. Be that as it may, no man is better than the accepted sentiment of his party, and Democratic history furnishes many examples of this truth.

Governor Cleveland, if elected, would be in the hands of the Democracy as clay in the hands of the potter. Wrapped in his garb of reform he may present an attractive spectacle to the Republicans who detest the bad men in the party, as all good Republicans do, but who forget that we are fighting for principles, not men. Yet if he should be elected to the Presidency who can doubt that he would be forced, garb and all, into the muddy stream of Southern Democracy, fed by hatred of the colored race, and impelled forward to the ocean of spoils.

Why, he would never have time to take his reform garb off. He would be like the little boy I heard of the other day. He came home from Sunday-school, and he had tumbled all over in the mud, and his father reproved him for it, saying, among other things, "And you had on your new trousers too." "Yes," said the boy, "that is so, father; but when I felt myself going, I did n't have time to take them off."

Leaving now the dreary record of the Democratic party, the vagueness and disingenuousness of its platform—and the false claims of the Democracy that its candidate can be better than

his party, there are other considerations which entitle the Republican party to the support of every good citizen at the coming election. But I feel that I am already trespassing upon the time of the distinguished gentleman who is to succeed me, and I will refer to them but briefly. The party has been devoted to Civil Service Reform, and has taken the lead in that direction. It is the most important measure before the country, and the Republican party is alive to the necessity of it. It is true we have not felt the benefits of it yet in Colorado, but we are a long way off from the seat of government, and it will come in time if the Republican party is permitted to enforce its provisions. If not, it will be lost. In the matter of national education, the Democracy has shown its opposition; and the party which brought the colored man out of bondage can better be trusted with his education than the man who a few years ago cracked the whip over his head. Our country is still young. Its interests need fostering as never before. What we want is a stable policy, not a change. Already our industries are unsettled and values fluctuating because of the threatened possibility of Democratic success.

Under the present policy of the Government we are making rapid strides and real progress. We have a common country:

> "She that lifts the manhood of the poor,
> She of the open soul and open door,
> With room about her hearth for all mankind."

And in the upbuilding of her greatness and her grandeur we have a common interest. To the Republican party this work has been entrusted since we became a free nation, and, under God, until its mission is accomplished, in Republican hands it will remain. Animated by this spirit and devoted to Republican institutions, we will touch the elbow and go forward with solid mass and resistless sweep to victory. Each succeeding Presidential election brings to the front new voters and young blood, men who love their country because they believe in its institutions, who love the right and hate the wrong, and who desire to ally themselves with the party who will keep abreast of the age and whose work will tell most in the great cause of humanity. Come with us! you live in a commonwealth which is free because the Republican party wiped out the blot of slavery.

We give you nothing to blush for, nothing to forget. The

past is radiant with achievement, the future is bright with promise. Come with us! The safety of this nation and the permanence of its institutions must ever rest in the courage of young hearts and the vigor of a noble manhood. There are better things than wealth and place and power. Identify yourselves with the party which has never taken a step backward and whose mission has always been to lift up the downtrodden and oppressed and plant their feet on the eternal rock of liberty. You are proud of your country: Had it not been for the Republican party, you would have had no country! You love the flag: Attach yourselves to the party which has preserved its thirty-eight stars, and to the man who believes in making that flag respected wherever it floats!

THE FIGHT OF '86

FIRST SPEECH

BEFORE the Republican State Convention (incomplete report), September 28, 1886:

I doubt if my being called upon to speak at this time will expedite the business of this Convention; and recalling what I have been told concerning the temporary organization which is to carry on the business of the Convention and to which decision as a Republican I am bound to bow, I do not feel much like speaking. I feel very like the man who was sentenced to be hanged, and who, when he was asked if he had any dying words, replied that he was so mad that he could n't talk. Never before in the history of Colorado has the Republican party assembled to nominate a general ticket when the National Government has not been in harmony with the party policy of this State; and it is pleasant for us at this time to reflect that on the day of party defection, when the malcontents of the North joined with the ever Solid South, Colorado did not waver but stood true to her allegiance to the Republican party.

This State gave a larger Republican majority in proportion to its population than was given by any other State of the Union, and if it shall be our good fortune once again to secure the leadership of the peerless man [1] who two years ago was betrayed in the home of his friends, Colorado will demonstrate that time has strengthened and ripened our advocacy of 1884. Many of you gave your first Republican vote long before the days of Buchanan, and the work of the Democracy had become almost a myth and was well-nigh forgotten. It is pleasant for us to realize, as we do, that we made no mistake when we cast our fortunes with the Republican party.

The chief claim of the Administration so far has been that Mr. Cleveland is a great reformer of the Civil Service. So far

[1] James G. Blaine.

as the claim is based on fact, however, the Democratic party has used the Civil Service as a weapon of abuse for their President. So far as Colorado is concerned, you will bear me out in the statement that Civil Service reform is a delusion and a snare. In the two years of national Democratic rule nearly every Republican office-holder in Colorado has been either removed or suspended. The Directorship of the Mint with its subordinate offices, the Surveyor-Generalship of the State, the United States Attorneyship, the United States Marshalship, and most of the other offices are in Democratic hands already, and most of them are filled by men who but a few years ago were fighting to destroy the very Government whose pay they now draw. There are a few of them left, a few of the Republican office-holders in Colorado, and if any one of them puts his nose inside of this Convention he is going to be removed for pernicious partisanship. His value as a Republican is gone; he is neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring, and if Mr. Cleveland wants the rest of them in Colorado he can have them as far as the Republican party is concerned. We have had within the past year in this country the unexampled spectacle of the leader of the Rebellion emerging from his seclusion and travelling in triumphant pageant through the South followed by adoring and idolizing crowds, and everywhere maintaining the right of secession and the sacredness of the Lost Cause, and it furnishes to Northern Republicans a lesson which they will be slow to forget.

As to the other national issues, and there are many, I will not take up your time with them at this time or on this occasion, for you have already heard something of them from your Chairman and probably our Member of Congress will tell you as to the extravagance of the last session, against which I have no doubt he voted with all his might and main.

But there is one word I would like to say respecting a local issue and wherein I speak only for myself. The Republican party in Colorado is strong and successful, and its tendency is to shut its doors against every man who has ever bolted its nominations and who seeks to return.

Now, gentlemen, there are bolters and bolters. We had last year in this county of Arapahoe men who came into the Republican Convention and endeavored to secure a nomination, and failing to get which they went over to the Democracy and were put on the Democratic ticket and were elected by Democratic votes and disaffected Republicans, with the result that

to-day we cannot tell whether they belong to the Democratic party or the penitentiary, and either is bad enough. But there are men sometimes who, when a great and vital issue is not before the people, must satisfy their consciences as to the personnel of the candidates before they will give them their suffrage.

Those men, gentlemen, in my opinion, are entitled to respect, and the more so because we have the remedy in our hands, and if this Convention and other Republican Conventions will look to it that the men they nominate for high offices are fitted for them by their character and their attainments, and not men whose only claim to recognition and to office lies through their position of wealth and their ability to debauch the party, we will hear no more of bolters in Colorado. I have no doubt, gentlemen, that this Convention will act upon this principle, and we meet here to-day, united and harmonious, to renew our allegiance to the party to which we are proud to belong, and to give token that Republican principles burn as brightly and shine as purely in the hour of defeat as in the day of victory, for they are fed from the eternal verities.

SECOND SPEECH

Mammoth Rink, Denver, October 30, 1886:

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: For the first time in twenty-five years a Democratic Executive presides over the Government, and the Democratic party controls the affairs of the nation. In this fact alone the Republican party finds no cause for discouragement. Its founders fought for years against this same Democracy at times when the profession of Republican principles brought only opprobrium and infamy; its infancy was not nourished by official pap, and in the vigor of its mature manhood it does not require that sustenance. To the experience of its earlier heroic struggles have been added the lustre of a devotion to our common country, sealed with the lives of thousands of its champions; a country saved, and a successful administration of the nation's affairs for a quarter of a century; and now, thus strengthened, we march in this hour of apparent national defeat with the same unbroken front we showed in the day of victory.

If the Republican party has outlived its usefulness, if its traditions are the rubbish of the past, it should go to the wall, and every true lover of his country should rejoice in its down-

fall. If, however, its principles and purposes are true and right, if its traditions and its history are noble, if it is still instinct with patriotism, it will grow stronger in adversity, and its light will again serve as a beacon to guide this Republic.

The selfishness of man had no share in the creation of the Republican party; it came into being because there were God-fearing men throughout the North who believed that when the fathers of the Republic laid as one of its corner-stones the avowal that all men were created free and equal, the truth was meant and not a lie. The Solid South then, as always, hostile to any measure or movement for the lifting up of men and the progress of the human race, attempted to stamp out the party; but opposition served only to strengthen and unite it. And when the Northern conscience was finally aroused and slavery doomed, and the Democracy attempted to go out of the Union with such property as it could lay its hands upon, the Republican party, grown from a handful of earnest men to an almost solid North, poured out its treasure and its blood to make this a free people and an indissoluble Union. It fought the Democracy in the front and in the rear; and when the war was ended it garnered its fruits. With clemency and forgiveness it took back to citizenship the men lately in arms to destroy the Union; and from the earliest days of the party until now there has been no measure enacted for the amelioration of mankind that has not been carried by the Republican party against the active opposition of the Democracy.

In the face of these achievements the Democracy which, having no record but one of dishonor, and finding hope for the future only in obliteration of the past, insists that the old issues are dead; that the recital of the story of the war is a renewal of sectional animosity, and that the history of our country for the past twenty-five years should be buried in oblivion.

The story of the war is not so old but that our Soldiers' Homes and our hospitals are still filled with its victims, and not so old but that in every hamlet throughout the North there are homes made desolate by it; and many a widow still recounts to her son, just growing into manhood, his father's share in its horrors and its victories, and how he laid down his life that men might be free. The story will be told as long as the Republic endures, to inspire its sons with hatred of oppression and love of liberty; and as long as a Solid South, with its unfair methods, continues to menace a loyal North, so long will the issues between the parties remain alive and vital.

Principles can never be choked by majorities, but since 1856 no majority or plurality of voters has outnumbered the voters of the Republican party. A fair election in a free Republic contemplates that all the legal voters shall have the opportunity of depositing their ballots in the box, and that these votes shall be fairly counted. It further contemplates a fair distribution of representation, so that each electoral vote shall stand for practically the same number of votes as every other electoral vote. No single one of these requisites was present in the last national election, and because of their absence alone was the Republican party counted out. It is the old story of Southern perfidy.

In this connection let me call your attention to a significant statement made by a distinguished Democrat in the last Democratic State convention, while placing in nomination the party candidate for Congress. I quote from the printed account of the proceedings of the convention. He said: "And if Colorado wheels into line this year, in two years from now she can join hands with her Southern sisters." Her "Southern sisters"! What is the matter with her Northern sisters? The gentleman—he is from Georgia, I believe—forgets that our mountains and plains never heard the crack of the slave-driver's whip. We were born free, and although Mr. Cleveland is rapidly filling up the Federal offices in this State with rebel incumbents, he will have to appoint a great many more before Colorado will join hands with her "Southern sisters."

I do not propose to go over again the wretched story of the intimidation of the colored vote of the South, but I want to call your attention to a few self-evident facts. The electoral vote is based upon Congressional representation, and that in turn is based, not on the popular vote, but upon population. The Solid South has within forty-eight votes of a majority of the Electoral College. More than one third of the voters of the South have cast no ballots since 1876. The deficit represents the colored vote. The Southern leaders tell us the negroes do not want to vote, but nevertheless they had to kill a good many of them before the others concluded they did not want to vote. Be that as it may, it is monstrous that a Northern State is required to cast a vote and a half for its Presidential Electors against a single vote required to elect in the Solid South. With either a fair vote or a fair representation a Republican President would now be occupying the White House.

In spite of this fraud and unfairness, however, the Democracy

would not have triumphed had not another cause contributed to alienate voters from the Republican standard. There are unfortunately men everywhere who prey upon their fellow-men. Without principle and without honor they seek not their country's advancement, but their own selfish ends. The Republican party was large, successful, and had been long in power, and had the offices at its disposal. These men attached themselves to the party as camp-followers to a victorious army, who care for nothing but to fatten on the spoils. They were the Star Route thieves, the men who bought their way to office and the men who traded in the nation's honor. Their conduct could not affect the integrity of the party, but they drove away many voters from it for a time. Like all camp-followers, they attached themselves to the party which had the spoils. They cannot well go body and breeches at once into the Democratic fold, where they properly belong. So this year they are posing as Independents, and two years from now they will pose as genuine Democrats, which they undoubtedly are.

These are the causes which brought us apparent national disaster two years ago. It is gratifying for us to remember that defeat came to us through no abandonment of principle and through no party dishonor. By resolute effort and party cleanliness temporary defeat may be turned into permanent victory; and if Heaven spares the life of that peerless statesman who led us two years ago, and if he will again consent to carry our standard, Colorado will forge to the front with a larger majority for Blaine in proportion to her vote than any State in the Union.

The country has seen a year and a half of Democratic rule, and is able to judge somewhat of its efficiency and its tendencies. No President ever took his seat with a more subservient Congress at his disposal. No House of Representatives since we have had a Congress ever passed such extravagant appropriation bills. And they have passed nothing else. In the Executive Department the record is no better. Mr. Cleveland inaugurated his administration by pardoning out of the penitentiary, on the eve of an Ohio election, a Democrat who had been legally convicted of the heinous crime of imprisoning on the day of the national election one hundred colored men, whose only sin was an attempt to exercise the right of suffrage secured to them by the Constitution and the laws. Subservient to the South which elected him, he sent men to represent us at the courts of Europe whose departure was delayed while they

hunted up their disability papers that they might qualify for office.

In his dignified letter of acceptance two years ago, Mr. Blaine outlined the policy this Government should pursue toward the sister governments of the American continents and toward foreign nations making claim to American territory. His words found an echo in every loyal heart. What a contrast to his clear utterances has been afforded by the conduct of the Democratic Executive! While British armed cruisers were destroying our fishing interests off the Canadian coast and driving our sailing craft from the sea, Mr. Cleveland, who, during the war, rather than shoulder his musket purchased a substitute, instead of dealing with this important international question, was spending his valuable time in vetoing petty pension bills; the whole amount involved being hardly more than the President's salary during the time taken up with writing the vetoes. In the Mexican embroglio his conduct brought equal disgrace upon the country. Either we were in the right and it was our duty to protect our citizens, or we were wrong and should not have interfered. Instead of first learning upon what ground we stood, the President turned loose the American Eagle and then ignominiously brought it back again and put it in its cage.

The one act of President Cleveland in his whole administration of which the people approve, is his getting married and then going fishing—and the high example this furnishes should induce you, my fellow-citizens, to "go and do likewise."

The friends of the present Administration, however, point with pride to the President's policy and record respecting Civil Service. It is claimed that he is a firm believer in the doctrine and that he has faithfully carried out its principles. This claim will bear a little investigation. The Republican party inaugurated the policy and sought to enforce it long before the Democracy came into power. It found scant help from the Democrats, and Hon. George H. Pendleton was defeated for the Senate in Ohio because he advocated a Civil-Service measure. The rank and file of the Democratic party find in the President's professions on this question only reasons for criticising and abusing him. While, therefore, he does not represent his party, all good citizens should uphold him in what he is doing, provided, always, he is doing anything. Let us see: It is not pretended that Mr. Cleveland's Civil-Service reform extends any farther than a refusal to remove before the expiration of his term of office a present incumbent because he is a Re-

publican. If he has appointed a single Republican to office since he has been President we have never heard of it in Colorado. In exercising this forbearance and in permitting a faithful public servant to continue in office until his term expires, the President undoubtedly helps the efficiency of the public service. But wherein has the Democratic President distinguished his administration from that of the Republican Presidents who preceded him?

When President Lincoln assumed the duties of Chief Executive, the Democratic office-holders had run away, carrying with them as much stolen property as they could lay their hands on. Loyal men had to be appointed in their places, and from that time until 1885 there were no Democrats in office upon whom to bestow the refined blessings of a Civil-Service policy. There were no removals for political causes because there were only Republicans in office. But the whole profession of Civil-Service principles by the Administration is a fraud and a sham. Except in one instance, that of a New York postmaster, what Republican has been reappointed to office, and what Republican is ever appointed in the first instance? At the present rate of removals and appointments there will not be a Republican office-holder left in an appointive office when Mr. Cleveland's term expires.

In Colorado the system of appointments is even more disgraceful than elsewhere. Mr. Cleveland recognizes that this is a Republican State, hopelessly Republican. He therefore ignores the Democrats of Colorado who have the confidence of their party here and gives the offices in this State to men whose appointments will please Eastern and Southern Senators and Cabinet officers. The appointments here and all over the Union are made, not with the view of securing efficient public service, but solely to strengthen and bolster up the Democratic party for the struggle of 1888; and instead of public office being a public trust, public office is a Democratic trust! If the record of the present Administration is a fair record of Democratic statesmanship, four years, with periods of twenty-five years of Republican administration intervening, is all the country can very well stand.

Turning from the domain of national politics, there are a few words which I desire to say respecting the State ticket. If we were all agreed as to who should be nominated for the different offices, there would be no need of holding a State convention. But members of the party always differ in a greater

or less extent in their preferences, and a convention is a place where these differences are settled, as they should be settled, by vote. In the absence of fraud, where the nominees are fit men, it is the recognized duty and privilege of the members of the party to stand by the persons named by the convention. The nominees for whom we are asked to cast our ballots were certainly the free choice of the majority of the convention, and are entitled to and will receive the votes of all good Republicans.

Our candidate for Governor[1] has already held with credit the office of Lieutenant-Governor; in the State convention of two years ago he was second in the voting to the successful candidate, and when he was defeated he spent his whole time between the convention and the election in helping carry the whole Republican ticket, and now when in turn the mantle falls on his shoulders he deserves the hearty good-will and support of his party.

The campaign has been conducted with the usual bitterness, but no word has yet been said affecting the integrity of Governor Meyer. It is true he is of foreign birth, but that in no wise affects his fitness or his eligibility for office, and from his earliest boyhood he has lived in Colorado, and has been an important factor in the prosperity of the State. Where he is best known he is most respected, and as Governor of this State he will make a record of which we shall all be proud.

The other nominees upon the State ticket were also fairly nominated and should carry the vote of the party.

The Democracy has made the most astonishing nomination for the Congressional honors of the party, a clergyman[2] who, as to one parish at least, seems determined to exemplify the old saying that "the itch of disputing will prove the scab of the churches."

The elective offices of this State are alike open to all its citizens, to men of every business and every profession. There is no legal reason why a Christian minister of the Gospel should not abandon his pulpit and enter the political arena, or, for that matter, should not, if his people will tolerate it, combine the two callings of clergyman and Congressman. But there are features in such a dual relation which are painful alike to all good citizens, irrespective of party. No man who recalls the dark days of the war can forget the stirring words of encouragement which were uttered from Christian pulpits throughout the

[1] Hon. William H. Meyer, who was defeated.

[2] Rev. Myron W. Reed, a Congregational minister of Denver.

land; and whenever crises have arisen in this country the clergy have usually stood shoulder to shoulder for the right. These men, however, sought no partisan office and had no personal ambition to gratify. If there is a single influence in this country which more than any other has tended to elevate the people, it has been the Christian ministry of all denominations. This influence grows with the growth of civilization, and will continue to increase so long as the pulpits of America are kept pure and undefiled. It is the pastor's high and noble office to visit and comfort the sick and suffering, to alleviate distress, to turn men's minds and lives to better things, to bring words of hope to the dying, and to bury the dead. No calling is so sacred, no profession is so pure. And when a man, clothed in this high office, imposes himself on a Christian community and relies upon cheap jokes to attract his audience, seeks to make the pulpit but the stepping-stone to the rostrum, and, having tried unsuccessfully in one State to get a nomination for office upon the platform of one party, comes West and finds it upon the platform of another, and thereupon turns his church into a Democratic ward meeting and, instead of preaching a Gospel of peace, the Gospel of Christ, and trying to lift men up and make them better, appeals to their lower passions and preaches the Gospel of dynamite, such a man disgraces the Christian ministry and the Christian religion. He claims to be the friend of the laboring man, but he never earned his bread but by the sweat of his tongue, and he interlards his campaign stories with profanity, that he, the man of God, may catch the vote of the man of sin. He served in the army, and, so far as I can learn, has never preached a sermon without reminding his hearers of the fact. He views the employer of labor as the enemy of labor, and if his speeches be correctly reported, he finds a mighty grievance against the railroads in the excessive rate of freight on mineral water between Boulder and Manitou. He is an anti-monopolist. He enjoys the most notorious monopoly of this State I know anything of, the monopoly of a Christian pulpit which he degrades to serve his political ends, and that monopoly the people of Colorado will leave him to enjoy.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Republican party is not perfect. No party composed of the "porcelain clay of humankind" can be wholly perfect, but its united judgment, except where affected by extraordinary local causes, is better than the individual judgment of any of its members, and whenever you see a man styling himself an "Independent," you are

pretty certain to see a man whose personal ambitions have not been gratified by the party against which he votes. It rests with us to make the party better, and to make it better from within and not from without. There is something higher and finer than the hungry strife and greed for place and office. The great problem before us is to secure for every citizen throughout this land the fair and full fruit of the labor of his hands; to secure it without destroying the rights guaranteed by our Constitution to all our citizens alike, and without tolerating for an instant the red hand of anarchy and socialism. Demagogues are powerless to help in the solution of this grave question, and if the history of the past can afford any guide for the future, the party which made all labor free is the party which may be trusted to protect it.

Every year brings to us a fresh harvest of men who for the first time are to assume the high privilege of citizenship, and to whom is to be entrusted the sacred duty of upholding free institutions—

> "Young men who gather as their own
> The harvest that the dead have sown":

To you, the Republican party, under the leadership of men who believe that as truths advance man's horizon grows wider and his plans lift higher,—the Republican party, with its splendid history and noble purposes, offers the right hand of fellowship—a hand unsoiled with treason and unstained with its country's blood.

THE CAMPAIGN OF '88

FIRST ADDRESS

AT State convention, Pueblo, Colo., May 15, 1888, to select delegates to National Convention (incomplete report).

We have had enough of Democratic rule. The last four years have simply taught us that the confidence which a few weak men in the North gave to the Solid South has brought back that same solid, unrepentant South with its rebel yell. It has taught us another thing: that in defeat there is unity. The camp followers have walked away, and they are welcome to go. The men who believe in Republican principles are left. Defeat has served only to unite us. Not only are we united by the apparent national defeat four years ago, but the same people in this State helped to elect a Democratic Governor and further united the party. Last spring the same people of that party succeeded in further uniting the party by electing a Mayor. Thus we have hammered ourselves into complete unity and it is now time to call a halt. If in our wisdom we had seen fit to select the Hon. William H. Meyer, we would have elected a man whose character would have done credit and honor to the State and party. It is said, however, in the proverb that "unless thou hast sometime made a fool of thyself, be sure thou wilt never be a wise man."

There is great room for wisdom in the Republican party of Colorado. I am glad that kind friends and time have reared the statute of limitation against the men who have unwittingly forgotten their party allegiance, for there are none without faults. "We have all done it," and now I suggest that we are all glad to work together for the interest of the party. I take it, gentlemen, that our business will be brief. I know that we will regret that our stay in this "pleasant little village" may not be prolonged for several days, but even conventions must

have an end, and I suppose we will get through our business as soon as we can and go.

It will be presumptuous for any one to suggest what the Committee on Resolutions should do. But I apprehend that no Republican convention in the State of Colorado can adjourn without putting itself on record in favor of the double standard and the white metal. No Republican convention called in Colorado, remembering the diversified products of labor and the respect we owe to labor, could adjourn without putting itself on record in favor of protection of American industry. Yet I don't know that it is necessary for us to stay in Pueblo to pass many resolutions. We have another State convention in the fall. But if it is necessary to take a stand on Mormonism (and all Republicans are opposed to Mormonism), I am in favor of opposing Mormonism. If it is necessary to twist the tail of the British lion, let us twist it. If it is necessary to make and pass resolutions that corporations are thieves and swindlers and their tools should not be entitled to citizenship, then let that be done.

I am for anything that will help the Republican party in the State and in the country, because we love the party, because it is the party that saved the Union, because it is the party that lifts up the downtrodden in every place and plants their feet on the rock of liberty; because to young men, to old men, and to all men it is the one party that offers hopeful unity and hope for the future of this grandest Republic of the world, and because the party opposed to it has a record full of dishonor. I have no doubt and no fear that, sinking all dissensions and local prejudices, Colorado will come to the front with a magnificent majority for the Republican ticket.

SECOND ADDRESS

At Colorado Springs, October 24, 1888:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is almost impossible to say anything more in behalf of this beautiful city than has been said by the Democratic candidate for Governor. I understand he paid you every compliment that could possibly be paid, and stated almost every fact connected with your history, except one, and that was that El Paso County was the banner Republican county of Colorado.

As for myself, I tread on dangerous ground. In an un-

guarded moment a few months ago, as a bit of pleasantry, I spoke of a prospering neighboring city as "a pleasant little village," and I have been apologizing for it ever since. But whoever comes here is lost in wonder respecting the order that prevails upon the streets of the city, and those of us who come from towns where the same control is not exercised are sometimes lost in astonishment as to whether or not it is the laws of the town that make the people so good, or whether it is the goodness of the people that makes the laws so good.

I am reminded some of the story I read the other day of a very ardent temperance man who was addressing a Sunday-school in Kansas, and as usual these men always commence —or used to when I went to Sunday-school—by asking questions. He said: "Children, why am I not a drunkard?" And a little fellow in a back seat said: "Because you live in a prohibition town." And I apprehend and realize fully that the good order which is maintained in this city is not by reason of any laws which exist upon that subject; and I am glad to say to you that Judge Ward and I have been over almost the entire State, and where we have been for the past three weeks, down in the south, over in the San Juan country, in the Ouray district, in the Red Mountain district, the Gunnison country, the mountains at Aspen, at Glenwood Springs, in the valley of the Arkansas, and up among the farms of the northeast, and all over Colorado, men and women are meeting as you meet to-night, with earnest purpose and with high resolve that Democratic rule, both State and national, shall end with the 6th of next November.

Political parties are essential in every country where the people share in the government. Large bodies of men differ as to policies, and administrations are kept pure by the watchfulness of the opposing party. No political party can endure in any country which has not at its base and root the patriotic love of country and devotion to the best interests of the country, as they see it. And when a body of men meet without that foundation, it is not a party, but a conspiracy. No party can endure which calls upon its members to forget or ignore the past with its splendid traditions. No free nation ever survived which did not find its origin in the heroic struggles of its founders; and no nation can endure when any majority of its citizens call upon the members of a great political party to forget and ignore the splendid traditions of the past, the splendid history of our country and its sacrifices; and unless a

great political party shall be found which shall offer some new and better theory and policy of government than any we have to-day, and until the party that saved the Union shall be proved unfit to administer its affairs, it is intolerable that we should be called upon as citizens to forget and refrain from mentioning the sacrifices that have been made for our country, the splendid history of the party that saved it, and the glorious struggles of our fathers and our brothers. It is impossible to forget in these days when men at the South gather and dedicate monuments to their unknown Confederate dead, and governors of Virginia, surrounded by their ex-rebel generals, meet and renew again their belief in the doctrine and the right of secession, and when men at the North who have carried a gun are made to feel as if they ought to apologize for it and be ashamed of it.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Republican convention at Chicago for giving us as our standard-bearer a Christian statesman and soldier who, when his country was in danger, went himself and not by proxy; a man that belongs to a family of statesmen; a man who represents all that is best and highest in the sentiment of the Republican party, its history and its traditions, its principles and its purposes, its hopes and its aspirations, and who, if he had declared himself as opposed to a certain second term, would have kept his word and not have lied about it. And in these days of flunkyism and Anglomaniacs we owe also to that convention a debt of gratitude for giving us as our candidate for Vice-President a gentleman who was able to represent his country abroad in an important mission and returned not ashamed of it, and whose qualities of head are not such as are best represented by a red bandanna handkerchief.[1]

If we owe a debt of gratitude to that convention, fellow-citizens, we owe likewise a debt of gratitude to the Democratic Executive of this nation for having finally given us an issue upon which we can meet the enemy face to face.

Whenever we have had an issue with them we have beaten them.

Do you remember in 1864 the issue was that the war was a failure, and that the boys came back from the front and

[1] General Benjamin Harrison and Hon. Levi P. Morton were the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President respectively. The mention of the "red bandanna" was a reference to the habit of Senator Allen G. Thurman, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, of carrying one.

cast their ballots and went back to the trenches and the weary march and proved the war was not a failure? In 1868 they made the issue upon the unconstitutionality of the Reconstruction acts. We met them upon that issue and we beat them. Later they made it an issue that the resumption of specie payment would utterly destroy and ruin the country. Do you remember, they opened that issue, and we defeated them too? In 1884 they gave us no issue. They simply conceded that the Republican party had saved the Union, and that both political parties must thereafter fight for its perpetuity. But they said to us: "This party has been in power for twenty-four years and it is full of corruption; no great political party can control the government for a generation and not have fraud and corruption creep in, and if you put us in power—there is no danger now, for the people are at peace—only put us in power and let us get at the records and the books; we will clean the Augean stables for you; we will show you what awful frauds have been committed." And because there never was a government that at some stage in its onward movement did not meet a temporary check—a temporary reaction—the Democratic party was foolishly permitted to obtain control of this government. And it is a gratifying fact to every Republican who loves his country that in the three years and a half of Democratic rule which we have suffered, with all the searching inquiries, with all the attempts to make political capital and to degrade and tear down the party that saved the Union, up to this time, in spite of the most careful scrutiny, not a single fraud or embezzlement has been discovered in all the Republican office-holders that held office under Republican government for twenty-four years.

People say: "Is not the country as well administered as it was four years ago? Is n't the country safe? You told us four years ago that the country would go to perdition if we made a change." So we did. So honest Republicans believed. So they still believe.

Looking back upon the record of a party which was untrammelled by any honorable past, which had taken every position upon all public questions, and therefore could take any position it saw fit for the future, we find that we have had four years of Democratic government, where every Union soldier who engaged in the service of his country has been insulted wherever there has been a chance to insult him; where worthy pension bills have been vetoed; where men have been appointed to office

who had to get their disabilities removed before they could serve; where we have had a bastard Civil-Service policy resulting in the removal of ninety-five per cent. of the Republican office-holders and replacing them by Southerners, wherever they could be found to take the offices.

Because the Administration saw that in its record and in its past there was no justification for its continuance in office, it has finally given us its direct Free-Trade issue. In the South they say it is Free Trade. In the debates in Congress you read how these Southern members, one after another, rose in their places and said that it was but a step in the right direction; and when the country became alarmed and it was seen that the President had made a mistake, you will find these same men endeavoring to explain to Northern audiences that their bill—the Mills Bill—worked only a slight reduction. But it is Free Trade and you can't read anything else into it. They tell you that it is but a reduction of seven per cent. Figure the actual amount of the reduction and you will find it is a reduction of 26½ per cent.

In view of the prosperity which has attended this country for twenty-four years; in view of the love which every true citizen has for it, we had better look twice before we change a policy, when no section of the country where an industry is protected is clamoring for a change.

Ah, my friends, self-government has been the dream of brave men since the world began. Men have fought for it and bled for it and died for it by the thousands; but this country, now entering upon its second century, is the only fruit that has been permitted to grow amid these efforts and all these dangers and deaths and struggles, and the fathers who built it "builded better than they knew," for they built upon a solid foundation of liberty, protection, and education. To them we owe a debt of gratitude we never can pay, and we owe it to them as to ourselves, before we make a change, that we examine carefully into the policy and the traditions of the past. If they had n't walked their furlong, how could we hope to walk our mile? When they founded this government, although our industries were then young and our country but partially developed, they knew that within our borders could be found every product and every substance necessary to sustain it—to clothe the body, and to allow its population to live—not only up to its necessities, but to enjoy the luxuries. They knew, too, that then every nation on earth was against this

little Republic. Then, as now, the bulk of the nations of the world were monarchies, hostile to our institutions, fearful of our success, and apprehensive of the influences the Republic might have upon their monarchies. They realized that if we became indebted to foreign nations, not only would our industries and manufactures languish, but that Republican principles, necessary to be held in every patriotic heart, would be undermined, the cause and the future of the Republic endangered, and they sought to build around this country a living wall of patriotic hearts to keep foreign manufactures and foreign traders out. Then, too, they knew that the hope of our manufacturers must ever lie in inventive faculty. To have that, it was necessary that good wages should be paid and skilled labor invited. To bring these men, it was essential that we should have our plants and our machinery. No manufacture can succeed unless intelligence is with it and pace is kept with growing improvements; and to bring this skilled labor here, our fathers enacted protection laws.

They knew and believed that the only hope for the perpetuity of free institutions must ever rest in the intelligence of its people. They knew that from generation to generation this government was to be handed down and transmitted, and that every man reaching the age of twenty-one having an equal right in its voice and its councils, it was essential that its whole population should be blessed with education, and then, as now, nearly eighty per cent. of the people were of the laboring classes. They knew that in old countries then, as well as now, all the laborer had to look forward to was when his back was bent and his hands were stiff to be sent to the workhouse, and all his children had to look forward to was when they reached the age of ten or eleven years to be sent to the mills and the manufactories to help support the family.

For these reasons and because they wanted the boys and the girls, as they grew to manhood and womanhood, to have in their hearts a knowledge of free institutions and of the sacrifices that were made for them; and because they knew that unless wages were paid that would permit the workingman and his family to send the children to school and keep them there until they were grounded in the knowledge that all men must have who should intelligently bear a share of the burden of the government, they enacted these Protection laws.

Do you know, my friends, that the second law that stands upon the statute books of our country to-day is "An Act en-

titled An Act to support the Government, to pay the debts of the United States, and to protect and encourage American manufacturers"? That law was passed in 1789. From that time to 1812, more than a dozen additional acts were passed for the purpose of increasing the duties. At that time and up to 1828 both parties united and joined to vote additional duties and additional protection to our infant industries and our infant manufactures.

The old story that we have to-day of the surplus was enacted over a hundred years ago. There was a surplus in President Jefferson's time—a surplus arising from the fact that the collection of the duties was in excess of the amount required to carry on the Government. The amount would seem small to us to-day, some $14,000,000, and yet, compared with the population of to-day, it was equivalent to a surplus of $150,000,000 now, and comparing the wealth of the nation to-day with then, it was equivalent to a surplus of $450,000,000. How was it dealt with? It was not dealt with in the demagogic fashion of one of the Democratic candidates for office in this State who said you could get rid of this surplus of a hundred and odd million of dollars by distributing it per capita among the States, and that Colorado, according to its proportion of population, would get a little over $1,000,000. It was dealt with as statesmen deal with such questions. The President recommended, and Congress enacted, not that the duties should be made less, not that the duties should be stricken off and industries and manufactures should be permitted to languish, but they enacted that the surplus should be expended in building canals and railroads, in subsidizing and starting commerce on the high seas, and in building and carrying on a public-school system. That is the way our fathers have dealt with this question since 1807.

There never was any opposition to a bill to increase the duty or to protect our industries by either party until 1828. Prior to that time both parties united. The first bill was passed by the unanimous vote of the Senate and the vote of the great bulk of the House of Representatives, and it was only in 1828 that Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina, who made no secret of his convictions, came to the conclusion that free labor and slave labor could not exist in the same locality; that the one would drive the other out. He believed and stated that the hope of the South was in the perpetuity of slavery; and for that reason and because slavery to that district, in

his opinion, was more important than manufactories, he not only concluded that there should be no duties upon any manufactured article in order that manufactures might be built up in the South. He knew that the irrepressible conflict was some day to come; so he determined that our infant industries in the North, then assuming and gaining strength and furnishing work to hundreds and thousands of laborers flocking over from Europe, must be stricken down, injured, crippled, and destroyed. That is the first Free-Trade agitation we ever had, and it came then, as it does now, from the Southern element of these United States.

We never have had but two serious panics in this country —those of 1837 and 1857—and both of those are directly traceable, as any student of the history of his country will find by reading, to Democratic enactments seeking to strike down the Protective policy which built up the North and the West.

Why, fellow-citizens, it is difficult to find what class of people desire to experiment upon this great subject. The manufacturers don't claim it,—they do not claim that they are oppressed. The people don't claim it; no body of men where manufactures are encouraged, no body of men who earn their bread, are claiming that this duty should be lessened or stricken off. It is a claim made nowhere but by a section of the country where nothing is manufactured or raised except sugar and rice. The projectors of the Mills Bill are careful to keep within its lids the protection of sugar to the extent of 68 per cent., and the protection of rice to the extent of 100 per cent., and you cannot find a justification for this step, except in the desire of this same South to again cripple infant industries and infant manufactures, so that the South, which has no need of Protection, may again forge to the front as the controlling element in this American Government.

They seek to tell you that if we had raw material here we might compete with other nations. There is no such thing as raw material, except our mother-earth that we find all around us. Is a ton of wool a raw material, or a ton of lead? Does not the wool represent the purchase of the sheep, the purchase of the land upon which they browse, their shepherding and their care, their housing and their feeding in winter; their clipping, the washing of the clip, the packing and sending to market? Does not every ton of lead represent the delving for it into the mountains, the dead work, the shafts and the drifts, the levels and the winzes, the blasting and the picking it down,

the bringing it to the surface, the separating it, the crushing it, the sacking it, and sending it to market? They tell us that is raw material. There is n't a pound of either wool or lead that does not represent the brain and brawn and muscle of some American laborer who sought to produce it and bring it to market, and there is no more raw material in it than there is in a suit of clothes.

They tell you you have a right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Have you? Think where the argument will carry you. If you have the right to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, you have a right then to manufacture as cheaply as you can, and the logical result of it is, that you have the right to bring to our shores the incendiary and ignorant Italians, or men of other nationalities, and put them in competition with our educated and intelligent labor. The Republican party is not ready yet to accept that doctrine. They tell us that if we could have this raw material we could compete with the markets of Europe. Could we? Think of it, fellow-citizens! They put wool upon the free list, and they keep most of the old duties upon all the manufactured articles containing wool that the laborer wears. So the laborer gets nothing and saves nothing by it. He saves nothing by taking off the duty on wool. The manufacturer gets the benefit, according to their theory. They tell you that it means nothing, for if you take the duty off, the prices will go up because there will be more business. That assertion hardly needs an answer.

They tell you that we can compete with other nations. Let us see if we can. There is no duty on cotton, and we raise it all around our doors; we raise it all over the South; the bulk of the cotton that goes into cotton goods is raised in the South and is free—there is no duty on it. We have a duty of forty per cent. on cotton goods, yet we imported $30,000,000 worth of them last year, and we have plants and machinery equal to the best. We export our free cotton, England paying for it, together with the freight from this country to England, and yet last year we exported only $15,000,000 worth of manufactured cotton goods and Great Britain exported $350,000,000 worth. If we, having the advantage of the same labor, the same skill, the same plant, the same manufactories, and are nearest to the market by several thousand miles, can export only $15,000,000 as against $350,000,000, it does not look as if putting raw material upon the free list would add much to the commerce and the business of this country. The matter can

be illustrated indefinitely. I am not going largely into this tariff question. I realize we will have enough of it and more, too, before election is over. We will have it for breakfast, dinner, and supper. It will be like the woman at the seashore last summer, who said she had eaten so many clams that she rose and fell with the tide.

There are some things I want to say upon the subject, and the illustrations that come nearest home to us are those that are most patent to us. Twelve per cent. of the population of these United States are interested in the raising of wool. It stands sixth in the agricultural products. We raise 300,000,000 pounds of it. It is worth $90,000,000 a year, not including the value of the land all over the country, which may be used for sheep-raising, which cannot be used for any other purpose, and if our wool interests were destroyed it would represent a shrinkage of over $200,000,000 in value. We raise this every year. We are second among the nations of the earth in raising wool. Australia, with its cheap labor and vast millions of unoccupied land, comes first, then we, then South America with its cheap labor. Then comes Russia with its serf labor, and then the Continent of Europe generally. The wool industry in every civilized country, except one, has decreased in the last twenty years, while ours has rapidly increased, and with the increased product of our wool has also proportionately increased our manufacture of woollen goods, until we now import but twelve per cent. of the amount of woollens we wear. This industry is one which under protection has been fostered in this country and prospered, while in every other country on the earth, none of them having adequate protection, the wool industry has declined.

Now, can you say to me that if this wool, now protected sufficiently to permit its being raised, is stricken from our list of industries—will anybody pretend to say that with the duty taken off wool—more wool can be produced? Everybody concedes that sheep could no longer be profitably raised. How can any man of common sense, who has the interests of this country at heart, claim that this people, twelve per cent. of whom, as I have said, are interested in wool-raising, can be benefited by wiping it off the industries of the country?

Take the question of lead. You had here the gentleman who is running for Governor on the Democratic ticket. He is like the rest of us; he makes practically the same speech everywhere he goes. He talks about this great lead industry. He

talked it up at the mines. He is a very modest man. He says he wants to be Governor and that if elected he will agree he won't go to the Senate; that he will serve his term, and that is all he wants. I think he is very modest about it, and I have an impression that on election day he will quote these lines:

"This world is all a fleeting show
And no wise man regrets it;
Man wants but little here below
And generally he gets it."

Yet he tells you this lead interest is a great thing. He told you a syndicate had the control of lead, but he has stopped telling that story since the syndicate busted. He knows, as every man knows, that foreign capital is back of the lead trust, as it is back of every trust we have except two, and they are the Sugar Trust, controlled by the South and Southern men, and Southern capitalists, and the Standard Oil Trust, composed of leading Democratic politicians. The only other trust I have heard of is the Coal Trust in Denver, with which he says he has no connection. Outside of these trusts everything is controlled by foreign capital,—the Copper Trust by English and French capital, the Importers' Trust, one of the greatest trusts we have, by other foreign capital. And yet he says that the knocking off of 37½ per cent. from the duty on lead would prevent this syndicate from controlling the price.

The Mills Bill knocks off 37½ per cent.; takes off $15 from every ton of lead, and he tells you it is a great big thing. He says this syndicate has the control of lead, and sometimes they send it up and sometimes they send it down, and with the present duty of two cents a pound they can send it up too high and with the present duty of two cents they can send it down too low. He explains it quickly and you think you understand it, but when you go home and try to explain it to your wife you can't do it. He tells you if you knock off $15 a ton the price will be higher and more regular, and then in the same breath he says: "If I had been in Congress when this measure was introduced I should have voted against this reduction on lead because I do not believe it desirable." This was his statement in the public press: "And I believe every man ought to get all he can for his own State, and yet, if I had been in Congress, I should have voted against it; but it is a good thing."

Can you tell me how Mr. Patterson can reconcile these two statements?

With anybody else it would be rather difficult, but it all goes off him "like water off a duck's back." Nothing bothers him in the slightest. If this explanation does n't go he will give you another one.

It reminds me of the man who had a very narrow escape in crossing a pasture. He said a bull came at him and he grabbed the bull at the tail. He could n't very well hold on and he could n't very well let go, and he did n't know what to do. A lady remarked, "You were between the horns of a dilemma," and he said: "No; I was n't between the horns and it was n't a dilemma; it was a Jersey." And these statements of Mr. Patterson's are all Jerseys.

He brings along with him a very estimable gentleman, Mr. Porter of Durango. He is in the smelting business, and he precedes Mr. Patterson. He talks on the lead question and he tells you he has looked into it very carefully and it is a first-rate thing. He goes on to show how much he can pay the miners, and he ought to know. There you have got him again. He says the reduction of the duty on lead is a good thing and is going to send the price up, and Mr. Patterson says if he had been in Congress he would have voted against it. Which of these are you going to believe? According to one it is bad, and according to the other it is good. It is like a fellow I read of the other day who struck a town and heard some tall stories and did n't know which to accept, and he said: "Are there any honest men in this town?" and one of the men said: "There ain't but two, parson and me, and sometimes I have my doubts about parson."

But, my friends, they tell you that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. That is not true. In our savings banks in New York last year more than $26,000,000 additional money was deposited over the year before by laboring men, and in the State of Connecticut alone there are as many savings banks, or more, than in all of Great Britain put together.

They tell you that with these reductions of duties the necessaries of life would be cheaper. It is not true. The statistics of Massachusetts, where wages are as low as anywhere in the country, will show you that the average wages of skilled and unskilled labor in that State, are sixty-seven per cent. higher than they are in Great Britain, and that the cost of living is but sixteen per cent. higher.

They tell you that you will have the markets of the world at your disposal. My fellow-citizens, we consume all we produce here except eight per cent.—and "the markets of the world" are and have been and always must be Great Britain. We never can get in any other markets, and, as Judge Ward said the other night, the addition in every town and hamlet in this country of one additional intelligent laborer who brings his family and earns his bread by the sweat of his brow would consume the other eight per cent. and be worth infinitely more to this country than all the markets of the world put together. Whatever this question may be elsewhere it can never be a serious one here. The Almighty has put between us and the East and its markets 200 miles of barren country. We can never compete with the markets of the East with the products of our farms.

All our interests in Colorado are so closely interwoven and interlaced that they are each dependent upon the other. If the mines at Aspen are prosperous, your country is benefited; if the mines of Leadville do well, your farmers get a corresponding increase in their prices; if the iron and steel works at Pueblo are running, it benefits us; and we in Colorado know, and you know, and I know that if the duty on wool is taken off—and this is what this Mills Bill openly does,—it means that scores of our farmers will go out of that industry, and if I have not satisfied you as to the wool question, I would like to refer any doubting citizen, Republican or Democrat, to Mr. Halthusen, who has been a life-long Democrat. He says he cannot stand this reduction on wool. You know and I know that if the duty is to be taken off of wool and off of lead it means that our farmers will go out of business; it means the closing of a large percentage of our lead mines; it means the shutting down of our works; it means the destroying of the husbandries which we are building up all over Colorado, and it means an absolute crippling if not an absolute destruction of most of our material interests. The Democracy recognizes that fact, so they do not dwell much upon the general tariff question. But they tell you of other things and dare to assume that they are party issues when they are not. They tell you what awful things trusts and combines are, and they attempt to lead you to the opinion that they are fostered and built up by the Republican party and frowned upon by the Democracy.

Why, fellow-citizens, there is not a decent man, Republican or Democrat, who does not believe that every conspiracy to

raise the price of the necessities of life, call them trusts or combines or syndicates or what you may, ought to be stamped out with an iron foot, and the Democracy has no monopoly of that doctrine.

They then tell you that the Democratic party had taken an important position upon the railroad and corporation questions, and if they are once admitted to power freight will be transported for nothing and passengers will be carried free.

The Republican Convention met a week and more before the Democratic Convention, and if you will read our platform you will find it almost identical with that of the Democracy, and you will find it one upon which every honorable man can stand. This railroad question is a vast and serious one. Did it ever occur to you that one tenth of all the values, including land, of the whole civilized world is in railroads? That one third of the invested capital of the world is in railroads? That the whole currency of the world, paper and specie, would n't pay for one third of the construction of the railroads? In the last two years we have expended in Colorado more than $10,000,000 for railroads, and we have given permanent employment to more than 2000 men, representing a population of 10,000 souls; and there are in Colorado to-day 10,000 railroad employees, representing a population of 50,000 souls, and no man wants to legislate as to those men or their families so that they shall be driven from work or their means of livelihood endangered. Every discrimination whereby a community, a people, or locality is discriminated for or against, and any payment or rebate under any pretext or any cover, every honest man believes should be punished by the highest penalties known to the law. And where rates are too high the police power of the State has monopolized generally the right to make them fair and just. We have the same right to regulate our railroads that we have to regulate the price of bread or the price of hackney-coaches, or that we have to regulate any man or company or corporation which serves the public. But we want more of them. There are cañons yet unfilled and valleys yet untraversed. We want them. We invite them to come here, and we owe it to them, as we owe it to ourselves, that we say to these men: "Bring the foreign capital into this country; we will hold you to a rigid accountability of the duties you owe the public; we will hold you to the highest duty in every walk of life and in the conduct of your transportation business, but when we

have exacted this from you we will throw around your property the same protection we give the property of individuals."

It is all summed up in a sentence: It pays to be decent and just, and it does n't pay to be a demagogue, and these Democratic orators running up and down this State on free passes, who never owned a share of railroad stock and want to confiscate the roads and take up the ties, are not going to appeal to the good sense and good judgment of the people of Colorado.

There is one other matter I want to refer to. It is an old saying among lawyers, "False in one, false in all." I don't know whether the Democratic nominee for Governor, or the Reverend Myron Reed who has been making speeches, has referred to the question of brass-tag labor here or not. You have probably read it in the papers. Mr. Reed, according to the reported speeches, stated in Trinidad, exhibiting a brass tag, that in the coal mines of Colorado there was brass-tag labor, where men were identified by number and not by name. He stated there, according to the report in a Democratic newspaper, that he obtained these tags in Delaware. Up in the mountains at Gilman he exhibited the same or a different tag, reiterating his assertion, and he stated that he got these tags in Trinidad. Mr. Patterson, in at least one of his speeches, referred to this brass-tag labor. He spoke of a supposititious number 83, who was employed as 83, went into the mines as 83, worked as 83, died in '83, was buried in '83, was going to be resurrected in '83, and until he reached St. Peter would always be known as "83." Now that is a harrowing story, and, if it is true, it is an insult to our intelligence and our treatment of our fellow-man, and it is an insult to the people of the State of Colorado if men so ignorant as that they can only be designated by number should be permitted to be employed in Colorado.

As a matter of fact, it is false from beginning to end, and the men who stated it could either have known it or must have known it. There is not a man employed in the coal mines of Colorado who is not employed by his proper and right name. There is not one per cent. of them who cannot read and write. There are none of them who are not men of good intelligence; they are employed by name, serve by name, and are known by their names throughout the mine. Here, as all over the world, men who mine coal mine it by the ton. They are paid so much a ton for the coal they take out of the mines. When there

are a lot of men in a mine, each of them cannot follow the car which is trammed out of the mine to the surface and call out to the man who weighs it and say, "I am entitled to credit for that ton; I knocked that off; I mined it." That, of course, is not possible. So the miners in every mine in this country employ a man at their own expense who stands at the mouth of the pit to see that each miner gets credit for the coal that he actually takes from the mine. The mine is wet; they cannot use paper. For convenience, every man in every mine in Colorado has a number of tags with a number corresponding with the names upon the payroll, and when he mines a car of coal and sends it out to the surface, he attaches to a corner of the car a tag with his number upon it, so that the man whom he employs and the man who weighs the coal may know to whom to give credit for the mining of that coal. That is what they do everywhere.

We sent a man up the other day to this famous Fox and Patterson mine and we got a number of these same brass tags, and this is one of them. [Here Mr. Wolcott exhibited a tag to the audience and was greeted with loud and continued cheering.] This is from the famous Patterson mine. And this is brass-tag labor. It is not worth all the time I spent on it, my friends; but if other men may travel around this State and try to get votes for the high and responsible position of Governor of this State, having coal property themselves and mining it identically as other men mine it, I say that it is not fair and decent that they should make statements of this sort, calculated to appeal to and inflame the passions of men, and having no basis to put it upon but that of utter falsehood.

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, the war is over and many of the issues are settled. The mantle of forgiveness covers the graves of our Union dead. Yet, when patriotism dies in a people the free spirit that animates them dies also. There will never be in this Republic so high and noble an incentive to good citizenship as that furnished by those men who counted their lives for naught so that the country might be saved, and it would be a sad presage for the future of our common country if the glory of their achievements should ever be forgotten. The fact that, for the first time since the administration of James Buchanan, patriotism and patriotic services have been openly and wantonly treated with odium and opprobrium, does not make the memory of their services less dear to us, and it would

ill become us as Republicans if an occasion like this were suffered to pass without paying our tribute to the heroes, living and dead, who helped to save the Union. The party to which these heroes belonged has still a mission to perform. It stands here for the protection of American industries, American labor, and American homes, and to the fulfilment of that promise we here to-night pledge ourselves and you.

For the first time since the close of the Rebellion the men born since the war will cast their ballots. Soon the control of the affairs of this nation will be turned over to you. It will be left in safe hands. It is for you to guard this treasure as you would the ark of your covenant.

"Of what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

It is for you to choose which party you will serve. On the one side you have the party whose past is radiant with achievement and whose future is bright with glory, the party which has ever trod the highway of honor, which has nothing to atone and nothing to apologize for, the party whose mission it has ever been to lift up the downtrodden and the oppressed of every race and plant their feet upon the rock of liberty. On the other hand, you have the party which seeks for the present the offices, which seeks for the past oblivion, and which can give us no guaranty for the fulfilment of its promises for the future.

How can you falter? You love your country. Ally yourself to the party that saved it. You heard your fathers confess having voted for Lincoln and for Grant and for Garfield. What man did you ever hear confess that he voted for Buchanan or for Breckenridge or for Seymour?

You love your flag. Attach yourself to the party that saved its thirty-eight stars. Come out with us, I beg of you, and stand in the sunlight and join the party upon whose brow the mark of shame was never stamped, whose hands are unsoiled with treason and unstained with their country's blood.

IN 1890 AND 1891

REPUBLICAN meeting at Colorado Springs, October 27, 1890:

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I cannot tell you how it gratifies and moves me, fresh from the fevered factions in Denver, to find this cordial welcome and this splendid audience. I had hesitated about coming, for my time had been engrossed with Denver politics, but I bundled some papers into my bag, and thought perhaps I could find something to say.

This audience is, of itself, an inspiration. I feel somewhat as the fellow did who had been raised and brought up in North Carolina. He thought he had had enough of it when he lived there forty years, and he drifted into Virginia, where he struck a town and asked the proprietor of a store for a job. The man looked him over, and then said: "You look as if you came from North Carolina." And he said: "Stranger, I did, and if I was back there now I would come again."

It is gratifying to get away from the bickerings and the differences which cloud and disfigure the atmosphere in the capital of this State, and come before a community temperate in thought and action, as well as habit, to whom the selfish considerations are subordinate to public welfare, who seek only the best good of the State and our common country, and to discuss with them the issues of the day.

It is the unexpected which always happens. No single State in the Union has benefited so much by the splendid national legislation of the last ten months as Colorado. Its interests have been fostered and protected; its revenues have been greatly increased; beneficent legislation has brought the sunshine of hope to its undeveloped interests, and stability to its present prosperous industries.

Three months ago, we would have laughed at the idea that there could be any successful or even respectable opposition to the continuance in the National Congress of the United Republican delegation, which Colorado has sent there ever since we have become a State; and, at the outset of the few remarks I have to make, I wish to say to you frankly that, much as I desire, as an earnest Republican, the success of the entire State ticket, I think all other considerations seem small compared with the necessity of electing a Republican Legislature, which shall re-elect the Hon. Henry M. Teller to the United States Senate. For twelve years, in the Senate and in the Cabinet, he has stood the leader of Colorado, devoted to its public interests, representing our best aspirations and our best hopes, ever dominated by the highest patriotism and the truest devotion to this interest. Nor has his horizon been limited to State boundaries. His unflagging industry and zeal have made him easily the leader of the Senators in the far West; and that leadership has been gratefully acknowledged. If, because of the disgraceful contests in Colorado, his return shall be endangered, this State is dishonored; the West receives an injury which years will not efface, and the nation suffers irreparable harm. So much do you lose, and in this presence, among friends, where personal friendship is added to party devotion, I shall be pardoned for adding that if that disaster overtakes the State, the party, and the country, I too shall lose the unflagging zeal and the close association and the sage counsel and advice of my colleague, with whom I have had the pleasure of sitting during the past year;—the influence of a presence and the charm of a friendship which no weak words of mine can express.

There is, fortunately, no danger; but when in the leading county of the State local corporation interests seem to override the public welfare, it is for you to remember that in the other counties of this commonwealth a treble duty is reposed in you; and, no matter what may happen elsewhere, there must be no faltering here.

It has become of late rather unfashionable, even among certain Republicans, to recite the history of the Republican party, and its splendid achievements; to rehearse the sacrifices it made to save the Union; to tell the history of its splendid work, not only in the reconstruction of the Union, but in the re-establishment of national credit. But we must never permit ourselves to forget this history. First, because every page of it is an

inspiration and the highest patriotism, and, next, because when we are called upon, as now, to determine which party we shall favor with our vote, we are expected to remember that in all the years since the Republican party was born no measure was ever passed, or act ever accomplished, for the amelioration of mankind, that has not been brought about by the Republican party; and invariably despite the opposition of the Democratic party, masquerading in one device or another; but always the same party, utterly and unalterably opposed to human progress and human thought.

We live in very peaceful days. The questions which vex us are economic questions. In their discussion no platform speaker can hope to move you by his eloquence; but if these questions are questions which appeal to every fireside, to every citizen who toils, and to every family throughout this broad land; and if statistics are somewhat dull, yet the result of a wise administrative policy must speak in the diffusion of prosperity throughout the country more eloquently than the recounting of any deeds of achievement, however glorious.

The Republican party has now been in power two years since the late administration of Mr. Cleveland; and a sufficient time has elapsed whereby the tendencies and the working results of the two administrations can be compared. We were told, you remember, six years ago that while the Republican party had served a useful and a noble purpose, yet its days of usefulness had passed and its glory had departed; that if we would let the Democratic party into the control of this country they would unearth the vast frauds that had been perpetrated; they would turn out those rich public officers who had been fattening at the public crib.

They told us that the whole system of government carried on by the Republican party had been rotten to the core, and that all they wanted was a chance to look at the books, to get inside and get control of the government, and they would show us what a monster of iniquity and corruption had been laying hold of the government, and conducting it for the last twenty years; and finally they talked so much that they found enough weak men among the people of the North to join with the Solid South and give them control.

And what did they do? President Cleveland's first inspiration seems to have been one of unreasoning hostility toward silver. Before he had got into his seat at the White House, he was writing his recommendations to Congress in favor of the demone-

tization of silver, and no single year ever elapsed that President Cleveland did not promulgate his proclamation against silver—even the last year before he left the White House. And, you remember, the convention that met at St. Louis to nominate him, filled as it was from silver States, filled with talented Democrats from Colorado, who were cowardly enough to sit in their seats and let them do as they pleased, adopted a platform which contained no reference to the white metal.

They made of silver a laughing stock and a mockery. Endeavoring to get the Mugwump vote, whatever that is, Mr. Cleveland told his associates how much he favored Civil Service; yet he performed more lightning acts of turning out officers than has any President, before or since. The standing of the country abroad, ever since the War of 1812 until Mr. Cleveland's administration, had been of the highest order. Even in the darkest days of the war, you who are old enough will remember that our Government would brook no insult and no outrage.

It was reserved for the Democratic Administration of Mr. Cleveland to send a flunkey to represent us at the Court of St. James's, and to put into his Cabinet a man who had never had the courage to assert American rights, bringing upon us the disgrace of the Canadian fisheries in the East and of the Bering Straits in the West. There was, in the last year of his Administration, one occurrence which—thank God—can never happen again; when, on a stormy day, thirty of our fishing smacks from Gloucester sailed into an English port for shelter and food, and were driven out by Canadian authorities; and our Government was cowardly enough not to enter any protest. After our Administration came into power, and our Secretary of State took his place, Canadian ports never protested against the entry of American fishermen for any purpose whatsoever.

Throughout the whole four years of the Administration, came proclamation after proclamation, to the effect that the Protective policy, which had built up our country for fifty years, was wrong. We were told that duties should be lower. Every manufacturer we had throughout the country hesitated to make additions to his business, and all manufacturing interests were paralyzed. This was followed, just before the close of the Administration, by the Mills Bill, the result of which was to bring, in every manufacturing centre of the United States, great destruction of material interests, unsettling business and disturbing commerce.

The Mills Bill proposed the anomalous new theory that raw

material should come in free; that the things which we did not produce in this country should be taxed, because that particular product paid the tax, and not the consumer; and that raw material should be admitted free, even to the destruction of the raw material that was produced in this country.

Did you ever stop to think what raw material is? What lies upon the bosom of Mother Earth, untouched, may be raw material; but when the citizen, the laborer, puts his hand upon it and changes or removes it, it then ceases to be raw material. They tell you that ores are raw material. Go into these mountain mining camps, and see the long tunnels driven by the patience of the miner through barren rock, the shafts sunk, the drifts driven, the work done for days and weeks and months, until the seam of ore can be reached, and the ore picked down and trammed to the dump, and sorted and sent to the smelter, and tell me that is raw material!

Take the sheep throughout your country, needing the tender care and solicitude of the shepherd; needing the watching through the long weary weeks, until the wool grows, protecting the sheep from injury by wild beasts, or from cold, and tell me that wool is a raw material! As somebody said the other day, the question of raw material is a question of whose industry is affected. To the manufacturer of pig-iron, the ore is the raw material. To the manufacturer of steel the pig-iron is the raw material; to the manufacturer of tin cans, the tin-plate is the raw material. To the canner of vegetables or fruits or meats, the can is the raw material; and when you get back to the miner who takes out the ore, the canned stuff that gives him brawn to take the ore out is his raw material.

Upon that verdict of two years ago—that unmistakable verdict—the American people decided the one fact that we must never forget, in season or out of season, and that is that the American people are to be the master of their own resources; and upon that principle, so declared at the polls, Congress has been passing, in my opinion, the most beneficent law that has ever been passed for the protection of its citizens since these States came into the Union—a law you may say founded on selfishness. And so it is, but an enlightened selfishness, if you please, which says that the American citizen is to be protected at all hazards, and against the policies, the governments, the despotisms, and the systems of every other country on the face of the earth.

We require, you must remember, more from our citizens than any other country. What is needed in Europe for a peasant,

or a laborer? Nothing but that he shall rise in the morning, eat his scanty meal, and toil all day until night comes, and then go to his rude hamlet and sleep till morning, having earned the bare necessaries of life; with the certainty before him that when he becomes old and feeble his days will end in the public almshouse, because the children taking his place can never hope to earn enough to support him out of the poorhouse.

We have not that class of people here. We say to our citizens, when they are born in the country, or we make citizens of them: "You must be clean and decent and industrious people. You must send your children to school and educate them; and you yourself must, in your home, find some way to learn to read and write, and cultivate the amenities of life, for you are needed on juries here; you are needed to fulfil the intelligent offices of American citizenship, which this Republic asks of all its citizens alike."

And for selfish motives, if no other, the American people say to the working-man: "We won't stand any policy which shall put you at starvation prices, even if we pay a little more for the woollen cloths, or the silk dresses of our wives; for we need you to make men of."

We have met the difficulties of the situation, as we believe, in a proper and right fashion. We found ourselves confronted by a great surplus which kept money out of circulation, and of which it was necessary to dispose. We found ourselves confronted with a large internal revenue, from which we must take something. We made a bill in a very quick fashion; and you know, all of you who stop to think, that the fundamental principle underlying all protection is simply to so equalize the normal cost of the production as shall make it equal to the cost of a similar production in another country which competes with ourselves. In other words, the whole system of Protection does nothing else, and seeks to do nothing else than see to it that no goods shall be sold in this country to compete with our goods for which an adequate and decent remuneration is not paid. Eighty per cent. of the cost of every manufactured article is incorporated in human labor.

We passed a bill which we think will meet your approval. The bill reduces the revenue something like $40,000,000 annually; and it reduces the inland revenue by about $10,000,000. Now you hear Democratic orators—if you have not we have—who try to tell you that the McKinley Bill adds to the duties on imported products. It does not do anything of the kind.

It is true that the average duties upon dutiable articles has advanced slightly—and very slightly—as I shall show you; but when you take the additions to the free list and the average duties upon all goods imported, the duty has decreased from the old tariff of 1883, and not increased.

Democratic orators tell you that duties are increased. Let me show you the folly of it. Now, we have all sorts of duties. They run from five to eighty per cent. Suppose duties were abolished upon all articles in this country but two—say silk and wool—and the duties of these two were made eighty per cent. each. The effect would be to let in over two hundred million dollars' worth of goods free; and yet the Democratic orators will take the two articles left and say, "Here are the duties this country charges; duties have been raised from five and ten per cent. to eighty per cent. on every article imported into this country."

More than that, we put upon the free list goods which are imported into this country to the value of $109,000,000, and which last year brought us through the duties a revenue of over $60,000,000. Now suppose, instead of letting these articles into this country free, we put a duty of two per cent. on every article. The effect of that would be to show that the average duties upon dutiable articles was less than last year. And when any of your Democratic friends try to tell you that duties are raised by this bill they tell you that which is not true; for when you add to the duty the goods we now put upon the free list, and show what was collected from those duties last year, you will find duties are materially lowered, and not raised.

[Mr. Wolcott here proceeded to prove his statements by statistics on the subject, stating that there was a decrease of ten per cent. from the last tariff, and that it was also somewhat less than under the Mills Bill.]

[Proceeding, he said:] The present law, by the additions to the free list, reduces tariff taxation over sixty millions. The Mills Bill reduced the free list only nineteen millions. The principal item in the McKinley Bill, which has been put upon the free list, and so reduces the revenue, is the product of sugar.

For a great many years the sugar-cane industry has languished, and seven eighths of our sugar has been imported, while one eighth was made here. It has been a great question as to whether the industry could prosper, and statistics show that there was more made forty years ago than thirty years ago; more thirty years ago than twenty; more twenty years ago than

ten years since; and more ten years ago than at the present day. In view of the fact that every man, woman, and child in this country consumes on an average three dollars' worth of sugar a year, say at the low valuation of 6½ cents; and considering the duties of 2 cents a pound, nearly 30 per cent. on every pound of sugar coming into this country, it was a tax which the Republican party believed the people of the United States should not be required further to pay.

It has been claimed by many farmers that the beet-sugar industry is one that should be fostered by the Government. The process was at first countenanced and subsidized, and in France and Germany great advances have been made in the manufacture of beet-sugar. Of all the sugar which comes to this country, about sixteen per cent. is from Germany, where a bounty of two cents is offered on every pound of sugar manufactured. Therefore, in order that we might not interfere with the policy of the Republican party, to make sugar free, and at the same time to encourage this infant industry of the West, and give it a chance to grow and develop, where it was found that the skies encouraged it and the soil welcomed it, we have provided a bounty of two cents a pound upon all the sugar manufactured in this country.

This is limited to fifteen years, in the belief that in that time the industry will be upon a sufficiently safe footing to maintain its position. We also bring in free the machinery for the manufacture of sugar in this country, so that we encourage the farmer of the West, who raises the beets, to make sugar; and offer him a bounty upon all that he manufactures.

The great objection in the consideration of the Tariff Bill, and one about which the most protest was made, the one about which, since the adjournment of Congress, there has been the most discussion, was the tax on tin-plate. You have probably heard much of it. Tin-plate is simply sheet iron or steel plate. By an oversight in the last tariff law, tin-plate was admitted at a lower duty than either steel or iron sheets. The result has been that not a single pound has been manufactured in this country; every particle of it has been brought from abroad. It is an immense industry, and an industry perfectly feasible to be carried on in this country, but driven out of the United States because we have declined to protect it.

And I must call your attention to one or two facts respecting this tin-plate. The duty is not alone enough to correct the inequality. Steel-plate industries were started in this country

in 1873, 1874, and 1875, and hundreds of thousands of dollars were put into its manufacture, whereupon the Welsh manufacturers of tin-plate dropped their prices from $10 and $12 to $4, until they had driven every one of these mills out of business; and then, when they saw these mills dismantled, they again raised the price to $9 and $10.

A similar attempt was made by American manufacturers later, followed by the same course on the part of the Welsh manufacturers, who at once dropped their prices on their product to a ruinous price. Now we are told we have valuable tin deposits in Dakota, and elsewhere. I believe we have. The imposition of a duty upon tin-plate will therefore encourage the manufacture of tin-plate in this country.

I would like to call your attention to the great increase of prosperity that comes from this duty. We consumed last year 300,000 tons of tin-plate, and it paid duty to the extent of $7,000,000. That will furnish labor for about 50,000 working men, supporting 200,000 people; and the capital required will be $30,000,000. Now your Democratic friends say: "It is true our agriculturists have 200,000 more people to sell their products to, but every man who goes to his daily labor, and sits down with his tin cup to make his meal, has to pay his share of the tax which builds up this manufacture."

Now I want to call your attention to the wholesale prices quoted upon this product. Tin cups are quoted at 18¾ cents per dozen, weighing 3½ ounces; to which if the duty were to be added the total cost would be increased only $1^8/_{10}$ cents each, and they sell at retail everywhere in the United States for 15 cents. Does anybody believe that anything would be added to increase the price of that cup? Four-quart dairy pans cost in the wholesale 42 cents a dozen, or 3½ cents each, and they weigh a pound. They would cost with the added duty $4^1/_{10}$ cents, and they always retail everywhere at 15 cents apiece. And so on, through the list, I would like to show you that the increased cost by this duty is so small that no wholesaler would dare to put it on the retailer, and the retailer would not dare to charge it to the consumer. Nobody feels it. Nobody pays the penalty, because it is so distributed that the burden is not felt; and yet 50,000 laborers, with 200,000 people dependent, find in America a harbor and refuge, and consume the products of our farmers.

We are all interested, especially in El Paso County, in the wool industry. You are familiar with its statistics, but I must

call your attention to one matter for a moment. By the census of 1880, in every county of the United States, except thirty-four, sheep were raised, and the number of people owning flocks was in excess of a million. If wool is not to be protected, of course these people must abandon the industry, which was stimulated and in a prosperous condition until the last tariff. Since then the industry has declined, and the business has neither been satisfactory nor profitable.

Consideration was given to this industry in the Senate and the House and in Committee, and the most patient and careful consideration was given to every portion of the wool industry. By the present bill, the duties on first- and second-class wool are made to add 11 and 12 cents a pound. The third-class wools had the duty raised to 2½ cents per pound, or 32 per cent. of their value.

Now, when they tell you that duties are raised they refer especially to worsted and woollen goods. There the duties have been increased, and the sole reason for raising them was to help the agriculturists. Having raised the duties upon wool, it was of course necessary to make a corresponding raise in the duties on woollen goods, in order that the prices should equalize. So, if you have to pay five or ten cents more for your woollen coat you know that you and your neighbors in El Paso County raise the sheep, and are benefited fifty- and one hundred-fold by the protection of that industry.

And, in connection with the wool industry, I must refer to the general question of agriculture. It is true that the farmer is not altogether contented. It is true that in some parts of the country the farmer is not prosperous. You will find, however, upon investigation, that where they tell you of the mortgages that have been put upon the farms, they have been put there largely because farmers are reaching out for more land —and therefore they represent enterprise and not decadence. They represent prosperity and not misfortune. And thus it is true that the average condition of the farmer is growing better.

It was infinitely better during the past two years than it was the two years preceding; and it is believed the passage of this law will materially help it.

Now I must call your attention to one particular important industry, which this bill protects, and in which we in Colorado are more interested than in all the products put together, and that is the protection of lead. You may be aware that up to the passage of the present law, the Secretary of the Treasury

had always held that when lead ores were brought into this country and the ores contained silver, which is admitted free, and the silver in the ore had greater value than the lead had, it then became an argentiferous ore and paid no duty. The result was that our Mexican friends salted all their ores, so that if originally they had more lead than they had silver in value, they put enough silver in the ores to make them worth a few cents a ton more for silver than lead, and thus these ores were admitted free.

Under the present law, this lead pays 1½ cents a pound in accordance with the lead that is in it. We produced in 1889, 154,970 tons of lead. Colorado produced 54,288 tons. The average price in New York last year was $76 per ton. Immediately upon the passage of this bill, the price went up and has since been maintained at $105 per ton, a gain of $29 for every ton. This makes a money difference in value of $1,574,352, all added to the immediate tangible wealth of Colorado, because of the passage of this act.

We did one thing further that I must call your attention to, and that is, we passed this Reciprocity clause. It is a great deal more far-reaching than it seems to be. The substance of it is that where we have made importations free, if countries exact a duty upon our products, the President, in order to compel them to meet us in the same spirit in which we have acted, may say to them, "You must pay us a duty because you do not let us deal with you." It reaches not only South America, but Germany and France, which now shut out millions of dollars' worth of our products.

We passed also a Meat Inspection Bill, which says to foreign countries: "We will inspect our meats and mark them, and if you shut them out, well and good; but if you shut out our pigs, we won't take your champagne. We will mark our goods plainly. They are good enough for us, and they ought to be good enough for you; and you will either take them or keep your adulterated stuff out of this country."

These are the recitals in brief of the principal measures passed by the last Congress. My own share in them was slight. I am here claiming no credit for what I may have done; but by my side, in the closing days of the last session, my colleague sat day after day, in the hot, unhealthy, close Senate chamber, when his physician had told him it was absolutely unsafe for him to remain longer and that he ran the risk of a serious illness, when we all tried to get him away—staying there in the

sweltering heat, day after day, until he could pass through the Senate a bill appropriating a sufficient sum to build a government building in El Paso County.

There have been a good many things happening in Washington, and Speaker Reed has been one of them. The reason so much business has been transacted in this country has been because he, first of all men in this country, has had the courage and the hardihood and the bravery to deal with the obstreperous Democratic party. And, it seems to me, that so much has been transacted because this same man has done, and had the bravery to do, his duty, in spite of the opposition of Democratic minorities and of the assaults of Democratic newspapers.

What Speaker Reed has done I have told you, and now it is only fair and just to your present member of Congress, Mr. Townsend, to say he has given to his duties undivided and constant attention. He has been on one of the most important committees, the Committee on Public Lands, and he has been enabled, for that reason, to procure the passage through the House of more bills than had been passed for Colorado in the four preceding years. He has attended to his duties faithfully, and earnestly, and uninterruptedly, and Colorado never had in Washington a more efficient, a more intelligent Representative than the Hon. Hosea Townsend.

The Administration has been doing pretty well. Legislation has been decent, and honorable, and upright, and no scandal of any character has ever attached to members of the Cabinet, or the Senate and its followers. We have a Secretary of State who took care of the fishery interests, and made himself respected. We have a Secretary of the Interior who did not think that every man was a villain. We have heard but little of our Secretary of War, for these are the piping times of peace; and it is pleasant to remember that in the present Administration the President has not been called upon to revoke a single order for the return of rebel battle-flags.

With our national record, it was fair for us to presume that the State ticket here would encounter no difficulty in the coming election. We nominated excellent men, and there seems no reason why they should not get the full vote. In this connection I should be untrue to myself and to you if I did not urge you, as Republican voters, to cast your ballot for every man on the Republican ticket.

This brings me to reference to a subject on which I am unwilling to be silent, and on which I conceive it to be my

duty to say a word. An intelligent public press is a mighty engine for good. It redresses the wrongs of the weak by calling public attention to them. It exacts of every public officer a rigid account of his stewardship, encourages every man in public life to a fulfilment of his duty, by according him praise when that duty is well performed.

A public journal, which stands simply as the instrument of oppression by its owner, simply the mouthpiece for unwarranted and unjustifiable attack upon personal and political enemies, which represents solely the disappointment and bitterness of its political proprietor, is beneath the contempt of any decent citizen. Wherever public charges are made, if they seem serious they should be investigated; but in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred you will find that their source discredits them. We all believe in honest public service. No party is so particular as to the integrity of its members as is the Republican party.

You sent from this county, and there were sent from every county in the State, to your last State convention, men of the highest intelligence and character. They carefully investigated their State ticket before it was nominated. Their finding should be good enough for most men. It is good enough for me. I speak of this subject without malice, but without hesitancy, as I, myself, have suffered from these attacks for years, and I care no more for them, whether in a big paper in Denver, or a little paper here, than I do for the wind that blows.

I know that the Governor of this State has lived in Colorado for twenty years; that men believe him to be a decent citizen; that he represents large business and financial interests. You can't persuade his neighbor, or a man who knows him, that he is a thief; and no publication by a disappointed political enemy can make me believe that he has a dishonest hair in his head. I have talked in this State, since my return, with fifty educators. I have talked with the heads of our schools and our colleges. Every man with whom I have spoken has told me that Mr. Dick [candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction] ranks easily at the head of all the public educators we have ever had in Colorado; that the improvements he has introduced into the school system, the care and intelligence with which he has performed his duties, have added immensely to its efficacy in Colorado. I have talked with his neighbors and friends about him, and I am unwilling to believe that he, too, is a dishonest man.

The fact is that a newspaper can throw dirt every day in the year, and in this State, where population is rapidly increasing, strangers see a paper that is apparently reputable. They don't know the history of the newspaper or its owner. The other day I saw in a newspaper an indecent attack upon the Chief Justice of this State, a Colorado Springs man. I knew him almost as a boy; I know him, as you know him—as the soul of honor and intelligence—and I don't propose that with my consent any newspaper that assumes to be, but is not in fact, Republican, shall blast his honor without a protest from decent Republicans.

There is no man, living or dead, who ever attained any prominence in public life, who has not met exactly this same treatment, except the proprietor himself, who seems to stand well with the editor and is always spoken of in terms of the highest commendation.

There was never a time in the history of Colorado when our duty was plainer than now. The Almighty has bestowed upon us the wealth and riches of a kingdom. A new era of prosperity has dawned upon us. Our splendid tariff policy will take care of our debt.

The next measure which must engross the attention of Congress must be the conservation and storage of the vast water supply which runs from our mountains for ten months of the year. This work is vast. Its results will be great. It will redeem millions of acres of arid lands, and make them blossom as the rose. This work can be carried out only on that principle of public improvements which has ever found its advocates in the Republican party,—the internal improvement of our land, which we have always advocated, and which the Democratic party has always objected to. The work is vast, and it will be carried on, if at all, only by State co-operation, and it should be the mission of the Republican party. It is for us to stand with each other, shoulder to shoulder, and hand in hand, knowing in Colorado no off year, and working together for the up-building of our beloved State.

AT RATIFICATION MEETING

Coliseum, Denver, October 21, 1891:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This gathering tonight is not a ratification only. It is a reuniting of the Re-

publican party of Arapahoe County, which should never have been disunited. It is made up of men who will never be the tools of any set of people or any corporation. This large meeting shows that, if it is an off year, it is so for the Democrats. The young men of the party have rallied and are working with an enthusiasm never before known.

In past years we learned that if we wanted to elect a ticket we had to put up men the voters would support. That we have done this year, and any one who will not vote for it is a Democrat. We are all at heart reformers. We all like that sort of people, but when men become professional reformers they cease to be useful. There are in this county nine good men who at times come together and resolve as to the fitness of men for public office. This body of men, known as the Law and Order League, assumes to say that Robert Steele is not fit to hold the position of District Attorney. I care not how good a man they put up against him, but I do say that when they take such action their day of usefulness is past.

We also have learned something regarding the conduct of the sheriff's office; I never in my life knew of such mal-administration in any place as in this office in Arapahoe County under Democratic misrule. The new system of voting is another thing which we must thank our party for. It gives every man the chance to vote exactly as he may please, and thus preserves the sanctity of the ballot. Corporations may be hard to deal with, but there is no corporation so bad as any organization which seeks to corrupt the voting privilege of any man.

Concerning the ticket, I would like to speak of all, but time will not permit. Burchinell I know as a man thoroughly honest, capable, and efficient. His friends who have known him from boyhood are enthusiastic in his support and will see him elected. I guess most of you know Judge Bently, who has labored among you so well and faithfully during the years past. When I was in Indianapolis I was told that Judge Burns was considered one of the best men on the bench, commanding the respect of the lawyers, not only in that city, but all over the State. He will be the same here.

Turning from local to more extensive questions, I will speak a little. It is only right that I should, once in a while, appear before you to give an account of my stewardship. From the magnificent endorsement given the Colorado delegation at the last State convention I can only conclude that we have done our duty. It is unfortunate that our delegation has not

been in harmony with a majority of our party. I know that the party is in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This metal should be given the same powers and advantages of gold, iron, and other metals. There is not enough gold in the country to pay off all the indebtedness, and the placing of silver on the same basis as gold is the one thing necessary to restore the proper equilibrium. In the money-lending communities you will find the advocates of the single-standard system, but in the South and in the West, where money is needed very greatly, they are in favor of free coinage.

Another question of great importance to us is that of Protection. It is now a time of peace, and it is in such periods that the nations work for the welfare of the laboring classes. The Republican party has always said the workmen of this country should be paid a decent rate of wages and that the things used by Americans should be made by our own workmen. The opposition denounced the McKinley Bill as an outrageous measure. In Ohio they are fighting it out on this line. Personally I am opposed to betting, but if I were not, I should bet on Ohio going Republican. The Democrats are trying to demonstrate that American tin cannot possibly be manufactured at a profit, but the practical experience of the people shows a very different condition of affairs.

But the question which comes home to us most closely is this local election. Success is sought on the same line as elsewhere, and we must demonstrate by success now that our beloved State is strongly in line for the principles of the party laid down by the wise men at the head.

IN SECOND HARRISON CAMPAIGN

AT State Convention, Mineral Palace, Pueblo, Colorado, September 8, 1892:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It is easy to be a Republican when every instinct of patriotism goes hand in hand with enlightened self-interest, and when the judgment and prevailing opinion of party leaders on great industrial questions coincide with the community in which we live. We meet to-day in the face of apparent defeat on a question which we consider of vital importance to us. Despondent as to the future of the metal of Colorado, we meet to pay allegiance to our party—ours in the glorious history of the past, ours to-day, ours in the future, which I believe will surely come. Our lines have fallen upon peaceful days. The perpetuity of republican institutions seems assured. Patriotism pervades every section of this country. Intelligent members of our party who have stood shoulder to shoulder for the welfare of the country, are inclined to look about and see if there are any other questions which seem paramount in importance before we break the ties by which we have been gladly bound.

We will remain with the party to which we belong—the party which has been foremost in every measure from which good has come to the country. We should consider this question without fear that we will endanger the safety of the Republic. It is well for us to consider whether the lessons of the past should guide us in our conduct for the future. There has not been a step taken that has made this people freer and stronger and more prosperous that has not had its origin and support in the Republican party and which has not met with disaster in other parties.

There are many issues between the parties in this campaign,

when the whole country is taken into consideration. So far as we in Colorado are concerned, they are all hidden and there is nothing to be compared with the great question of the rehabilitation of silver as the coin of the land equal with gold practically upon a parity which prevailed until the wicked demonetization of silver in 1873. For the righting of this great wrong the energies of every true son of Colorado must be expended. But we are men and not children, and we must act with discretion and intelligence and face the situation as it really exists.

The result of the coming election must inevitably be the placing of either the present incumbent or Mr. Cleveland in the Presidential chair for the next four years. No other result is looked for by any intelligent person.

The question of the free coinage of silver is in no sense a party question. The South and the West are practically united in favor of the remonetization of silver. There are in the East certain doubtful States in which both parties are opposed to remonetization. No Presidential candidate would dare, even if he desired, to declare his allegiance to the white metal. If he did, he would meet defeat in those States. There is no other hope, nothing for us to do but to work in season and out, in the future as we have worked in the past, for the re-establishment of silver coinage within the party to which we belong.

Nor is it a time to denounce the men who are inclined to listen to the pleas of the People's party. There are within that party to-day as exemplary citizens and as good Republicans as in the sound of my voice—men who have been identified with the history of our party and men who I believe will be again found within its ranks. It is for us to reason with these people, for us to show them the unreliability of the movement. We who still stand true to the flag of our party must show that on election day we are now, as ever, for the glorious party that has given us a common free country. Much depends upon your action to-day. If you nominate good men, all Colorado will sanction your choice.

There is no shadow of a doubt as to the final triumph of the silver cause. The leaven is working in both political parties; new recruits are being listed almost every day. Differing widely on other subjects, the South and the West go hand in hand in the work of free coinage. Public opinion in this country is marching forward to the day when both Houses of Congress

will pass a free-coinage measure, and no President of the United States will dare refuse to make it a law.

Meanwhile, fellow-citizens, we share with the whole party the pride every good citizen feels in the successful issue of the tariff measure which protects the American laborer and the American free man,—and, above all, that polity of Reciprocity which was devised by our beloved leader, who has our trust and confidence in failure as well as success, in his days of sorrow, as in his time of gladness, to whom this convention sends to-day its message of love and greeting—our idol, Mr. Blaine.

And so, my friends, we meet to-day, as we have often met before, to take each other by the hand and look each other in the face and pledge each other anew our love and devotion and our lives to our beloved party.

IN THE CAMPAIGN

At Pueblo, October 15, 1892:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Your warm welcome touches me and it gratifies me to make my first speech in this campaign in a community like this, which stands as the centre of the manufacture of the metal products of Colorado; a community which has always been true to the Republican party; a community which stands the best monument that we could erect in Colorado of the benefits of the protective system.

The campaign, fellow-citizens, is a most unusual one. Throughout the confines and boundaries of the State it is conceded that except upon one question the party is united. The country at large is prosperous. It is conceded that the Republican party has been true to its traditions in the past, and to its promises; that the Republican policy upon the great questions which concern the American people has brought us prosperity, and not disaster. And yet it is true that, irrespective of party, there is throughout the State a widespread and deep feeling of anxiety on the question of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The press abounds in statements as to the position of this person or of that, as to the position of the Republican party upon the question and the position of the Democratic party. This feeling has been intensified since our National Convention

at Minneapolis, and I wish to say here, fellow-citizens, I have nothing to regret or apologize for in my action when you sent me as a delegate to Minneapolis. We thought of Colorado first and the country second. We failed, but we made the most gallant fight we could. For four years, forgetting every other interest, my colleague and I have worked faithfully in the Senate of the United States to endeavor to procure for the people of this country the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

It is essential that I say something upon this subject, and while some of you may not agree with me, I beg of you to believe, fellow-citizens, that the truth is higher and grander than any question of expediency, and when I speak to you upon the silver question and the attitude of the different parties upon it, I want to be able to come and look you in the face after the fight we shall have for the next two years, for Mr. Harrison is to be re-elected and I want you to feel that we have dealt fairly by you.

Fellow-citizens, the present Administration is not friendly to the free coinage of silver; it is opposed to it. There has never been a time when the attitude of this Administration has been in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Mr. Cleveland and the Democratic party are likewise unalterably opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Neither of those gentlemen could carry New York or New England or New Jersey, and many an Eastern State essential to their selection as President, if he was not opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver; and when people tell you that there is a comparison to be made between the one party and the other, fellow-citizens, you cannot make it.

We stood in the Republican Senate and passed free coinage, but it would be unjust to the gallant Senators from the Southern States who stood shoulder to shoulder with us if we told you that the twelve of us in the Republican Senate made it a Republican body which passed free coinage. The House of Representatives was Democratic and divided on free coinage, while but a paltry few, I regret to say, of the Republican party stood up as they ought for free and unlimited coinage.

Now, fellow-citizens, let us clear our decks for action. Let us face the matter as it is. It is not a party question. It is no more a party question than the question of the removal of the Utes, which Senator Teller and I have been struggling for years to accomplish. Wherever we have been able to find enlightened public judgment, we found votes. Wherever we

found people interested, either as cattle rangers or others, to oppose it, and who enlisted Eastern aid to oppose it, we lost votes.

But the question, fellow-citizens, is in no way and in no sense and in no character and in no degree a party question. But I say that if we say anything upon the subject, we must tell the truth upon it. We have no hope, my friends, for the next four years as a party, from either party on the question. We must face the fact, and that melancholy fact has forced many Republicans of this State, who I believe before November will come back to vote their convictions and vote with their old party, to join in the talk of voting for the candidate of the People's party.

Fellow-citizens, I have no word of scorn or derision for them. They are Republicans whom you and I know, in this county, many of whom have been true to the party in the past and who when this fleeting craze has passed, will come back to our party. It is our duty to talk to them as we talk with each other, realizing that what they do, they do not because they believe in the doctrines enunciated by the People's party, but because they wish to file their protest; that is what makes the situation most difficult.

[Mr. E. R. Holden, rising, addressed the Chairman as follows: "Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a few questions?"

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. HOLDEN: I will say to the people of Pueblo my name is Holden and I desire to ask a few questions of the Senator if there are no objections in the body of the House.

A request was made for Holden to proceed.

MR. HOLDEN: Senator Wolcott, have you not repeatedly in statements, have you not repeatedly in letters, have you not repeatedly in interviews throughout the State, made declaration that President Harrison was the most embittered and unrelenting foe that silver had, and that the people of this great State should not be in any way responsible for his renomination,—did you not?

WOLCOTT: Was I responsible for his renomination, do you mean?

MR. HOLDEN: Did you not advise the people they should not be responsible for his renomination?

WOLCOTT: Go on with your question.

HOLDEN: I desire to ask you as the representative of this grand State whether you recede in any manner, whether you

take back any of the utterances you made publicly and privately advocating that the people of this State should repudiate Harrison if he was ever nominated again?

WOLCOTT: I never recede from any remark I have ever made, either public or private, on that or any other question, and I have never, in public or in private, advised the people of Colorado to vote against Mr. Harrison. Mr. Wolcott continued:]

Mr. Holden and myself are both from Denver, and he can ask me these questions on the way up to Denver on the train. If these questions are for the audience, Mr. Holden, you should have a joint discussion and get a hall; if they are for me I will meet you at any time. I hope the gentleman will wait until we get a little farther along, or the people will think we are travelling together.

[Here three cheers were proposed for Senator Wolcott by some one in the audience, which were given, the wild and continued applause lasting ten minutes. Mr. Wolcott continued:]

You will have plenty of time to call for questions and answers. It is a poor time, in my opinion, to emphasize our protests. I know of no protest so deep or so loud that I would not be willing to utter if my voice would bring us the condition which the sanction of the law and the hundreds of years of use demand we should receive. But you know there is no more possibility of the protest being effective by reason of the vote in Colorado for the third candidate than there is by any other impossible chimera.

Let us wait and make our protest where it will do us good. I know that the people of Colorado, because they feel the injury the silver cause has suffered at the hands of both of the parties, are inclined to stray outside the ranks. I know that they are not in favor of the crazy sub-treasury scheme. I know that they are not in favor of unlimited currency of paper, that they do not join in the demand that we immediately have $50 per head of money—of silver if you have got it—iron if you have got it—paper if you have not got the metals—making a hotch-potch for everybody. I know that the people of the State of Colorado, sensible, true men, who do their day's work, who make the good citizens of this commonwealth, are not yet ready, in order that they may cast an efficient protest, to join the grand army of long-haired men and short-haired women. You will find, my friends, those of you whose hair is gray and those who are young in years, that the generation that either of you will live will never see a Solid South turn

from the Democratic ticket. They will stand with it so far as they can accomplish it, if they can get the President they want, but when it comes to the vital question as to whether they stand by Democracy or whether they stand by silver you will find them standing by Democracy every time.

Yet, my friends, we do not despair of silver. There is no day that effort is not being made to make people see the light; there is no day that some converts are not made; there is no day that the question is not marching nearer its final solution. I have no doubt that the day will come, and come before long, when, irrespective of party, the public demand for free coinage will be such that no President of the United States, Republican or Democrat, will dare refuse to make a silver bill the law.

All over the world light is coming on the subject. Why, do you know my friends that the currency—the circulation of the world in paper money is increased every year more rapidly than the product of both gold and silver together? Do you know that since Europe has demonetized silver we have had no war, and that there is not gold enough in the coffers of any of the great nations of Europe to pay another indemnity?

Sometime, when circumstances unlock the money that is hoarded, you will find that the governments of Europe will be glad to join the governments of America in the free and unlimited coinage of silver. For myself I do not want to wait until then, for I believe that the American people can solve the problem. But our misfortune is that the people of the East do not agree with us—not enough of them; that is our trouble, and until that question gets a solution, we must bide our time and keep in the harness and work. And I firmly believe, as much as I believe anything, that the time is certainly coming when we of Colorado who believe in hard money, both gold and silver, and believe the credit of the nation should be backed up by both metals, will be called upon by the money powers of the East to stand between them and the cranks and the visionaries who are demanding unlimited paper money and government loans at two per cent.

So, fellow-citizens, eliminating, if we may, Mr. Holden and myself from the silver question for the time, I want to pass with you to two or three other questions; for, leaving that subject out of consideration, there is to my mind no reason in the world why every man who loves his State and is devoted to its interests should not stand by the Republican party at this election. We have not far to go for comparison. You

remember eight years ago when, after twenty-four years of Republican rule, the Democrats clamored for a change in the Government and told what great frauds they were going to unearth and the great revolution they would bring about.

They conceded that the Republican party saved the nation; they conceded this, that its policy on all financial questions, like that of Resumption and the Homestead Law and all other questions, had brought success and prosperity to our beloved country. But they said: "There are frauds in the Government, and if you will only put us in power we will unearth something that will astonish the world." And there were enough weak men, because those were days of peace, and men felt they could afford to experiment, to put our party out and elect Mr. Cleveland President.

We have a comparison to make only four years old. I do not care to talk much about it, for it will not bear much discussion; but I want to call your attention as Western men to the absolute lack of accomplishment by the party while it was in power.

They passed the Mills Bill through one House with its sixty-eight per cent. duty on sugar. They passed no other measure of public moment. They put in the Interior Department a Commissioner of the Land Office, who said that every Western homesteader and settler was probably trying to cheat the Government, and during the three years that he held office under Mr. Cleveland he locked up 360,000 homestead applications for entry which this Administration has unloosed. Our flag, of which we are proud, was through the four years of Cleveland's Administration, by their hesitancy on the Bering Sea question, trailed in the dust, and no man was surprised when Sackville West, at the close of Cleveland's Administration, wrote the letter hoping that he would be re-elected.

Fortunately we may divide the last Administration into two parts, the first two years when the Republican party had control of both Houses of Congress, and the last two years when it had control of but one.

The measures passed by the Fifty-first Congress, the laws it put upon our statute books are laws that every American citizen who loves his country will point to with pride as long as he has a country to be proud of. Take in the first place Mr. Reed as the Speaker of the House. No more gallant and patriotic man ever entered into public life. A hue and cry was raised against him. He was denounced as a monster from one

end of the country to the other, solely because he said that a majority was elected to do business, and that the majority had the right to do its business. The Supreme Court of the United States in the last few months vindicated his position.

What is the history of that Congress? We passed the Shipping Bill, which gave bonuses to the steamers doing business with the South American countries and started our flag on the ocean. We passed the Pension Bill, which secured to the families of those entitled to pensions the fruit of the labor of the husband or father. We passed the Anti-lottery Bill. We passed the Anti-trust Bill. We passed the first World's Fair Bill, which would never have been passed, and the Columbian Exposition would not be now pending, had it not been for the acts of a Republican House and a Republican Senate. We passed the Meat Inspection Bill, which went through and was signed by the President, and which requires and compels both Great Britain and Germany to treat our meat exports from this country on a more liberal basis, and has already led to an increase of more than $12,000,000 in the business transacted. We passed the Appellate Court Bill, that takes away from litigants the necessity of waiting years for the disposition of their cases. We passed the Reapportionment Bill, which gives Colorado another Congressman and the Western States the fruit of new population. We passed the Private Land-grant Bill, which is of slight interest to Colorado, but of great interest to New Mexico and Arizona. We passed the Copyright Bill, which secures to authors the fruits of their labors, and we passed the Tariff Bill, known as the McKinley Bill.

There has been much talk on the tariff. My friends, did you ever stop to think what the Tariff law means? It is intended to add to and increase the dignity of American labor. All tariff bills come in the end to the lifting up and dignifying of home labor. This Republic says to every person within its borders: "We welcome you and yours; you may become citizens of this great Government. We call upon you to fulfil all the requirements of citizenship. We need intelligent men upon our juries; we need intelligent men to exercise the right of suffrage. We demand these requirements of you and in return we guarantee to you that you shall never be called upon to compete with the ill-paid and poverty-stricken and downtrodden labor of Europe." We say to you: "You shall have reasonable hours to do your work, and we will see that for that work you have your reasonable reward, enough

to clothe your families in comfort and give you your home and surroundings and influences such as make life pleasant. These we give to you and in return we call upon you to be patriotic and law-abiding citizens." That this Government has given with varying rates and scales throughout its history. Whenever it has lowered the gates the laboring man has sunk, and so long as we have held them and tried to keep foreign products out and make room for American workmen and American products our country has been blessed and prosperous.

Two years ago the Republican party was swept aside for a time by the denunciation of laws of which nobody could know the eventual workings. The people believing these stories, as the bill had not been able to be tested by experiment, as I say, swept the Republican party aside and gave us a Democratic House by a numerous majority. And, my friends, what has that Democratic House done? There was never a time in the history of the country when there was such absenteeism in the House. They did little but make useless investigations, the last of which was an investigation to ascertain whether their own members were drunk or sober. No measure has become a law that has been passed through that body in the last two years; no measure has been sought to be passed into a law. The Mills Bill was reputable. It represented a policy; it represented work; it represented intelligence. This present Congress now closing has never attempted to make into law one single measure of public importance.

Instead of dealing intelligently and fairly with the great tariff question which comes so near to the hearts of all of us, it tampered with the subject and in five little bills which it railroaded through the House, attempted to declare the policy of the House. In the first place they put binding twine on the free list, or reduced its duty largely, notwithstanding it is made largely in the Philippine Islands and its free admission would bring us in direct competition with Chinese labor. They took the duty off cotton ties to please the cotton planters of the South, the result of which would inevitably be that cotton ties now made in this country would hereafter be made abroad.

They so reduced the duty on lead that that great product, which is of almost vital importance to us, would practically have gone on the free list, and the price of lead would have been reduced one third or a half.

They passed one other bill; they reduced the duty on tin-plate, knowing it could not pass through the Senate. The ques-

tion of tin-plate is one that has been argued *ad nauseam*. As a result of the duty on tin-plate the working-man probably pays a cent to a cent and a half more for his tin pail than he paid before;—they say no more, but I think that would be the eventual result of it, and twenty millions of dollars are paid out for American labor and in American manufacture, and I believe that is a tax that any intelligent and patriotic working-man is willing to pay.

There was one other industry they could assail and that was wool, and they railroaded a bill without much discussion through the House, in which they took the duty off wool, but left a large duty on wool as manufactured from raw material, for which the Democratic party has been clamoring.

It is not worth while at this late hour to go into a discussion of the wool question, but it is the simplest question in the world, it seems to me, provided we agree to encourage American farmers, American manufacturers and American labor. We raise to-day about one half the wool that is needed for consumption. Wool is depressed all over the world because Australia is rearing flocks at almost nominal prices on those great fields and plains of hers.

The duty adds to American wool a value of from eight to eleven cents a pound, and it is greatly increasing our stock of sheep. It gives us annually 1,000,000 sheep, which are butchered, which gives 60,000,000 pounds of mutton a year. Every farmer who is now on his little farm able to raise a few sheep for the market may sell his fleece as clipped each year. But the Democrat says it adds to the price of your woollen suit or garment. It does nothing of the kind.

To-day the difference is almost nominal between the price of American woollens and the price of foreign woollens except in the very highest grades. It is almost exactly the same, and yet this is true, that if it be a little higher measure in dollars, measured in labor it is infinitely cheaper, for the American laborer can buy his suit with six days' labor, and the Englishman who wants to buy his will pay for it by the labor of sixteen or seventeen days.

I am not going to take time, my friends, to go into the woollen business, but I want to say generally as to the effect of the McKinley Bill that it does not raise prices; that it has taken the duty off more articles than were ever freed of duty before; that the price paid per capita, the price paid per head, of duty in this country, is much less than it ever was

before, in spite of the fact that we have taken the sixty-eight per cent. off sugar and put sugar on the free list.

This talk of the Democrats about the markets of the world is moonshine. I tell you that the prosperity that comes to this country must come within its own borders. Every country on earth but England recognizes it. Every dependency of Great Britain has a Protective Tariff, many of them a High Protective Tariff. I tell you that if this country is to flourish it is to flourish because near the farmer is the manufacturer; it is to flourish because we produce that which we eat, and that which clothes us, and that which we use; it is to flourish because American citizens utilize whatever God has given us in this splendid country to enjoy, and it is never going to flourish because our people are impoverished, our manufactories are silent and deserted, and our farmer has to find his market for his grain abroad.

In addition, my friends, we have one other measure which we passed in that blessed Fifty-first Congress, of which I shall always be proud, and that was the Reciprocity clause. Its effects are seen on every hand.

We are dealing with South America, with which we only had a nominal commerce before. We are sending our flour to Cuba. We are dealing even with the Windward Islands, a dependency of Great Britain, which felt impelled to come to us, and sacrifice the duties which they had been levying on American products, in order that we might not shut out their sugar and other commodities which they produced. It has already brought this country up to a condition from twenty to thirty millions in the commerce of the nations near our doors, and sooner or later it is to be the one important factor in that grand consummation which the great secretary, Mr. Blaine, looks forward to when the people of America shall join hands in one common government, all free people, and all under the flag of one republic.

But when I refer to these measures of the Fifty-first Congress, we are met by the Democratic charge that the Congress was extravagant, and they talk of the Billion-dollar Congress. I think Speaker Reed very properly answered that this was a billion-dollar country. You remember they figured up the appropriations of Congress as something over a billion dollars, and it sounded large to a man unused to figures. It sounded large to Mr. Holman, who was brought up in a little town of Indiana, where they still have plank roads and who got his ideas of political economy in a country grocery store.

The amount unexplained would not be supposed to be reasonable; but the figures, ladies and gentlemen, will not stand analysis. They said it was $1,000,000,000. Do you know that out of this money they said we expended, $256,000,000, more than one fourth, went to the sinking fund to pay the national debt and was not an expenditure? The total increase from previous Congresses was $114,000,000 and that money was spent in the increase of the navy and in paying the dependent pensions of $56,000,000, of which we are all proud, and the balance went to pay the expense of the census; not a single dollar, practically speaking, outside of that amount but what was to be applied to those three items. And this Democratic party which was going to revolutionize things generally, wound up their first session of this Congress by spending $23,000,000 more than the Republican Congress that just preceded it. This, I think, is rather an efficient answer to that charge.

But, fellow-citizens, I will not go longer into these political questions. I am glad to be here, and really the best result of the meeting is that we may meet and look each other in the face and give each other renewed courage and hope for the fight that is before us.

We had the pleasure of being escorted to this hall by the young Republican Club. Every four years brings new voters—new adherents to the ranks. There are within reach of my voice many young men not members of that club who will cast their first vote at this election. Join the party that has nothing to apologize for, nothing to be afraid or ashamed of. Join the party of light and of progress and turn your faces to the dawn.

Fellow-citizens, this month we are celebrating all over the land the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The universal growth in progress and civilization is beyond realization. Other nations and governments upon this continent share with us in the commemoration of Columbus, but upon none of them have like blessings been bestowed.

Just think of it! In 1492, an ignorant, king-ridden world, steeped in superstition, the vast majority of its people slaves and bondmen; to-day a new world of free men, living under republican institutions, where every man stands equal to another under the law.

The Old World was slow in learning the possibilities of mankind. We not only taught them the blessings of liberty, but we founded out of the wilderness a haven and a sanctuary for

the oppressed of every nation, where we have assimilated them and made them, with us, fit for the heritage of free men.

The blessings we enjoy have been made possible to us by sacrifice, by patriotism, and, above all, by the preservation of the ballot, and if the freedom we enjoy is to be perpetuated, it must be because our right of suffrage is preserved as the ark of our covenant and is intelligently exercised.

On this glorious anniversary, my friends, I am unwilling to cast my vote either as a threat or evidence of discontent for principles which I mistrust and for policies which can only bring discredit upon republican institutions. The party to which we belong stands for all that is bravest and best and most hopeful and most uplifting; it is the party of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield; it is the party of our youth and our younger manhood. To leave it is to go out into the darkness and the night.

THE FIGHT AGAINST POPULISM

BEFORE the Republican State Convention, Denver, September 12, 1894:

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Grateful as I am, and touched and honored as I well may be at this cordial welcome, and that I am included with my colleague in the universal expressions of confidence and affection which meet us on every side, I must nevertheless ask you to excuse me from any extended response to your call; for I believe that this is a time for action and not for lengthened speech. Between now and the time of election I hope to meet you and the people you represent at your homes, where I may give an account of my stewardship, and go over with you the national legislation of the past two years, so momentous to the welfare of the great Northwest.

To-day the duty which rests upon us is too solemn and too serious to permit our thoughts to be diverted from the importance of the task in hand. This overflowing and earnest convention represents no man's desires; this is a time when individual aspirations are hushed. This great gathering means but one thing, can have but one import; it means that the decent people of Colorado do not intend yet to surrender this State, with its splendid possibilities, to the ignorant and grotesque mismanagement of the Executive[1] who has controlled its destinies for the past two years, who has already destroyed values to the extent of millions on millions of dollars, and who has made us the gibe and the scorn and the contempt of the whole civilized world.

No State, since the foundation of the Union, ever faced so serious a crisis, and, laying aside all other issues, invoking the aid of every good man and good woman, of every party and

[1] Governor Waite.

of whatever faith, we propose to save this commonwealth from worse disaster than even universal bankruptcy or civil war could inflict upon us—to save it from the dishonor and degradation of a State government which repudiates the flag of our country, denies the authority of the General Government, refuses to our citizens the protection which the Constitution and laws guarantee them, and which invokes only the genius of disorder and misrule.

To the accomplishment of this result, we need and we must deserve the support of the people of the State irrespective of past party affiliations, who have pride in the good name of the State, and who believe no effort too great to preserve it. It is citizenship, not party; it is honor against dishonor, credit against bankruptcy, the preservation of the home against paternalism run riot, which would destroy values and paralyze individual effort; upon these issues we must win.

The overwhelming argument against the Populist party has been furnished by the present State Administration. It has cost the people millions of dollars; but it is a final demonstration, a demonstration not alone to us, but to thousands of people who voted the Populist ticket two years ago, and who will never vote it again. The rank and file of that party were as good citizens as ever peopled a State. They knew nothing about the Omaha platform, and they cared less; but they saw our interests suffer in national legislation at the hands of both political parties, and they proposed to emphasize their protest. The result has been sad enough; they have been the dupes of wily political leaders, who cared only for office and its emoluments. At the close of this Administration they may take an account of stock, and compute their gains and losses. During the two years that Governor Waite has controlled the destinies of this State there is no employer of labor who has not been compelled to employ fewer men and at less wages; there is no laborer within the confines of our State who has not been compelled to accept less pay, either by reduction of hours, or by lessened wages. There were never so many mortgages foreclosed as now, and never so many business failures. There has been throughout this State a general transformation of a people who were in a condition of prosperity and of growth, to a people threatened with poverty and with commercial and industrial paralysis, and while some of these ills may in a measure be attributable to national legislation respecting silver, there is not one of them which has not been accentuated and

intensified and increased by this irresponsible and chaotic administration of Davis H. Waite.

The only sort of claim that party can make to the suffrages of the people of Colorado is that it is the friend of silver. Why, my friends, the party as at present constituted cares no more for silver as a standard of value than it cares for iron. And because there is a great section of the country which believes in the use of the two metals, a section composed of intelligent and thoughtful men and women, who are neither visionaries, nor cranks, nor fiat-money advocates, who believe that the future prosperity of this country must rest on the use of the two metals, and who are discontented with the attitude of both the great political parties, the Populist leaders limit their present demands for more money to that which can be furnished by silver; but the tenets of the party call for unlimited paper money based on credit alone.

I read the other day that at the Pueblo convention some distinguished woman who addressed that assemblage said she had recently returned from Creede, and, after looking down those dark and gloomy mining shafts, had come to the conclusion that it was an outrage for men to work in such places, and her money hereafter should be paper.

Not long ago Senator Peffer, who stands for as good Populism as there is—there is not any of it that is very good—introduced a bill, which he advocated, providing that a large appropriation should be made by the Government for the purchase of aluminum; that the aluminum should be cut into plates of a certain thickness and size, and that as government debts were incurred, it should be stamped with the amount due, in different denominations, and issued to the people of this country, irrespective of final redemption. And it is not two years since one of the most eminent of the Populist party, in all seriousness, made the proposition that the wealth of the United States, as yet unproduced, lying in the bowels of the earth, should be estimated intelligently, and having been estimated, the mines should be sealed up and paper money issued to that amount.

What a glorious prospect for the mining interests of our country! This in all seriousness. Fellow-citizens, such doctrines are a travesty upon true bimetallism. They bring discredit upon its advocates, and they do not represent the convictions which are held in practical unanimity by every man and woman in Colorado.

It is true, my friends, that neither of the two great political

parties as yet stands ready to render this oppressed people the deliverance they demand. It is also true that this financial question, the solution of which is being worked out the world over, in agony and sweat, in suffering and increasing poverty, is greater than any the world knows; far greater than any party issue or question of party fealty. There was a time not long ago when perhaps all of us dreamed of the possibility of the organization of a party which should be composed of a regenerated and revivified South and a young and sturdy West; that, standing for what was best in the two parties, should supplement this with the recognition that no lasting prosperity could come to this country unless we retraced our steps and stood again upon the platform of gold and silver as standards of value. There were others besides ourselves that dreamed this day-dream and wove this fancy. It may be that such a party may yet arrive, but, fellow-citizens, two years of the Omaha platform and of Kansas and Colorado Populism have sickened thoughtful men of any hope in the direction of the Populist party.

Whenever I am convinced that the free coinage of silver is not attainable at the hands of the Republican party, and is attainable at the hands of some other party, I will join that party and so will every citizen of Colorado. But, my friends, that determination will never bring you or me into party affiliation with Mrs. Lease and Governor Waite.

My earliest recollections are associated with the Republican party. When I was a lad our house was a station on the underground railway. After nightfall, in our New England home, some black man would be secretly let in to sleep in the attic, and started off at daylight on his road to Canada. The first years of my manhood are associated with the attack on the flag and its restoration. All the life I have known is identified with that of the Republican party, and draws its inspirations from that party's achievements in the protection of American labor, American products, and American manhood; in its eternal vigilance for the maintenance of the honor of the flag at home and abroad, and in its elevation of the human race.

And since that eventful session of Congress a year ago, what growth we have seen has come through and in and by the Republican party.

My friends, with you I love the party and every line in its history, and when we leave it it will be to different music than any Populist party has yet piped.

We may as well face the situation fairly; there is one other consideration under which any good citizen would be justified this fall in abandoning party lines. Our votes should be cast where they will tell most against Waiteism; and were the Republican party in the minority of the two great political parties in this State, my vote this fall would be cast for Governor with that one of the two parties which had the majority of votes. It so happens in this State, that the overwhelming majority, as between the two parties, is with the Republican party, and we are not called upon to make this sacrifice: but this campaign should be so conducted as to encourage every good citizen in the State, whatever his past party affiliations or his present convictions on national questions, to cast his fortunes with us. In this, believe me, I speak neither idly nor untruly, and when such statesmen as Daniel of Virginia, and Morgan of Alabama, and Butler of South Carolina, and Coke of Texas, who stood for the interest of humanity and against the gold monometallism, could laugh at the party lash and defy the decrees of the Executive, members of their party in Colorado can well afford to sink for the hour all party differences and all partisan bitterness. And if there be in the record of my colleague and myself anything which may indicate a recognition of the right of independent thought and action, any incident which may incline our Democratic fellow-citizens to listen with tolerant ear to this suggestion, then I do entreat them to stand with us now for this one election in an effort to elevate our State out of the slough of misery and disaster into which Davis H. Waite has plunged it, up and on to the firm foundation of stable government.

If there were any selfishness in this suggestion, it should be robbed of all its force; but there is none.

The office you have conferred upon me is the most splendid within your gift; the term for which I hold it has nearly expired. What the future may have in store for me it is not given us to know; but whatever personal possibilities there might be for me as to a continuance of its term I say to you solemnly I would sacrifice them all gladly in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, if thereby we could render more certain the rescue of this State from the hands that now throttle it, and I would retire cheerfully to private life, grateful for your past kindness and confidence, and happy that as a citizen of Colorado there was any sacrifice I could make that would save this State from further degradation and dishonor.

Since the last general election in Colorado the voting population has nearly doubled in number. A new element has entered into public affairs, not temporarily, but forever. The burden is imposed upon every woman in this State of bearing her share in the government. There may have been times when some men and women felt that the hour had not come for female suffrage. That question is forever settled; and whatever may have been the views of anybody as to the general policy of extending the suffrage, there is no citizen of Colorado, no good citizen, who does not thank his Maker to-day that side by side with him as he casts his ballot for good and stable government, there will walk the genius of his home and household to render her protest also against the paternalism which would rob homes of their sanctity and individual effort and aspiration of the possibility of reward. The duty that rests upon the women of this State must not be shirked or evaded; they owe the solemn obligation of exercising the high privilege which the law has conferred upon them, and they must remember that to them also is confided the safety of the Ark of the Covenant of our civil and religious liberty.

Mr. Chairman, since Colorado became a State there has never been an hour when the motto which surrounds the great seal of the State could with so great propriety be invoked. We have been chastened and humbled as no people have ever been. It is an hour when we recall *Nil sine numine*—nothing without divine aid. There must be earnest men and women enough in this State to save us from further misrule, and invoking that divine aid without which all human efforts are futile, I believe that this convention will refuse to listen to any man's claim for office, but will determine what citizens shall stand forward to do battle for us, and will name a ticket the election of which, the success of which, will save our homes, our property, our self-respect, and the honor of Colorado.

BROWN PALACE HOTEL RECEPTION

At a reception at the Brown Palace Hotel, Denver. Given by the East Capitol Hill Woman's Republican League to Senators Teller and Wolcott, September 17, 1894:

MRS. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: A few moments ago, when I took up the evening paper I found among the telegrams one from Montrose, which I hope, for the honor of our

State, is not founded on fact. It stated that Governor Waite last evening, in addressing a meeting of our fellow-citizens in Montrose, made the statement that Denver was a second Sodom and Gomorrah, and that its Republican voters were thugs, thieves, and conspirators.

The fair city of Denver has been almost fatally stricken by his misrule and mismanagement; but I wish, for the sake of common decency, that he could look upon this noble and splendid assemblage of intelligent men and women and be compelled to admit, if he made such a statement, that he lied in his teeth when he said it.

For one, I am tired of the slanders and abuse which is heaped upon us and telegraphed all over the world, defiling our own nest, abusing, vilifying, and slandering the decent men and women of Colorado and destroying and ruining every decent industry which our efforts and our time and our people have built up so as to make our State a glorious one in the sisterhood of States, until he came with his baleful influence to destroy it.

I felt, ladies and gentlemen, great embarrassment when I accepted an invitation to appear here to-night. I have already spoken twice in Denver. I have had no waking hour that I could call my own since I have been here. I had no time for preparation; but I felt that I could not resist the opportunity of meeting the ladies of the East Capitol Hill Republican League in this gathering, and of exchanging informally our views respecting the coming campaign.

As I thought this afternoon of what there might be to say it seemed at first as if a speech to be made to the ladies of Denver might be of a different tenor and character from that which one would ordinarily make; but it is a mistake. Ah, my friends, whatever we may have thought on the question of suffrage and whether the time had yet come to extend it to women, that question is forever settled, and in view of the great claims which are upon us here, there is no man who has a home of his own who is not grateful that there are two of them instead of one to voice their protest against the misgovernment to which we are now subjected. And further, if there were any who had doubt as to the wisdom of the extension of suffrage to women, a view of the late primaries and the late county and State conventions would go far to remove any objection which might lurk in his breast. For the first time since I have known anything of the history of Denver, its primaries were made absolutely pure and decent. We never

had a State convention so large, so quiet, and so orderly; we never had a State convention the outcome of which was a more splendid ticket than that which you gave us last Wednesday.

I know of no honest desire which I might have as a citizen for the welfare of the State which is not shared by every good woman in Colorado for the same reason. The suffrage was extended to you not because you are women but because you are human beings with the same interest that every honest man has in the administration of government, with the same intelligence to bring to bear upon the questions at issue from time to time; with the same splendid love of your State and of your country.

The end to be attained by suffrage is the advancement of society as a whole. This is to be accomplished by the enactment and the enforcement of good laws. There is nobody on earth more interested in the enactment and the enforcement of law than the good geniuses who preside over our farms, our homes, and our firesides. Acrimony and hate have been the accompaniment of political campaigns almost since the history of our country. They bring no good; they settle no issue. I believe that with the advent of woman into politics and into government, much of that acrimony and hate will pass away. But there is one thing to be remembered by every woman within reach of my voice, and that is that the right of suffrage is a duty and not alone a privilege. I know no more contemptible being on earth than the American citizen who lives under the protection of our flag who fails to exercise his right of suffrage. I know no such contemptible body of people on the face of the earth as American citizens residing abroad like our American colony in Paris and in London, who draw their revenues from their country to spend abroad; who profess their contempt for their own people, and fail to come home and cast their lots and their votes with us, and who ape the manners of another country and are ashamed of their own. In my opinion, all those people who live in this country and pretend to be citizens of the Republic should not fail to exercise with our voters and in our elections the right and the duty which the law confers upon them.

Ladies, it is not your duty to hold all of the offices, but it is your duty to cast your ballots whenever there is an election with candidates to be voted for. You have had your first experience, and to you are to be extended the heartiest congratulations on its results. You have nominated a ticket which

is equal to any ticket that could be nominated within the State of Colorado. It has at its head, as our leader, a gentleman of standing, of character, and refinement, a man against whom no breath of scandal has ever been heard, a man who is entitled to our suffrages, our confidence, and our affection; and a man who, in the two years in which he will occupy the public gaze as Governor, will make us proud that we conferred upon him the honor of nomination.

I may perhaps be permitted to remind you, ladies, that having participated in the primaries, and in the conventions which followed them, you owe a certain duty to the organizations to which you belong. Your vote is not a personal gift to be bestowed wherever you may see fit to place it. Your vote is a solemn obligation, a solemn privilege which you hold to be cast together with other votes in favor of the united judgment of the party in its counsels in which you participate. You owe allegiance to your party and to its nominees. There was never yet a convention in which some of us were not bitterly disappointed; the people we wanted did not get the offices always; the methods we liked have not always prevailed; but out of it all, where a ticket is fairly nominated and the character of the nominees entitles them to our confidence, we owe to that ticket our hearty and unanimous approval, and I have no doubt that this Republican club which I have now the honor of addressing will show its loyalty to the ticket when election day comes.

This is a peculiarly fortunate time for the women to make their advent into politics. To them have always been entrusted the guardianship and the perpetuity of the home. The maternal instinct looks forward always to know what is to be left for the children and the children's children; and that permanence of home, and that perpetuity of our institutions have recently received something of a shock in certain sections of our country.

Ladies and gentlemen, when this country was organized, when this Republic was born, its citizens came together in poverty and suffering under oppression. They got together and said: "We vow that all we have we will cast into a common lot; we agree that we are each of us entitled to liberty and to freedom, but that it shall be just so much liberty and so much freedom as is consistent with the liberty and the freedom of every other person." And they met and they agreed that they would give their lives, their bodies, their minds, and their hearts to the services of their country; they would serve upon juries, they

would enlist in the armies, they would obey its laws and in obedience to law their lives if necessary were subject to the call of their fellow-citizens. That, my friends, is what citizenship in a Republic means; and it does not mean any less.

We have had, unfortunately, in the last few months, some evidences of the existence of a feeling in the heart of some men that there was no solemn obligation due our Government, and that laws were not made to be obeyed, when there was force enough to dispute them. Fellow-citizens, I believe in labor and its fruits. I believe in the organization of labor and I glory in the advancement that laboring men have achieved because and by means of their organizations. I believe in arbitration. No man can view the suffering that exists among certain classes of our fellow-citizens and not long for the time when, somehow, and in some way their lot will be made easier and the hearts of men who control labor will be softened and made better. All these things, my friends, we believe. But we believe something more; we believe that if there is anywhere in the broad confines of the United States a single citizen who, standing under its flag, and who, with hands inured to labor, will not perform labor when it is open to him, then our Republic is a farce and a mockery and unfit to live.

I tell you that this State needs the votes of its good women and of its good men for the maintenance and enforcement of law, for securing the honor of the flag and the authority of good government.

This campaign, fellow-citizens, differs from ordinary campaigns. Usually we meet and invoke the history of our great parties. We pitch into the other fellows, and we tell about the war and of everything that has happened since. We define the issues between the parties upon which rightfully enough we appeal to the consciences of the voters. But this man who sits in the gubernatorial chair has for the good State of Colorado wiped out every issue but two, and these are silver and good government.

It is easy for somebody to say Why do you speak of the silver question? Colorado is unanimous upon silver. Have you read the Omaha platform? Do you know what the Populist doctrines are? The first demand of the Populists is that money enough be issued by the Government of the United States immediately to give per capita $50 throughout the country. In other words, that at once the present currency of the country be doubled. That is all very well, fellow-citizens. We need

more money. France has nearly $50 per capita. I doubt very much if that overstates the amount we need. But with the issue of $50 per capita immediately, what becomes of your silver, and your silver coinage, and your free coinage of both gold and silver? It is true that the Populist party have declared for the coinage of both gold and silver, but that is incidental. They want more money; they want it in tin, paper, aluminum, anything they can get. They don't care a continental about silver except that it will catch votes and befool honest miners in the Colorado mountains. We want to persist in our demand for silver, not because we produce it; but because we are a hard-money people, and believe that there can be no financial stability in this country unless based upon the two metals at the parity which has been recognized for two generations. We are for silver, not because it is found within our mountains; not because the Government encouraged us to dig and then ruthlessly made it valueless; we are for silver because we are for the people; because we do not believe in making the money which the borrower owns dearer for him to get at the maturity on his loan, dearer than when he borrowed his money. We are for silver, because, without it, money is growing dearer and the grain and produce of the farmer are growing less and there is a general decrease in prices. We are for silver because we are bimetallists from principle, and that is why as Republicans we want to defend the silver cause; and it is to be said for the honest Democracy of the West that the Democracy, too, until some of them went wrong on the greenback craze, were a hard-money people; that the rank and file of the Democratic party outside the financial centres of the East and the Northeast are for silver. There is in Colorado no Democrat and no Republican who believes in the coinage of silver from principle, and not as a mere means of getting out more money, whose duty it is not to stand up for silver; and I think in this election there are very few Silver Democrats who will not vote for Silver Republicans on State questions.

We must stand for silver because we must agitate the question. People say we have had enough of the silver question. Ladies and gentlemen, there will never be enough of the silver question until silver is re-established upon the throne from which it was displaced in 1873. And when people say that agitation does no good, they don't know what they are talking about. The agitation of the special session of Congress

a year ago has done more to forward and to help the silver cause than everything that has yet taken place in silver agitation. The desire for the remonetization of silver is growing in every direction. There is hardly a Republican platform from time to time adopted that does not give a further recognition to the demands of the bimetallists.

And not only here, but equally abroad. There is not, my friends, in all Europe, a holder of land, a cultivator of the soil, a farmer, who is not a silver man. There is nowhere a merchant doing business with other countries who is not a silver man. In Germany the feeling is overwhelmingly changing in favor of bimetallism, and is kept in check only by the despotism of the Emperor and his advisers. In England the change of sentiment is something marvellous. All over Great Britain they see wages going down and prices of products of the farm growing less until the values of the land are far less than the mortgages upon them, and everywhere there is a marked, a radical change in the direction of the recognition of silver. If the agitation continues, the international agreement will some day come, and bimetallism will be universal throughout the world. But, fellow-citizens, it is idle for us to talk of waiting until that day shall come. It is idle to institute a comparison between this country with its magnificent industries, its great needs, its new budding commerce, and its business reaching out in every direction, and that old, finished, and settled nation of Great Britain, the largest lender in the world, while the United States is the largest borrower. When people say that we, who produce the silver, shall wait on Great Britain, which produces largely the gold, and which seeks to exact the payment of its debts in the dearer metal, they advocate a policy the effect of which means disaster to our own people. We never got anything yet from Great Britain that we did not fight for and we never shall. There is one motto in all our advocacy of silver, and in all our consideration of the question, as affected by the attitude of other nations, which we will do well to remember, and it is: "Each for each, and all for each; and America against the world."

The other issue, my friends, upon which this campaign must be conducted, shall be that of good government. These two years of Governor Waite's Administration is the greatest disaster this State has ever known. We used to have the grasshoppers, we used to think we were afflicted with various losses by the hand of the Almighty; but the time will come when the

two-year Populists will be a far worse plague than the seven-year locusts ever were. The time is surely coming when many of the young women, in the hearing of my voice, as they hold their children on their knees, will tell them how years and years ago there was a grotesque, impossible sort of an old man, a sort of opera-bouffe governor, who tried to destroy all the interests in Colorado, who tore down everything that was decent, and invoked all the disorder and misrule he could, and how the good men and good women of Colorado got together and talked it over and by an overwhelming vote sent that opera-bouffe governor back to Aspen, where he belonged. And the only difficulty your children will have in believing the story will be in believing that you ever were big enough idiots and "muffs" to elect him once.

I would like to know what Populism has ever done for Colorado? What would the party do if you gave them two years more? Their Omaha platform stands for silver, $50 a head. Then what? That the Government should own all the railroads, telegraph lines, and telephones. That is Populism; the rest is scramble for office.

Did you ever think what it meant for the Government to take the railroads? It cannot confiscate them very well. I don't think even a Populist would be willing to advocate that plan. To purchase them would cost the Government thousands and thousands of millions of dollars—more than the debts of most of the civilized nations of the world put together. The Populists want to take them and run them. Who is to pay the interest on the debt? You and I and every man who has a dollar or earns a dollar or has the hope of securing a dollar. That is a Populist idea. Just stop and think of it! Forget that you are discontented with the attitude of the two parties; remember what you are jumping from and what you are jumping into. You jump into the arms of a party which literally offers you nothing on earth except the involving of this country in thousands and thousands of millions of dollars of debt. It offers you nothing in return; it does not stand for civilization; it does not stand for progress; it does not stand for the uplifting of the human race. It preaches only a gospel of discontent. It lifts its arm against every man whose industry has given him a home or a dollar in the savings bank. It is the enemy of everything that means law and order and progress. That is what you are asked to vote for this time. Ah, fellow-citizens, it is not Governor Waite alone. It is Nance, and

Goodykoontz,[1] and all of them, who should be dumped into the eternal pool of forgetfulness and left there forever.

I did not intend to occupy your time. You are standing and it must be hard for you. There are others who are to follow me, and, like you, I enjoy hearing my colleague speak whenever I have the opportunity. But you must pardon me, however, if I remind you again of the fact that the right of suffrage which has been finally awarded to you is a duty as well as a privilege. There have been before this republics which flourished for a time and then vanished until only their names remain. They reverted to the rule of one or the few. They perished because their people grew indifferent to their liberties; and when you shall fail to value or to exercise the right of suffrage, to the extent of your influence you lessen and weaken the permanence of republican institutions. Whatever of hope there may be for the future rests in the intelligence of the people, and their vigilance in the exercise of their duties. It must rest not on the levelling methods which Socialism and Populism contemplate. Whenever you level, you level down; you never level up. If civilization is to advance it must be by the encouragement of individual effort and the example of individual achievement.

Whatever these days of ferment may bring elsewhere, Colorado has had enough of Socialism and Populism and misrule. This splendid gathering of earnest women is but an expression of the sentiment which fills thousands of homes all over the State, which voices the overwhelming demand that this commonwealth shall assert the supremacy of law and order—shall vindicate the intelligence of its men and of its women.

OTHER SPEECHES IN 1894

At a fair at Loveland, Colorado, October 6, 1894 (incomplete report):

It is very gratifying to me to be able to address a gathering on this, the first occasion outside the city of my residence, and to be brought face to face with my constituents. The contest of last year was an arduous one. It is not settled, and will not be until silver has taken its place with gold. Back of all the struggle at Washington was the knowledge that the people of

[1] Nance and Goodykoontz were candidates for State offices on the Populist ticket.

Colorado, irrespective of party, were a united constituency. Although unworthy men may seek to destroy reputation and throw mud, they can never take away from me the memory of the undivided kindness shown to me at that time. It does not trouble me what in the future these clowns may stir up, but they should refrain from casting contumely on the past.

In Colorado the state of things is not satisfactory. Mortgages that are about to fall due cannot be renewed, and the prices of agricultural products never were lower. This gathering is non-political. To whatever party you belong, you all love your country. You intend to cast your vote where it will do the most good. Lust of office, disappointed ambition, may sometimes warp our judgment, but we are all desirous of casting our ballots for the uplifting of civilization. I have conversed to-day with those who saw this splendid portion of the country a desert. They have helped to turn it into a rich and prosperous commonwealth and they are going to cast their votes to bring increased prosperity. They are not going to vote to bring ruined credit and ruined farms, but to enable the State to fulfil its destiny. The farmer, the merchant, the laborer in the fields, all these are animated by one sincere purpose—to upbuild the interests of our splendid State. We are all agreed as to the sanctity of the home, and every man is glad that this year there will walk beside him to the polls the genius of his home.

I believe in the organization of labor, I believe in arbitration, I believe in the liberty of every man; but greater than all bodies is the splendid Republic under which we live, to which we would devote our lives, if need be, and we must not forget if we come into conflict with the law and do not obey it, we cease to be the righteous sons of our fathers' fathers, who died that we might be free. There are questions outside of politics, as religion and temperance, which are sometimes brought up. Many of us, on the great question of temperance, cannot agree, but this question, I believe, can best be served by a submission of it to one of the two great political parties which is most likely to carry the principle out. There are men who believe that the raw material of the world should be free, and they have allied themselves with the Democratic party, while some of us who formed our earliest impressions in the Republican party believe in the protection of American industries and American labor, and in America for the Americans, and that America should stand against the world.

During the last six or eight years we, in the West, have seen the representatives of both the political parties urging legislation hostile to the West. Silver has been demonetized and gold is getting scarcer and dearer. Farm products are getting lower and lower, not because of overproduction but because of the appreciation of gold. On the silver question both of the great political parties are divided, and silver has its advocates in both. We, in Colorado, owe a debt of gratitude to some of the Southern Democratic Senators for the stand they took, and the message sent us the other day from the Ohio Democrats must bring us hope and cheer. In the Republican party here and there stands some lover of humanity. I call attention to Senator Cameron whose local conventions denounced him, but who stood out firmly against his State on the silver issue. The Minnesota Republican Convention, I am informed, declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

And you must remember, after all, that the Republican party is the party of harmony, and out of that party must come a recognition of the rights of the two metals to stand side by side. The silver question is a question greater than party. If I am ever convinced that the free coinage of silver cannot come from the Republican party, and if I am ever convinced it will come from some other party, then I will join that party. But that does not mean that I or you will join that mountebank party, the People's party of Colorado. There is no reason on earth at this time why a Democrat should leave his party on account of its attitude toward silver, and there is no reason why a Republican should leave his party, and there is no reason on earth why a voter who loves law and order and decency should vote the Populist ticket this fall.

When we go to another party, fellow-citizens, let us go to some decent party. Let us wait until some party comes along that will attract decent men and decent women. There are but two clauses really to the Omaha platform. One, the government ownership of railroads, the other the issue of fiat money. There are 175,000 miles of railroads in this country and the total obligations of these railroads amount to $10,650,325,000. There are 821,415 people employed by the railroads, or one to every 79 of the total population. I am not willing that the Government should undertake such a responsibility, as thirty per cent. of the roads are at present in the hands of receivers.

The financial policy of the Populists is more absurd. Senator Peffer, who was the original man whose whiskers the

wind blew through, it is said, introduced a bill to issue certificates to the value of $1000 to every citizen. The Populist party does not care any more for silver than it does for iron or brass—not so much as for brass. I think the needs of the nation require $50 per capita; but are you going to issue it by fiat? It is fiat money that these people demand, and the Republican party owes it to silver that it defeat this Populist party in Colorado, which masquerades for silver but is its most implacable enemy. We are for silver because the product of the two precious metals together will bring to the world prosperity and advancement.

I ask you whether you would rather have a friend of silver like Senator Butler in the Senate or that noisy demagogue Tillman. You have an almost equal choice in Congress. You have, as the Republican candidate Mr. Shafroth, a lawyer and a well-known citizen. He is not a clown; he is not a blackguard; he is a gentleman and a good citizen. You will need him in Congress, you will need him on committees which take up matters bearing on Colorado. He is a man who will bring you credit. I cannot compare him with the person who is running against him.

You have heard it said that Senator Jones had joined the Populist party. Nothing of the kind. Two years ago a Silver party was formed in Nevada. There was none of the Omaha platform about it and ninety-five per cent. of the Republicans have joined it. All that Senator Jones has done is to join that Silver party. If you are told that he is a Populist it is not true.

The campaign is the most serious in history. It is a supreme effort for financial honor and self-respect, and we call on our patriotic citizens to join with us to redeem us from the misrule and the mismanagement of the Executive. If you have a home and care to save it; if you have a work and care to keep it; if you hope for the future of the State and its splendid possibilities, let me beg of you to stand for law and the flag and all that it represents. You may have been a Democrat. If you had more votes we would ally ourselves with you, because any Democrat is better than Davis H. Waite. We are an honest people. Why should we stand with a motley crowd whose party cry is against those who by industry and thrift have saved some wealth? Why should we place at the head of the State a man who has defied every interest of the State? The contest is between honor and dishonor; it is between loyalty and dis-

loyalty; it is between obedience to the law and disobedience. It is for the flag and all that it stands for. It is against Socialism. In other words, it is for McIntire against Waite.

At Pueblo, October 7, 1894 (extracts):

I very much fear that I left most of my voice in the open air at Loveland, but I still have enough left to talk to you on the issues of this campaign. It is always a pleasure for me to meet a Pueblo audience. Pueblo County always acts loyally and was never known to fail.

It is fitting that we should meet together at this time to discuss the situation which is filled with despair and the foreclosure of mortgages. There is no one within the sound of my voice who does not desire the thing that is best for the country. The very oldest settlers have but one desire and that is that their closing days shall not look upon closed industries and destitution in this great State of ours. All of us in Colorado desire the prosperity of the State of our birth or of our adoption.

There are some things upon which we are all agreed. One of these is the sanctity of the home, and the people will have the satisfaction of knowing that at this election the entire household can go to the polls and vote against this condition of misrule.

We are agreed as to the loyalty which we owe our Government and we must not be tempted at this time. We must remember that our fathers fought and died to build up this Government, and we ought to be able to do the same to preserve it. We differ in our politics and our religion and our temperance; but we ought to be a unit on our loyalty to the laws and the enforcement of them.

There are many people who believe in Free Trade, and there are others of us who have never known any party but the party whose motto has been: "Each for all, and all for each, and America against the world and the protection of American industries."

In late years people of both parties in the North and East have combined against the people of the South and West upon the silver question. If you will investigate you will find that these differences are sectional and not political. No one of the two parties is more the friend of silver than the other; it is entirely a matter of the section. It would be foolish for

me to say that such men as Morgan, Coke, and Daniel of the Democratic party are not the friends of silver. In our own party we have Cameron of Pennsylvania. Both parties have good men who favor silver.

It is true that no party has yet given the people the relief which they ask. If it ever should come to our minds that the Republican and Democratic party will not give us free and unlimited coinage of silver, we of both parties will leave our parties, but we will not join the circus aggregation known as the Populist party. We will join a party which has some principle. I don't see how any man can leave his own party and vote for a party which has disgraced the State.

The Republicans of the Second District have chosen wisely and well in selecting Thomas M. Bowen to represent them in the lower House next session. The lower House will be Republican, and he will represent you better than any other man in the district. There is not a day when I am in Washington that some one does not ask me how Tom Bowen is getting along in Colorado.

There has not been a single industry in Colorado which has not suffered from the imbecile policy of the present Governor. He seems to be the Li Hung Chang of the party—at least they lay everything at his door. I will be glad to see them all go —Waite, Goodykoontz, and Callicotte.

I had expected during this campaign to address you upon two great issues of the day, Protection and Silver, but the events of the past two years have made me change my mind and I have not the heart to overlook the burning questions which are brought so forcibly before you in this campaign. This is a campaign in which every person of the State is directly interested. You may have left the old parties to cast your vote for silver, but let me beg of you to come back and cast your vote for law and order.

To my Democratic friends let me say that if we were smaller than you we would gladly vote with you under like circumstances. Mr. Thomas [1] is a good man and the State's interests would be safe in his hands. Any Democrat is a million times better than Davis H. Waite. But we must either vote for a continuation of this disorder and misgovernment or put it down forever in this election. In other words, it is McIntire against Waite.

[1] Hon. Charles S. Thomas, the Democratic candidate for Governor.

In Denver, November 3, 1894 (extracts):

The President has issued a Thanksgiving proclamation. If our Governor should issue a Thanksgiving proclamation there would be nothing for the people to be thankful for, but if he waits until after Tuesday he will have nothing to be thankful for. The people have much at stake. I refer to those who are interested here, who have homes. When men are confronted with law and decency on the one side and with no law and indecency on the other, party cries are as nothing.

Wherever you find a laboring man who is clear-visioned enough to know that when you drive out capital you hurt labor; wherever you find a Democrat who stops to consider that it is bad government against good government, you find them praying for the defeat of that grotesque character roaming up and down the State. We have had misgovernment as no State has ever had. Populist newspapers and the Governor insist that Colorado is a prosperous State. Go, ask the merchants, the thousands of working-men, what their opinion is of the state of trade. There is not to-day hardly an employer of labor in the State of Colorado who is employing as many men as two years ago. While all has not come from the misrule of Populism, a great deal of it has.

If you want to learn the blight of Populism go to Kansas, which was once the greatest of our Western commonwealths. This State has had its troubles, but from Gilpin and Evans to the days of statehood no governor ever has disgraced his State. Since the establishment of statehood we have had our differences, but we preserved our dignity as a State. We have had our quarrels, but no Republican governor nor Democratic governor ever has turned out our militia and threatened to destroy the chief municipal building of our capital. It was left for a Populist Governor to call out the military forces to eject one board and install another. We have had mining troubles before, but the present is the first Governor who has been willing to violate his oath of office and to join with law-breakers in order to regain office.

We used to be proud of Colorado; we had the inspiration of our mountains and the glory of our plains, and we had more,—we had a clean record. We could look the people of other States in the face and say: "We honor the flag, and it is to the eternal shame that our Governor has made us the laughing-stock of the world." It will take a decade to remove the effect. But on

Tuesday Colorado will step away forever from the Populist lunatic asylum.

The greatest interest is being manifested in what Colorado is going to do. We can tell them Colorado is all right; we can tell them there is a landslide for McIntire. Populism in two years has not gained a vote—yes, one, and nobody would ever have known about it had he not hired a hall. Populism as applied to national affairs is a delusion and a snare, as well as in State affairs. Up to the last few years the two old parties were sufficient to hold most men and women. The founders of the Republican party are growing gray, but they can tell of its birth and of the great force it gave to elect Lincoln. We have seen the party build up these United States and lift them to a power greater than that of any country on the face of the earth.

The party has served to dignify labor and to build up this country. It has been a model party associated with all that is great within the past thirty years, but the parties that were considered sufficient for all people have been in conflict with millions of men. The silver question has caused the conflict. In the East the tendency was to contract the currency without respect to party. But while we were inclined to leave our parties it is foolish to say that one party is more the friend of silver than another. There are friends of silver in the Democratic party and the Republican party. We in the Republican party have our Cameron of Pennsylvania, our Teller of Colorado. I say, as I have said before, whenever I find that the free and unlimited coinage of silver is not obtainable through the Republican party and is obtainable through another party I will leave my party. But I tell you it will not be to the crazy Populism of Colorado and Kansas that you and I will go. I see no reason why a Democrat should leave his party, and I don't see why a Republican should leave his party, because of their attitude toward silver. If we go, let us join a party that stands for something.

Is it not better at this time to have a man representing you at Washington, a member of one of the old parties, than a man belonging to a band of half a dozen cranks, who has no standing and who does nothing but abuse other men. You are going to elect John F. Shafroth to Congress. He will carry all but two counties, and he will go there to represent you and he will not insult decent men and return here a little clown. I am not going to indulge in personalities. As a friend of mine told me

I need not be afraid of the Populist Congressional candidate getting my scalp; possibly he might get on it. I carry a fine-tooth comb and will take care of it.

The Populist platform is full of preamble and in the wind-up says this country is on the verge of ruin. We have passed through our suffering and by lawful means will come out of our troubles, and I have only contempt and disgust for those who base their demand on the ballots on the assertion that the country is going to the devil.

I solemnly believe that it is our duty to stand for silver and that we stand against the dangerous and destructive plank in the Omaha platform. We are for silver as well as gold because the use of the two metals prevents the rise of one over the other, and we are for silver because we want to exchange our goods with those countries that use silver solely. The sentiment has changed. You cannot find a manufacturer or workman who is not interested in the demonetization of silver. I am not for waiting for Great Britain in this matter. I believe in the broad doctrine of each for all, all for each, and America against the world.

I want to say a word about the statement that Senator Jones had joined the Populists. Up to this time Senator Jones has gone to the Silver party, and the Populist party is fighting his return to Washington. So when a young man hires a hall and tells you he has joined Jones there are three things to be considered. The first is that if Jones had known that this young man had joined him he would not have gone; the second is that Jones has not gone; and the third is that if the young man joined Jones it is some other Jones.

At Colorado Springs, September 16, 1896:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When a committee of gentlemen from your city waited on me some days since and signified their desire that I should come to this city and speak to you on the issues of this campaign, it was only a continuation of the kindness and consideration with which I have always been treated by this city. In these days of detraction and abuse, the sight of a magnificent demonstration like this is as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. This demonstration passes any mere personal manifestation. It is not for me personally, I know; it is a sign that expresses your desire that men who are Republicans shall say so, and stand up for their principles.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Chairman, this is a gathering of Republicans, old-fashioned enough to understand that a Republican is a person who votes a Republican ticket. We have no apologies or explanations to make to anybody, for we have not cut loose from our moorings, or lost our bearings; we stand where we have always stood, with our faces toward the dawn, presenting a united front against Socialism, paternalism, and Populism, including Waiteism, Pattersonism, Coxeyism, and Bryanism. We have not betrayed our party, nor do we intend to abandon its great principles. Eight bolting delegates could not take our consciences and our convictions with them out of a national convention of our party. We are not to be delivered over to the Democratic–Populist conglomeration by manifesto or otherwise; and we meet to-night to send word to our brothers of kindred faith with us, all over the Union, that at the first organized party rally in Colorado, thousands, many thousands of faithful Republicans assembled in El Paso County to declare

their enthusiastic and earnest faith in Republican principles and their loyal devotion to McKinley and Hobart.

The remarkable condition of affairs, when men are threatened with boycott and with insult for daring to express their political convictions, while it is new to Colorado, existed in former years in other sections of our country. There are gray-haired Republicans before me to-night, whose memory goes back to the early days of our beloved party, when men, who dared declare their belief in the freedom of mankind and in the freedom of opinion and of speech, were treated with obloquy and scorn and vituperation. Then, as now, the principles of the party were dearer to its members than office, or honors, or popularity, and, as to-day, calumny but united men of kindred faith more closely together. And in these days of Populism run wild, we take this early occasion to declare to the true Republicans all over Colorado, that there shall be a ticket, full and complete, in every county of the State, which shall be untainted by Populism or Democracy.

It is a source of deep regret to us all that the Republican party in Colorado is not united in this Presidential year. There are many citizens, some of them formerly among our old and trusted leaders, who have seen fit to leave our party and unite themselves with the Democratic or Populist parties. For such of these former Republicans as have left us from principle, we have only respect and friendly words. We believe they cannot long stand the company they have chosen, and that they will soon come back to us. Meanwhile, these gentlemen who have felt it their duty to leave us have openly admitted that they have changed their political faith and party, and that they will ally themselves with the political organization whose ticket they have adopted. There is, however, another class of voters, whose adhesion to the party has always degraded it, whose only interest in politics is to make it a medium for the bribing of aldermen and for the control of the municipal boards of the capital for corrupt and dishonest purposes; who are not only leaving the party because they cannot control its organization, but, true to their antecedents and instincts, are trying to steal somebody else's luggage as they go. If this schism shall serve no other useful purpose, it will at least, I trust, forever relieve the party from these aldermen "fixers," whose ideas of party success are centred in controlling the Fire and Police Board of Denver, and who seek to destroy those whom they cannot bribe. If they shall be eliminated from our organization the Republican party

will be forever the gainer. For years they have fastened themselves upon us to our discredit and dishonor. Defeat without them would be a thousand times preferable to victory with them. Let them serve an apprenticeship elsewhere, but, as I say, let them leave behind them the property that belongs to somebody else, and not try to take the name of "Republican" with them.

The eagle, fellow-citizens, has been for many years the emblem of the Republican party in Colorado, and we mean to keep that bird. The eagle is a clean bird, game and true. It does not hybridize and is no mongrel.

"Eagles fly alone; 't is sheep that herd together."

People who want fusion want it for votes, not principles. They need no eagle for an emblem; their symbol is the buzzard.

The Republican party is not a fusion party. If I interpret aright the sentiment of the Republicans of Colorado, we shall have on our tickets this fall the eagle; underneath the emblem there will be the names of four Presidential Electors, each of whom is a Republican. Below these names will be a straight Republican State and county ticket, every name upon which will be that of a citizen who has given his public allegiance to the Republican party, and to McKinley and Hobart, our standard-bearers. We shall adopt no nominees from any other ticket or faction or party. Under these circumstances, the voters of this State may exercise their option as to where they will put the cross on election day, but we can give them solemn assurances that every man elected upon our ticket will be true to Republican principles and to the party which honored him with its nomination.

This magnificent indorsement and ratification of my action which you give me to-night, is not the only honor of which I have been recently the recipient in El Paso County. The Democratic-Populist county convention of this county, recently held, saw fit in terms to denounce me and to express its disapproval of my actions; and I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without expressing my cordial appreciation of the honor its condemnation conferred upon me. It could not well denounce my votes in the Senate upon every public question, as they had been identical with those of another member of the delegation whom they indorsed, so they denounced me generally, and also upon the position I took on the Venezuelan ques-

tion. Now, my friends, that question is a vexed one, upon which patriotic men may and do differ. All I care to say about it is that the Davis resolutions which I opposed are dead, and will never again be revived, and that no person who has read what I said in full, will ever dispute either the patriotism or the Americanism of my position. I contended and still contend that the right of the United States to interfere everywhere in the whole world where her rights are assailed is inherent, and does not depend on the Monroe Doctrine or any other doctrine, and that the so-called Monroe Doctrine does not require us to interfere in every South American squabble with some European government, where our interests are unaffected, and where we become thereby the champions of a semi-civilized lot of bravos, whose governments for a century have been based on assassination and bloodshed, and who, so far, have only demonstrated their absolute unfitness for self-government. And the position which I took and to which I adhere has the approval and indorsement of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.

However, the Democratic condemnation was a general one, and in it I find my highest commendation. There are in El Paso County and everywhere, individual Democrats for whom I have personal respect and esteem, and there are Populists for whom I cherish the same sentiments, although for the moment I may not recall their names. But, Democrat or Populist, so far as my public position is concerned, they are my constituents; and, fellow-citizens, I can put my hand upon my heart and solemnly affirm that during the whole of the seven years I have served my State in the Senate, I have faithfully and honestly striven to do my whole duty by all the people of Colorado; that I have looked solely to her interests, and have been and am, in whatever position I take or have taken on all public questions, animated only by a desire to promote the best and truest welfare of this commonwealth. Beyond this, I do not go. I am a Republican. Democratic dogmas have no charm for me, and it is my firm conviction that the doctrines of the Populist party are dangerous and are subversive of the interests and threaten the perpetuity of this Republic. Believing as I do, therefore, I welcome the hostility of both Democrats and Populists, if there is now any difference between them. It is infinitely pleasanter to me than their approval. It has been my good fortune to have been twice elected to the Senate of the United States from Colorado. On each occasion, every Democrat and every Populist member of the

Legislature was actively and bitterly opposed to my election. I was not elected by Democratic and Populist votes and, please God, I never shall be. As long as I live I expect to combat and fight their teachings and their tenets, and when either of these two parties, now apparently united, shall indorse me, or approve my political course, I shall know it for an everlasting sign that I have betrayed and abandoned the party whose commission I hold.

This naturally brings me, fellow-citizens, to the subject of the petitions calling for my resignation, which have been so extensively exploited and advertised in the Denver newspapers for the past few weeks. These petitions have been issued from a Populist employment bureau, on Market Street, in Denver, paid for by men who conceal their identity. They have been circulated in the dens and saloons of the State, but their chief importance lies in the extensive publication of the fact that such petitions were in circulation. From all over the State I have received letters from people who do not agree with me in political matters, expressing regret that such tactics should have been resorted to, and from these letters I know how industriously this employment bureau has done its work. The press announces that to-day, the 15th, is the last day for their circulation, and calls for their return to the source whence they emanated. I have no doubt that the petitions, when presented to me, will have many signers, and I am informed that the Populist canvassing lists of two years ago are to be pasted upon the petition headings and made to do duty as petitions.

I should not be human if I did not feel deeply the insult which was intended by the circulation of these petitions, however degraded and low have been the methods employed. At a fitting time, when I have received them, I shall make proper acknowledgment and reply. Meanwhile, one of the petitions has just been forwarded to me direct, by mail, from San Miguel County, and I have it in my possession. It is not signed by many people—about a hundred. Many of them must have attended the same school, for the handwriting of more than half the alleged signers is strikingly alike. I am having inquiry made as to the petitioners. There was but one name on the list I recognized; he is a Populist, as I am told such of the others are whose signatures are genuine. The petition calls for my resignation because I am not "American." That is good. Almost at random among these people in San Miguel, who do not find me American enough to suit them, I see the names

of the descendants of three grand old revolutionary families bearing the names of Mulcahy, Flaherty, and Margowski, and on a fitting occasion I shall have to advise Mr. Mulcahy, Mr. Flaherty, and Mr. Margowski, that they will have to take out their second papers before this petition at least will have much consideration from their "Cousin Ed." But enough of these personal matters.

Ninety-five per cent. of the people of the United States are bimetallists. With few exceptions, everybody in this country believes that the demonetization of silver in many of the countries of Europe and in the United States was a great mistake, and that its result has been destructive to property and disastrous to civilization and progress. We in the West who have had occasion to give especial study to the subject, realize more clearly perhaps than our Eastern neighbors, how intimately the question of free bimetallic coinage is connected with every form of growth and prosperity, and how deep and lasting and ruinous is the injury caused by a steady fall in prices necessarily accompanied by the gradual but sure appreciation in the value of existing money. This great proportion of our people being thus agreed, differ as to the best and safest and wisest method of restoring silver to its place as a money metal. Many bimetallists believe that the United States, a debtor nation, owing large sums in gold countries, and having with such countries a widely extended commerce, must secure the co-operation and agreement of one or more of the leading nations of Europe before we can successfully inaugurate the double standard. This opinion is held by many leading and influential bimetallists of the United States, including Prof. Francis A. Walker of Boston, the leading silver authority of this country; and it is also fair to say that many of the most eminent bimetallists of Europe are of opinion that the attempt by this country alone to inaugurate bimetallism would result in failure and would put back indefinitely the cause of international bimetallism.

These views are embodied in the platform of the national Republican party, at St. Louis, which declared in favor of bimetallism and pledged the party to every possible effort toward an international agreement which shall secure for us and for other countries the blessings of the double standard, which never should have been taken from us.

The other bimetallists of the United States, while they concede that the co-operation of other nations in the restoration of silver would be desirable and valuable, yet believe that the

United States alone can re-establish the former parity between the metals; and that if we should reopen our mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, this result will follow. This view I share, with the important qualification that the Administration which is to enter upon this vital and important step must receive and be entitled to receive the confidence and support of that portion of our people throughout the Union who are thrifty, industrious, and patriotic.

This proposition is, therefore, in my opinion, true;—that the bimetallic standard can never be re-established in this country by a party representing an alliance of every element which seeks to change our form of government from one where thought and action are free, to a socialistic, paternal rule, where government manages the business and feeds the idle, and divides the earnings of the thrifty with the vicious, and that such a party, while it includes within its ranks good people, must yet alienate the great mass of citizens whose industry and energy have enabled them to acquire homes or other property of their own. And when you add to this the fact that the Democratic–Populist party includes in the same platform which favors the free coinage of silver, declarations hostile to every principle of free government, it needs neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet to foretell the financial cataclysm that would follow the election of the candidate standing on such a platform and the failure that would attend the efforts of such a party to establish a stable financial policy in this country.

Fortunately, we are not to be called upon to enter upon such a disastrous experience. The sober sense of the country is awakening. Vermont led the way; we have just heard the glorious news from Maine, and all over the land, even in Colorado, men are beginning to realize that, important as free coinage is to us, the blessings of free government are infinitely more dear.

It won't do to forget, in our eagerness for the remonetization of silver, that there is such a metal and coin as gold. Until recently, all of the leaders in the free-silver movement have insisted upon the necessity for bimetallism and the wickedness of either gold or silver monometallism. I have heard over and over again in the Senate, those Senators who stand as the authority at present in this State on the money question, insist that they were bimetallists; that the remonetization of silver would not drive gold out of circulation in this country, and that if they thought that would be the result, they would oppose the remonetization of silver. Now, however, you hear and read

everywhere the statement and argument that if the United States reopens its mints to silver, other nations will probably join us in such movement, but that if they don't, and gold goes to a premium, it will be a good thing, and will work to our advantage. Don't you believe it, my friends. As between gold monometallism and silver monometallism in the United States, for myself I will take silver monometallism, if we have to take either; but let me say to you that neither ought to be necessary, and either condition would mean vast injury to this country. Under existing conditions, Bryan's election would drive gold out of circulation long before there would be any chance of opening our mints to silver, and neither then nor afterward would its disappearance, which means a premium on gold, be of benefit to this country. There are countries, and they are countries far removed from modern civilization, where a premium on gold works to the advantage of the country which is on a silver basis. This is true in India and China. Why? Silver is the basis, the only coin ever known or seen. Silver buys as much as it ever did. Wages are as low as if silver were the only standard the world over.

It is different in this country. Our wages are on a gold basis. This must be admitted. Otherwise, it would have to be conceded that they would not be raised if we entered upon the free coinage of silver.

The laboring man would be the one to suffer under such a fluctuating condition. Everything would appreciate except wages, and the prices of many of the necessaries of life would vary from week to week with the value of exchange.

This country owes a thousand millions abroad. It has vast and varied commerce and close relations all over the world. It is absurd to say that we are independent of Europe. As I have said, if we must have monometallism, let us have silver monometallism, but either means disaster and vast injury to our prosperity and our future.

The Republican platform pledges every effort for bimetallism by international agreement. If this shall be secured, and I firmly believe it will, we shall have what we have so long demanded: the equal use of both gold and silver in this country, the one metal equalizing and adjusting the other, and both together securing us stability in prices and values, and insuring us that prosperity of which the single standard would rob us.

The Democratic platform, every word of which Mr. Bryan has said again and again has his fullest support and approval,

is such a menace to our Republican institutions, such a threat to everybody and every interest that stands for the protection of labor and of the property which labor has acquired, that, if Mr. Bryan were elected—but he won't be,—if he were elected, long before there could be any legislation the gold in this country would be out of circulation, and bimetallism in the United States a far more remote possibility than it has been since 1873.

Have you read the Chicago platform? It first declares for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. We all approve of this. There are no better silver people than the straight Republican party of Colorado. We do insist, however, that there are other questions besides silver of vital importance to this country, Colorado included; and among them are the preservation of our form of government, and the protection of persons and property. Silver is no more the paramount issue now than it was four years ago, when the Populist party demanded it upon a platform cleaner and better than the Chicago platform.

Many of the same people who now seek to ostracize us were working in harmony with us to defeat the Populist party, which then, as now, claimed to be the only true friend of silver. To-day, they are speaking from the same platform on national issues, and the Populist party has not yielded a single inch of ground. The Populist has n't turned Silver Republican; the Silver Republican has turned Populist, and Thomas M. Patterson represents them both.

The attack upon the Supreme Court of the United States is as follows:

"But for the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Income Tax there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by the Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that Court for nearly one hundred years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat upon that Bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expense of the government."

If we were otherwise inclined to follow the Democratic and Populist parties, this declaration might well make us pause. The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest judicial

tribunal in the world. The character and integrity of its members are unquestioned. In all the vicissitudes of parties, its ermine has remained unsullied. When the representatives of a political party forget the respect due our highest court, and threaten in party platform to change its membership, so as to secure decisions favoring the view that party holds, good citizens may well consider whether even free coinage is n't dearly bought, if securing it involves indorsement of such a threat. For my own part, while I favored the enactment of an income tax, I decline to join in any attempt to besmirch the court that passed upon the constitutionality of the law; and I do not consider silver coinage, as indorsed by Democrats and Populists, to be paramount to the preservation of the integrity and dignity and independence of the Supreme Court of the United States.

On the subject of Federal Interference we have this:

"We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which a Federal judge, in contempt of the laws of the State and the rights of the citizens, may become at once legislator, judge, and executioner."

This clause was inserted in the Democratic platform, it is openly stated, at the personal request and insistence of Governor Altgeld, as an indorsement of his action during the great strikes in Chicago. You will remember that after millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed during those weeks when all travel was suspended and business was at a standstill; after many innocent lives had been sacrificed, the Government of the United States, charged with the duty of distributing and delivering the mails, after the extended failure of the Mayor of Chicago and the Governor of Illinois to protect life and property, interfered, with some companies of its troops under command of General Miles, and took the railroads and railroad property in and about the city of Chicago from the bloody mob which held possession of them, and turned them over to their legitimate owners, who were charged with the duty of operating them for the service and accommodation of the people.

This action by the Federal Government the Chicago platform denounces as "a crime against free institutions!" I fully approve of the organization of laboring men, and applaud and indorse their intelligent efforts to better their condition and

secure for themselves fair treatment and proper hours and adequate remuneration. Nevertheless, if the rights guaranteed us by the Constitution are to be preserved; if this is in fact a country where every man is entitled to just so much liberty as is consistent with the equal liberty of every other citizen; if the citizens of this Republic are to be protected in the fruits of their industry and in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights, then is this plank of the Chicago platform hostile to every principle of free government.

We don't want silver if we must take mob law with it; and if in this country any man who wants to labor is not protected in the exercise of that right, even if it takes all the armies of the United States to secure it to him, then this government is not worth preserving, nor will any change of financial policy bring it prosperity.

Here is the platform's declaration for Tariff for Revenue:

"We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between classes or sections, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered."

Free silver and Free Trade have no common ground on which to meet. If we throw open our mints to silver and our ports to Great Britain, tell me where the working-man will be the gainer. A larger circulation of money, with higher prices for the necessaries of life,—and that is why we demand free silver—will of course necessitate the raising of wages. Otherwise, how can our laborer live? At present, under a Democratic tariff, he has to compete with the foreign producer. Tell me what will happen when you reduce your duties to a revenue basis alone, rejecting entirely the doctrine of Protection, and compel our working-men to compete with the European-made product. This is no idle suggestion. The present candidate for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket has made far more rabid Free Trade speeches than any other man in Congress during the last decade; and in this county, the heart of the great wool-growing interest of Colorado, let me call your attention to a few of them.

[Quotations from Bryan's speeches in 1892 and 1894, in the House of Representatives, were then read at some length.]

You say: "It makes no difference to us; our mines would be running full capacity and Colorado would be prosperous." I leave out of the question the loss that is to come to the farmers and

wool-growers all over the State; the loss to our iron and other local manufacturers; but I want to remind you that even if our mines should be all again at work, no prosperity could come to us with the rest of the country impoverished, as Free Trade would impoverish it. How long will free silver enrich Colorado with the mills of New England and the great Middle States closed? One part of this country is indissolubly linked with every other part. The closing of the India mints and the treatment accorded silver affected disastrously the great far Northwest, and it also sent great railroad systems into bankruptcy and brought general business calamity to the whole country. So, if within the confines of our land, the business interests of one large section of it are depressed, we suffer from it; and if you give Great Britain and Germany the manufacture of the iron and steel and of the silk and woollen and cotton goods used in this country, free coinage will bring us little advantage.

Others may find it easy to abandon the convictions of a lifetime, on the great question of the protection of American industries and American labor, and may declare it to be a dead issue and subordinate to other questions. To me, as I view the interests of Colorado, one of the forty-five States of this splendid galaxy, it seems to me alive and vital and fraught with mighty interest to the whole American nation. When people tell you it is unimportant, go back to the earlier days, when the mints of the United States and Europe were alike open to the free coinage of silver; read the stirring debates of that period, and study its economic conditions, and if you value, as you do, the prosperity of the whole country, you will never abandon or put aside, or deem for the time unimportant, the beneficent policy which has made our country the greatest the world has ever seen, its working-men the most intelligent, its homes the happiest; and, if the policy be faithfully adhered to, it is destined, under heaven, to take the lead in the great march of progress and civilization.

Until the money question is settled the Democratic party is opposed to any change in tariff laws. This brings us to the first radical departure from party lines which took place last spring, after the definite test afforded by the defeat in the House of the Free Coinage Bill, and resistance to the Dingley Bill must have been, by those who believed in Protection, solely for retaliation or to give notice to the Republican members of the Senate that until they gave us free coinage we would give them no tariff legislation.

There was no secret about it. Our action was to give notice to the East: "You oppose us and our interests; therefore, we shall oppose you and your interests."

Speaking for myself, I was not ready to give that notice, and to declare myself no longer within the ranks of the party which since my earliest manhood had stood for all that was ennobling and glorious in our traditions of the past and our aspirations for the future.

With this Government running behind fifty millions a year, far more than anybody had relied upon from the income tax, it seemed to me, and it still seems to me that if I failed to vote my Government supplies to keep it going, to enable it to pay its current obligations, to save it from bankruptcy, I should be guilty of a violation of my oath as a Senator of the United States.

And further than this, fellow-citizens, unjust as has been the treatment of the West by the East, I yet charge myself with a loyalty wider than the borders of the commonwealth in which I live. And although our claims have been denied common fairness, it is my sincere belief that the vast majority of good citizens in Colorado on sober reflection, would reject with scorn any proposal to paralyze the interests of any other section of our country, in petty revenge. And while I sit in the Senate of the United States from Colorado, if any vote of mine will help turn the wheel of the remotest mill in the obscurest hamlet in this land, or will protect its owner in the manufacture of an American product, or will make brighter and happier the lives and the homes of its employees, that vote shall be forthcoming.

You will, I think, agree with me that I have fairly stated the Democratic platform from a Republican standpoint. To this must be added the Populist platform at St. Louis, and the original Omaha platform which the party at St. Louis expressly reaffirmed.

To-day the Populist has n't changed a line of his platform, and Mr. Bryan is standing upon it; and, think of it, fellow-citizens, men who two years ago were telling us of the disgrace and discredit of Populism, now call themselves Silver Republicans, and have made themselves the laughing-stock of all sensible men in their greedy efforts to fuse and divide the petty offices.

From the jumble and farrago of the Chicago platform, with its Populist appendage, turn to the Republican platform at St. Louis. Except on the silver question, the party never stood more squarely for everything which we in Colorado, who have always

voted the Republican ticket, have held most dear. The candidate for the Presidency, high-minded, able, distinguished both as a soldier and a statesman; clean, upright, and of wide experience, is an ideal American.

So much of the platform as relates to silver is unsatisfactory, to us who live in Colorado. We wish all Republicans could see this vital monetary question as we do, and that this great party which, on all other questions affecting the welfare of mankind, has stood for the masses against the classes, could have insisted on the restoration of silver to its old place as a standard of value.

The majority of the convention thought best to declare for bimetallism by international agreement, and pledged the party to every effort to secure this agreement. This pledge will be sacredly kept.

The day of silver is coming. It is my serious and solemn opinion that the full recognition of silver will come soon; that it will come through the efforts and under the direction of the Republican party, in which the conservative people of this country have confidence, and that it will never come through the Democratic–Populist aggregation headed by this wandering orator of the Platte. Your interests and mine are all in Colorado. To-day, our State is depressed and impoverished. A brighter future is in store for us, and it will come, as every other good thing has come to Colorado, under a Republican Administration; it will come with William McKinley at the helm of state.

The campaign upon which we have entered differs from all those which have preceded it, in many respects, but especially in the deliberate effort made here and elsewhere to array one section of our common country against the other, and one class of our fellow-citizens against other classes. The campaign is conducted upon the false theory that the people who labor and the people who are in debt ought to unite against the people who do not labor with their hands, or who labor and own their homes; that every man who possesses means is a conspirator against the welfare and happiness of the man who must rely on the fruits of his daily labor; and that inasmuch as men are more largely borrowers of money in the West and South, than in the North and West, the sections are engaged in bitter and violent war for supremacy, the interests of one being diametrically opposed to those of the other.

The speeches of the Bryan orators, including Mr. Bryan, and the columns of the daily press in Denver and elsewhere, are full

of complaints and denunciations of the money power—of the conspiracy of capital to make money dearer, of assertions that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, and of allegations that bankers and men who loan or own money are endeavoring to force a policy on this country that shall depreciate prices and appreciate gold.

This attempt to array classes and sections against each other is wicked and demagogic.

I have, and you have, no sympathy for the people in this country who have accumulated large fortunes by questionable methods. But when anybody tells us that the rich are getting richer in these days, he talks nonsense. Everybody in the land suffers from existing financial conditions; and if there is anywhere any conspiracy among any class in this country to make money dearer, I would like to know where it is. They tell us the money power is a unit against Mr. Bryan, and that all money-lenders have a common interest, and all are concerned together in cornering gold and enhancing the value of money.

This phrase the "Money Power," is a very mysterious expression; let us look into it. The bankers of Colorado are here about us; their interests are identical with those of all other money-lenders the world over, and their rates of interest sometimes a little higher. What is their position? I don't know about Colorado Springs, but I do know something of the situation where I live. In Denver, we have probably the greatest aggregation of the "Money Power" in Colorado. The county assessor unearthed a good many of them unexpectedly the other day, and brought them from their modest retirement. The president [1] of the First National Bank of Denver stands in Colorado probably the chief exponent not only of the Money Power, but of the water power, and is as fair an illustration as the State can furnish. Like one or two other representatives of the Colorado "Money Power" in Denver, he controls a newspaper which blackguards everybody who disagrees with its views. He is a good man; I don't suppose he knows what is in his paper. I don't blame him for not reading it; very few people do read it. Four years ago, he was a candidate for Elector on the Republican ticket. To-day, he is treasurer of the Bryan Financial Committee of Colorado, which has sent Chairman Jones $40,000, and hopes to send $150,000, from Colorado, to elect Bryan President. His bank claims to have on hand

[1] D. H. Moffat, a good friend, but for the time politically antagonistic to Mr. Wolcott.

$1,200,000 of gold—fifty times its proportion of the gold now held in the national banks of the United States if it were divided according to the number of national banks in existence. Now, I don't suppose this gentleman is hoarding gold in order to disturb the business interests of the country. He is for Bryan's election, as he has a perfect right to be, because he believes his interests will be best subserved by his election; and I understand the majority of the bankers and money-lenders of the State are for Bryan's election, just as in some other sections of the country they entertain contrary opinions.

The fact is, that in some portions of the country, men cherish certain convictions on the financial question, and in others they view the subject from a different point of view. In my opinion, the people who are opposed to the free coinage of silver are wrong and utterly mistaken, but it is wicked to endeavor to instil into the minds of the people in any one section the idea that those of another are either corrupt or unpatriotic in the view they hold on the money question. We in Colorado are honest in the unanimous opinion we hold; the citizens of New England and Pennsylvania and Ohio, and other Northern and Eastern States who may differ with us, are equally honest in their views, and there should be only condemnation of the incendiary utterances of the journals of either section which seek, in order to attract local subscribers, to vilify and misrepresent and abuse the citizens of the other.

There are forty-five stars in our national flag, representing as many States, each sovereign, and each settled by brothers of a common race and language, animated by a like and equal patriotism. The Union of States is indissoluble; for better or for worse we are allied together in the effort to secure and make permanent a republican form of government, where each man shall be free and equal, recognizing no master but the will of the majority. Until this attempt at self-government—the greatest the world in all its centuries has ever seen—shall go down in ruin and disaster and failure, this Union of States must continue. Thirty years and more ago, this question was forever settled, and even in these days of poverty and of depression, I believe that the vast majority of the honest people of Colorado have no sympathy with these sectional appeals, and that the lurid fires of revolution which are threatened to be kindled among the hills of South Carolina will meet no answering beacon from the mountains of Colorado.

We have no light to guide our feet but the lamp of experience. Prosperity has attended this nation in the years when it

has stood for the enforcement of law, the defence of the lives and property of its citizens, and the protection of its industries and its labor. It has suffered whenever it has entrusted its fortunes to the party which now claims the support of our people, and which, under the guise of another set of principles, is the same Democracy which has brought to this country most of the disasters that have overtaken it. This year the Democratic party has entered into alliance with the Populist party, which, in two short years, left an impress of maladministration upon the history of this State a generation cannot efface. Others may find their promises alluring, but for those of us whose memories recall the past, some louder cry than free coinage will have to be uttered before we can be stampeded into an association from which our self-respect and our honor alike revolt.

AT REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

Colorado Springs, September 30, 1896:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: From the bottom of my heart I thank you for this manifestation of your esteem and approval. It atones to me finally and forever for the months of slander and calumny and abuse I have received at the hands of Democrats and Populists and a hostile press.

We meet in a city so hospitable and kind that our hearts go out in gratitude to the Republicans of El Paso County, who have known no change or shadow of turning in all the years since there has been a Republican party and a town of Colorado Springs.

I notice that the press of Denver, which is unanimously hostile to Republicanism and to good government, says that this convention meets here because it did not dare meet elsewhere in the State of Colorado, and heaps its calumny and abuse upon the delegates elected by the different counties in this State. Fellow-citizens, I am sorry that any of you fear newspaper abuse. [Cries of "We don't!"] If you will only stop to think who are the owners of these Denver newspapers, and how they stand in the communities in which they live; think how much weight they carry and how much ice they would cut if they did n't have a mud-throwing machine, you won't mind much what newspapers say, but will cherish your honest convictions and say with old Socrates, "Slander cannot hurt me because it cannot hit me."

When you read the abuse of these newspapers and remember that you must expect a filthy stream where you have a filthy spring, you won't mind it.

Fellow-citizens, these newspapers tell us that in this State of Colorado, this Centennial State of which we are all so proud, we do not dare hold a McKinley convention or avow Republican sentiments in the different counties of the State. It is asserted in Denver and repeated by the press, I blush to say it, from Gilpin County, from La Plata County, from Lake County, from Pitkin County, and from San Miguel County, that Republicans—members of the party that fought to make men free—cannot hold a convention in the State of Colorado. Ah, fellow-citizens, if that is so, then is public opinion in this State indeed degraded, and if in any county in this State men are intimidated or terrorized from the expression of an honest political opinion, then is the mission of the Republican party but just begun and there is need of a new crusade against intolerance.

I have lived in this State twenty-five years and there is no county in it where I would not glory to stand up and preach Republican principles, and declare my loyalty to the Republican party. Why, I have always been taught to believe and have talked from the platform, that freedom had its home in the mountains; that when it was crushed and driven out of the valleys and the cities, it sought its refuge in the mountains and the crags and the recesses, and lived undaunted there. And if it be true, fellow-citizens, that at this time public prejudice prevents the declaration of an honest opinion, it is a time for honest citizens to blush with shame. Nearly two thousand years, my friends, have elapsed since Christ died. Do you remember that they brought Christ before Pilate, and they asked him if He cherished certain opinions, and He said to them: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might bear witness to the truth." And because He stood for the truth they crucified Him. And from that time to this, throughout all the ages and in all countries and under all civilizations, intolerant men and vicious men and wicked men and thoughtless men have tried to crush and trample upon and blot out the truth; and forever has it been true that "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again."

All the intolerance and all the hate and all the bitterness of these self-sufficient proprietors of newspapers, and the ignorant or thoughtless citizens who are indifferent to the principles

of good government cannot crush out Republicanism in Colorado, and to all such we will show before election day comes that there is not a precinct so remote in the State of Colorado that there are not in it Republicans faithful and true who desire to stand up and be counted.

It is no wonder, fellow-citizens, that with such a state of public opinion, those people point with pride to the State of Arkansas. We gave them 40,000 in the State of Vermont and 50,000 in Maine, and they tell us to look at Arkansas—Arkansas, the fag end of the universe, with its maximum of ignorance and its minimum of intelligence. And just think of it, fellow-citizens, men who, two years ago, stood shoulder to shoulder with us, fighting Populism, and four years ago were fighting Weaver, and this same Bryan, who was then a Weaverite, are to-day cartooning us, and cartooning intelligent men and pointing with pride to the vote of Arkansas!

The last time I heard from Arkansas, the Legislature of the State had just voted an appropriation for a painting of Jefferson Davis, and I read in a Little Rock paper that the picture had arrived while the Legislature was in session, and that a resolution passed that body for the removal from the back of the chair of the President of the Senate of a painting of George Washington which had decorated that gallery for fifty years, to make room for the portrait of Jefferson Davis.

Fellow-citizens, the national issues which are before us are engrossing and important, but they are not the only vital questions that we in Colorado are called upon to determine. There have been already four conventions held, and the tail-end of them is still wagging around the State in the form of fusion committees. They had a Populist convention, and a Silver convention, and they met and made their nominations; and then we had a Democratic convention and a so-called Silver Republican convention. This last was attended by thousands of good and misguided men from all over the State who had been led astray on Bryanism, and who have not yet found their bearings, but who, on election day, will be found back with us voting the Republican ticket. When they reached that city of Denver, where it takes a good man to keep good; when they reached that convention, the good men of this State did not have a show in the naming of a ticket. They were figureheads and nothing else, and the ticket that was finally agreed upon by their fusion committees—a compromise between Democracy and Silver Republicanism—was an abandonment of

every political principle that has ever been laid down by the fathers, or by the platforms, of either party. Men met in what was known as the "Oil" room of the hotel for the barter and trade of the petty offices of the State, where they played their candidates against each other as if they were pawns, and castles, and queens, and kings, and the final residuum of that compromise is not entitled to the consideration of the worthy men and the honest women of the State of Colorado. From all over the State we hear—I have heard and you have heard—by letter and verbally, from good citizens: "Give us a ticket; give us a good, clean, straight ticket and we will vote for it. We feel that we have committed ourselves without consideration to Bryanism; we may have to support their national ticket, but if you will give us only a good State ticket we will stand by you and vote for it."

Fellow-citizens, we are here to-day to tell them we are going to give them such a ticket, and we are going to tell them that when we are through, and these intelligent ladies and gentlemen who constitute this convention have finished their duties, we will adjourn and go home and leave no fusion committee behind us to undo our work. This convention meets to declare its free will and judgment, and it is going to nominate people who are willing to accept their offices on a ticket they represent, as an honor at the hands of the Republican party, and their principles and their rights are not going to be traded off to satisfy any corporation or any syndicate.

Let me take your time for a moment to tell some of you who may not know just what the situation is in Arapahoe County. In 1889 the Legislature was unwise enough, following the precedents of some Eastern States, to change our laws so that local government for Denver was taken away from it and the power was given into the hands of the Governor to nominate a Board of Public Works and the Fire and Police Board; the Board of Public Works having charge of all the improvements and extensions and expenses of the city of Denver; the Fire and Police Board controlling the police and other nominations; a great political machine placed in the hands of the Governor of the State, and taken away from the voters of a city representing one third of the population of the whole State; a great machine entirely separate from and independent of local government, the municipal government of the town, and not accountable or amenable to the citizens of Denver. The appointments of the governors have not always been bad; the appointees have

been sometimes weak, but not often vicious. Their appointment has developed a curious quality of individuals in Denver unknown there before, who have been supposed to have a great "pull" with the Governor, and to control largely the appointments and the personnel of the different boards. There are but few of these men. They are the go-betweens, the blackmailers of every industry and every decent enterprise in the city of Denver. You all know of the active so-called men with a "pull" who assume to direct local matters in Denver. If a man wants a license and has money, or if an asphalt company desires a contract for paving a street, blackmail must be paid to these individuals, and they insist upon so much a yard before they will permit contracts to be entered into; and there are a thousand other smaller and more petty impositions which they constantly press upon every concern which seeks to do business through these municipal boards. This influence actually allies itself with that other small and select band of freebooters, whose business it is to bribe aldermen and protect them after they have been bribed, and to look after the dirty work which goes on in the relations between certain corporations and the supervisors and aldermen of the city of Denver.

They have all the paraphernalia which naturally goes with an extensive bunco outfit, including an improved method of reaching the gullible public.

A newspaper belongs to this syndicate, an evening paper, no copy of which is ever issued without a loss to the confiding victim who pays for it; a newspaper which is as bankrupt in honor as it is bankrupt in purse; a paper which has by cajolery and persuasion induced many subscriptions to its stock, and has recently forced the professional gamblers to render it pecuniary assistance by offers of protection and threats of exposure. There is no good man who does not value its abuse. Good people welcome the hostility of such an organ. But the poor gamblers fear its abuse and threats, and petty aldermen value its approval, and so the sheet continues to be issued; and this is the sheet that publishes editorials which tell us that we are a traitorous lot of people who are hostile to the interests of Colorado, and are bad citizens, and are not entitled to consideration.

Now, fellow-citizens, that is the element that controls to-day the so-called Silver Republican end of the Republican party, because the good people of the party—and there are thousands of them—entrusted its interests to them. I wish Mr. Adams [1] joy

[1] Hon. Alva Adams, Democratic candidate for Governor.

of these Arapahoe freebooters. Before he gets through with them, he will wish he had taken his ticket straight and had not tried it on a "calico" basis. When Mr. Adams comes to realize his defeat—because, fellow-citizens, whatever else may happen, that ticket, nominated under those circumstances and engineered by the influences that are now supporting it, is destined to final and irrevocable defeat; when he so realizes, he will make up his mind that there is something in the Republican party besides a Denver end which bribes aldermen up in the city of Denver, and stands for everything that is debasing and corrupt.

And Mr. Guggenheim [1]: before he is through, fellow-citizens, he will thank his parents that he was not sooner ushered upon an expectant world. I have no doubt he is a good citizen. It has been falsely charged that in what I said here the other day I made certain remarks and cast certain reflections upon the Jewish race. I never made any that were not respectful. I have great respect for the Jewish race, and there is no honest member of the race who does not feel humiliated at the element which now brings discredit on the whole race. I have no hostile feelings toward Mr. Guggenheim. I do not know him and feel entirely friendly to him. I see by a recent interview that he says he was born in Philadelphia, and I have no doubt he is a Quaker. I do know that he is a good citizen. I have no question of that; but he is like the man he himself has possibly read about in the Bible, who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho—he struck a pretty hard crowd; and when he gets old enough, as he will after a while, to run again for Lieutenant-Governor, I hope he will fall into the hands of more disinterested friends.

Fellow-citizens, it is to correct just such abuses as these that we are met to-day. We have met to give these people an upright, straightforward ticket that is not pledged to anybody or anything; that is entitled to the support of every good man and every good woman; that is running upon one platform, upon one set of principles, nominated by one convention, and entitled to the confidence and support of every good citizen.

And further than that, fellow-citizens, there is another matter which will come before the convention, I trust, in its resolutions, and that is the ending of the Capitol Commission. We have had in Denver now, since 1889, I think, a Capitol Commission of the city of Denver. I have a memorandum here somewhere which

[1] Hon. Simon Guggenheim, who, in 1907, was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate to succeed Hon. T. M. Patterson.

gives the exact date. They draw $2500 apiece. There are four drawing a salary of $2500 a year each, as members of a Capitol Commission for Denver. Our capitol is now practically completed and is an honor and a pride to our State. The personnel of this Capitol Commission is largely composed of men worthy and of splendid character. Mr. Hughes, the Democratic member, is a leading lawyer and upright citizen, who would scorn to do a wrong. And so Mr. Cooper, and so Governor Routt. These men are honest and honorable men. But, fellow-citizens, notwithstanding that, abuses do creep in through the administration of this Capitol Commission. And, in any event, with this State in the condition it is, with all our resources needed for our public institutions throughout the State, I say for one as a citizen, and speaking only as a citizen, that the time has come when this expensive luxury should be dispensed with and the janitor of the State House left to take the place of a $10,000 Capitol Commission.

Fellow-citizens, it was my pleasure a few weeks ago, in this very hall, to address the citizens of Colorado Springs upon national issues. At this time I do not intend to go into the question of national politics, except in a most cursory manner. Later in the campaign it will be discussed, but at this time, with the duties of the convention immediately pressing upon us, I have but little to say. It amuses me, fellow-citizens, to hear people talk about "Silver Republicans." Here are the Silver Republicans of this State. There may be Democrats and Populists who have voted the Republican ticket and now vote for Bryan, that are for silver, but here are the Republicans who are for silver. There has not such an intelligent convention met in Colorado in a decade, and there is not one of us here whose every dollar is not in Colorado, whose every hope and every ambition are not centred here and in the interests of Colorado. There is not one of us who would not give all he has for the State's welfare and prosperity; and I for one am tired of having men point their finger at me because I say I want free government with my free silver. We are the friends of silver; we are the men who believe in bimetallism, in the use of both gold and silver. The bimetallists of this country and of this State who want the two metals side by side and who want with it the perpetuity of free institutions are the friends of silver, the friends of Colorado, and thousands of them are sturdy and staunch Republicans.

Why, fellow-citizens, Mr. Thomas made a speech to a limited

audience up in Denver the other evening in which he saw fit to talk about my change of politics on the subject of silver. Mr. Thomas is about the last man in the United States who is qualified to except to anybody's change of position. He quoted some poetry, which was not original, and the only original thing I found in his speech was a quotation he said I made, in which he stated things that I never said. He stated that I had said that international bimetallism was a delusion and a myth. I never said anything of the kind or approaching it. I confess I did say that if another of the great parties should declare in favor of the free coinage of silver we would join that party. But, fellow-citizens, there are two things I must offer in justification. In the first place, I did not dream that they were going to join hands with Populists and give us the anarchistic platform, and I did not ever dream that it would make me stand on the same platform with Governor Waite and General Coxey, and when I really came to face the possibility of leaving the dear old party, I would n't play; that 's all. I walked up to the trough, but I could n't drink.

Mr. Thomas quoted some poetry, if you will remember, that somebody else wrote, and a friend of mine sent me the following, which strikes me as rather apropos. You will remember that Mr. Thomas had just returned from his triumphant campaign in Maine, and he has now gone to conduct an equally triumphant campaign in Indiana and Kentucky.

"'T is remarkably strange
What a wonderful change
Came over old Maine in September,
When Thomas's speeches
And Populist screeches
Made a vote that I think he 'll remember.

"Oh! Charley, keep on
In the way you 've begun!
The Republicans ask nothing better,
And, forecasted by Maine,
The result you 'll obtain
Will suit us right down to the letter."

I send this to Mr. Thomas with greetings. I firmly believe, fellow-citizens, that if we had money to subscribe here to help Mr. McKinley in Eastern States, there would be no better way

to spend it than to employ the same speakers that have gone from here to continue their blaze of oratory; and if we had any money left, I should be in favor of buying these cheap editions of the Denver dailies and circulating them throughout the Eastern and Middle States.

Why, my friends, everybody in the United States is a bimetallist. Ninety-five per cent. of our people believe in the equal coinage and equal use of both gold and silver. They believe that the taking of either one from circulation must appreciate the value of the remaining metal, bring only disaster to the prosperity of any country, and delay the cause of civilization. We all believe that. We differ as to whether or not we can go alone, or whether we need the co-operation of other nations. The Republican platform assumed and stated that we need the co-operation of some of the leading European countries, because we are a debtor nation owing large sums to foreign investors. It assumed that it was wiser to secure the support and co-operation of some other countries before we opened our mints to the free coinage of silver. That is the position assumed by the Republicans. The pledge which they have given, fellow-citizens, to use every effort to secure an international agreement, is a sacred one, and it is going to be kept.

The other bimetallists of the United States believe that we can proceed alone; that while the co-operation and support of other countries are important and of value they are not essential, and that we do not absolutely need them. This is true, in my opinion, fellow-citizens, with this most important qualification: that the policy must be inaugurated under circumstances where all the people of these United States, who own their homes and who have acquired property through labor, have confidence in the Administration. And you never can get it when you have aroused, as Bryan is seeking to arouse everywhere, sectional hate and arraying class against class and people against people. Why, fellow-citizens, we voted to resume specie payment in 1878. How far would we have gotten in that policy if no man in this country had believed that resumption would take place? We can't have free silver safely unless a majority of the American people believe we can have it; we can't have it on the same platform with free trade and free riots.

Why, fellow-citizens, the Chicago platform is one upon which no bimetallist can stand. Silver is of vast importance, but free government is more. We cannot have prosperity through free coinage unless we have free institutions existing; unless we have a

republican form of government to insure their perpetuity. Why, the more you study the Chicago platform, fellow-citizens, the more certain does it seem that its one declaration on behalf of free coinage is the only declaration that honest men can endorse.

Fellow-citizens, one of the declarations of this platform is that there shall be no legislation of any sort until silver shall be remonetized. Think what that means. In the last three years we have run $130,000,000 behind in our expenses. Our tariff is so badly adjusted that we spend each year $130,000,000 more than we have received, and we had to resort to an issue of bonds. We issued two hundred and sixty-two million dollars' worth of bonds; $130,000,000 of them were absolutely needed to pay our expenses. Last winter the Dingley Bill was introduced in the Senate, which raised all duties fifteen per cent. It was not what we wanted. It made something of an addition, however, to the revenue of the Government, and helped to pay the running expenses of the country, and so far as it went was of benefit to the industries and labor of the country.

They declare against the monstrous and wicked McKinley Bill. Just think of it, fellow-citizens! the country running in three years one hundred and thirty millions of dollars behind; our industries depressed; the wheels of our mills lying idle; our looms stilled; our workmen out of employment, and we are told that they are opposed to the McKinley Bill and are in favor of a Tariff for Revenue Only. Let me speak to the laboring men in this audience;—they are the men I am addressing now: There are many kinds of manufactures to-day in which we cannot compete with foreign governments, and now the Democratic party proposes to cut off existing duties and trim down our duties to a revenue basis only, and with this to give us free silver. How long would free silver, with Free Trade, keep you prosperous? Why, fellow-citizens, it is a delusion and a snare. This country was built up on the great, beneficent, magnificent principle of protection for American labor. Because of the splendid protection which our labor is afforded, our public schools are filled to-day with bright-faced youngsters—children of working people—of our artisans and our laborers. If you bring them down to the payroll of the countries of the Old World you will not keep them in your schools, or schools for them, but you will have hollow-eyed youngsters working in your mills and your factories. We do not treat our citizens that way. We tell them that we want strong citizens and good citizens,

who can fight for their country if necessary, and protect its interests and their own, and they have got to be well fed and well paid. For one, I do not propose to be led into the wilderness of Free Trade by any false cry of free silver.

Fellow-citizens, the most faithful, the most striking illustration which we have had of the doctrines of the Chicago platform is furnished to-day in the melancholy occurrences in the city of Leadville. I speak for myself alone. I believe in labor. I believe in its organization; I believe in the laboring men helping themselves; I believe in supporting them in all the intelligent efforts which they make to better their condition, to increase their wages, or to shorten their hours of toil.

I believe in their right to strike and to quit work, and to organize and to combine. I believe, and I know, that ninety per cent. of the actual laborers in this State—the men who really toil, with their hands and not with their tongues—are as honorable and as good and as high-minded citizens as there are in it. But, fellow-citizens, for myself, whenever it comes to a question between maintaining the dignity and the character and the self-respect of this glorious State and the maintenance of a strike that is attended with bloodshed, I stand with my State.

This strike has carried its course week after week, and the good men on both sides have tried to find a basis of agreement. We all hoped that some means would be found whereby they might arrive at a conclusion, and at the end of it there was this violence and destruction and bloodshed; and to-day, at an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars, hundreds of our militia lads, taken from their homes, are guarding the honor of the State and upholding its laws.

And, fellow-citizens, the newspapers which in all those weeks of danger kept silent, these leaders of public opinion, when the violence reached its height and O'Keefe the fireman was shot down in defence of his duty,—then these newspapers began a war of words as to who was responsible for the strike, and the "pot called the kettle black."

Last Sunday afternoon, fellow-citizens, there was a meeting of the Trades Assembly, a very excellent organization, in Denver. I know that there are a great many good men among them, and I know that there are some of them—a few of them—who are careless about what they say. The president of the organization presided, and he announced that an investigation had been made, and that it had been found that the owners of the Colorado mine, who had insured their property, had destroyed it in order to collect

the insurance. He then proceeded to read a communication from the bakers of the city of Denver—I want the close attention of every man here—in which they declared that they had boycotted every baker who baked bread and sent it up to our militia boys who were at Leadville; and at the suggestion of the president of that association that boycott was unanimously approved. Now, fellow-citizens, on Sunday afternoon that dead fireman was being buried up there in Leadville; and in the evening Alva Adams addressed that organization in favor of its plans and its schemes, and Judge Bailey sent them a letter approving them. Thank God this Republican convention did not have a candidate for Governor to endorse that kind of a boycott!

Ah, fellow-citizens, when it comes to a question between the honor of our State and its preservation and the murder of innocent men, I stand for the honor of our people and our State; and when you tell me that any man on earth is called upon to endorse the action of anybody who will say that our brave soldiers, who took their lives in their hands and went to Lake County to protect our property, will stand by any association which says that these men shall be starved into submission, I say: Fie and shame upon such a resolution, and shame upon the newspaper that has not the courage to denounce it!

When the election is over, fellow-citizens, and men have come back to their reason, and have gotten over this Bryan hysteria, there are thousands of good men, formerly of our party, and who again will be with it, who, when the election and the heated contest are over, will go into their closets, and when they have got there will shut the doors, and on bended knees invoke that Deity who presides over the destinies of republics, and with contrite hearts will pray God to forgive them for their momentary forgetfulness.

Fortunately, fellow-citizens, the people who are taken with this craze are not going to suffer for it, because the craze is limited to the boundaries of the State of Colorado. This Bryan campaign is not only defeated; it has collapsed. It is not a question in Illinois of 20,000 or 50,000; it is a question of whether it will be 100,000 or 200,000. Believe me, fellow-citizens, I speak of what I think I know when I say to you that in the State of New York it is not a question of 100,000 or 200,000, but it is a question of how much over 300,000 the State will give for McKinley. And wherever this wandering orator of the Platte[1]

[1] Wm. J. Bryan.

has covered the ground, he has left behind him a trail of McKinley sentiment that is going to exhibit itself at the polls in a way that will astonish you. And the only satisfaction that these hysterical people here in Colorado, who have forgotten what they owe their Government, will derive, will be that they put themselves shoulder to shoulder with the State of Arkansas.

And, fellow-citizens, I do not know that you have noticed, but the talk on silver by Bryan and the lesser Bryan orators has largely ceased, and we have had lately the unpatriotic attempt to divide one class of our people from another class and one section of our common country from another for the purpose of making votes. There has been no town in which this gospel of hate has not been rebuked and where it has not brought about a natural reaction in favor of a united country.

Fellow-citizens, the boundaries of the States which form our Union are imaginary, not real; the mountains yonder, which look down upon us, stand like a serried column; yet just beyond our view they open to the west in gentle undulations, and our fertile orchards merge and blend with those of the commonwealths of the Occident. To the eastward, the plains slope into great prairies, the granaries of the world. The rivers which find their source among our mountain crags wind a tortuous course through many sister States before they fret their way to the sea. From the gray summit of the mighty peak [1] which now casts its shadow over us, on, on to the rocky coast of Maine, there is but one land, fed by the same dews, watered from the same heaven, and kissed by the same sun. No stockades or bristling forts divide us. We are of one race, one destiny, one common and immortal hope. In the century now dying, we, who are the inheritors of the liberties secured us by our forefathers, will build no barrier of sectional hate to sunder us from brothers whom we love, or to exclude from our vision the hills and valleys far away, where our childhood was nursed and our dead lie buried.

The sacred memories which cluster around the contest of '61 are too near our hearts for us, in our day and generation, to find room for hostile or disloyal sentiments toward any section of our common country, or any class of our fellow-citizens; and with fervent lips and patriotic impulse our greeting and message to-day to every true Republican within the borders of our dear Colorado shall be: One country, one hope, one flag, and everywhere within this commonwealth, whether on its broad

[1] Pike's Peak.

plains or in its deepest mountain recesses, the right, as God gives us grace to see the right, and the courage to stand by an honest opinion!

AT THE DENVER COLISEUM

October 24, 1896:

This magnificent assemblage, fellow-citizens, is pretty good evidence that the thousands of true-blue Republicans in Colorado cannot be suppressed and driven from the expression of their honest opinions by a hostile and ignorant newspaper press. Nit!

Day after day, in spite of every obstacle that hate and bitterness can interpose, our ranks have steadily grown until now, on the eve of election day, there are thousands of Republicans all over this commonwealth who bear testimony to all the world that, although we have been betrayed and abandoned in Colorado, yet have we fought a good fight, yet have we kept the faith. The vicissitudes we have been compelled to undergo, the obstacles which malevolence and hate have sought to interpose to the expression of individual opinion, the attempts to strangle and destroy the franchise which we have witnessed here in Colorado for the last two months, would do credit to the government of the unspeakable Turk; but we have emerged from it triumphantly, and we still keep step to the music of the whole Union.

A few weeks ago eight bolting delegates sought to take our consciences and our convictions with them out of the convention of the party we love and honor, but we still stand by the old ship.

A united press, unanimously arrayed against us, declared that we had no organization, and that there were not enough Republicans living in Colorado to organize, and so the chairman, in sympathy with the people who bolted at St. Louis, called a meeting of the members of the Republican State Central Committee, one member representing each county in the State, and they met up here in the Brown Hotel, before what they call the "Oil" room was established for the fusion committees, and after a fair and impartial and free discussion, at which a greater percentage of a State committee was present than at any meeting ever before held, by a clean, handsome, clear majority, they declared that the Republican party of Colorado was in favor of the election of McKinley and Hobart. After that meeting was held, a few men who attended and were bound by its de-

cision, under the false pretence that a majority had not acted, called another and fictitious meeting, and by pretended removals sought to make it appear through a press hostile to the Republican party that they had reconsidered their action; but their statement was false and untrue.

And then, fellow-citizens, they followed their action by another call for another State convention, calling themselves Bryan Republicans. You might as well talk about a white crow. And that convention, fellow-citizens, was attended by men from all over the State,—many of them former Republicans, many of them honorable and true and straightforward men—who are coming back every day into the ranks of the Republican party where they belong; thousands of them men who, if they had stopped but one week to consider their action, would never have gone. I don't refer to them in what I have to say; I refer to the Denver manipulators of the so-called Bryan-Silver-Republican party.

They called a convention here, and in it they named some people whom they put up only to be knocked down. Then they went into this famous fusion of theirs and all they had to take with them was an emblem which they had stolen; and when they got into their fusion committees they found their emblem was not wanted; these people did n't want an eagle, they wanted a pigeon! It was a fit symbol for a ticket whereby men were to be deluded into the belief that followers of Bryan were Republicans. They went in with an emblem which they had stolen, and they came out with a pigeon and Simon Guggenheim.

It is unfortunate for that party that he is not with them now. What they need more than anything else is some young Moses to lead them out of the wilderness, and Simon would have made an admirable Moses.

And, fellow-citizens, these people who have been training him, withdrew him at the wrong time; they misread the law. The law is that no man shall serve as lieutenant-governor until he is thirty years of age. He could have run, as there was no more chance of his being elected lieutenant-governor than there is of Bryan being elected, and that is no chance at all. And Simon was just of the tender age that ought to have entitled him to a place on the pigeon ticket.

And so, my friends, that attempt ended in dead-sea fruit.

Then they told us that the Republican party could not get up a convention. They said there were not enough members

of it in the State of Colorado to get up a convention, and we called a convention of the Republican party at Colorado Springs. Seven hundred delegates were there—the cleanest and the best and the manliest Republican convention that has ever been held here since Colorado became a State.

Men came there from the shops because the Republican party's policy of Protection kept them employed, and men came from the farms because they owned their little homes and had been able to save their money under the policy of Protection, which had helped them in the raising of their little crops of wool, and they still look forward to better times. Men came from mining camps, where the duty on lead had helped them raise the money necessary to develop their silver mines. From all over the State came clean men, able and just and true, and they gave us a ticket as clean "as a hound's tooth." There is not a man on it from top to bottom of whom we may not well be proud, and at the head of it we named Judge Allen of Denver—able and distinguished and eminent. He saw the path of duty, and when his party called him he was willing to follow it, and slander and calumny could not divert him from it. I pray that he may be elected Governor of this State for the sake of good, clean government.

But whether he be elected, or whatever may be the fortunes of this campaign, Judge Allen has furnished an example of exalted patriotism; and he will deserve, and he will receive, the respect of every good citizen in Colorado, and out of it.

We naturally thought, fellow-citizens, that after our State convention was through we would have no more trouble; but it seems as if our troubles have hardly commenced. A conspiracy was formed by the Republican end of the Democratic-Silver-Republican party—and it is but just to say that the scheme was too vile for the Democratic end of the party to touch—whereby a great party in Colorado was to be disfranchised.

And, fellow-citizens, for the sake of Colorado and its good name, in which we are all so deeply interested, I do feel bound to say that I believe there is but one man within the limits of all this commonwealth who could be found so lost to all sense of the value of free institutions, as to be willing to dishonor the franchise and degrade a free people by attempting to deprive a great party of the right of suffrage. Unfortunately, fellow-citizens, this man happened to be Secretary of State, and this Republican party, under whose auspices Colorado was admitted into the Union—the party which has brought us all the

good things that have ever come to Colorado, the party which has always stood for individual liberty, was declared by this Secretary of State to be disfranchised and unable to cast its ballot in Colorado this fall.

But, fellow-citizens, we are of those who have come out of great tribulation. We appealed to the highest courts of the land, and in these days, when sectional and bitter partisan appeals find footing in some quarters, when it has become the fashion to denounce our courts, it is gratifying to see that in Colorado, a court composed of all shades of political opinion, the Supreme Court of Colorado, by a unanimous decision, declared that the Republican party could cast its ballots this fall. And, fellow-citizens, when the Supreme Court was through with that Secretary of State, there was not enough of him left to sweep up. And little as there was, there was a great deal more than anybody will ever again want in the State of Colorado.

Having failed, fellow-citizens, in every effort to prevent the Republican party from launching its ticket in Colorado this fall, there has been in Denver a deliberate attempt, headed by a hostile press, to prevent, by intimidation and by threats, the casting by Republicans of their ballots this fall. We are denounced as the enemies of Colorado and its interests. Look at this splendid audience! There is not one of us here who has not every dollar and every interest and every hope and every aspiration centred in Colorado; and I am tired of being told that we who propose to exercise our own judgment as to what is in the true interest of our State, shall be denounced as enemies of it, because we see fit to exercise our individual opinion as God has given us the intellect to exercise it.

They talk in the papers about "Silver Republicans." We are the Silver Republicans. We are the Republican party, the party of both metals. Further than that, fellow-citizens, we are bimetallists, and not silver monometallists. We are for free silver and we are for free government. We are for Colorado and for the other forty-four States of this blessed Union as well.

Day after day, this hostile newspaper press has declared that we do not dare hold any political meetings in the State of Colorado outside the city where we held our convention.[1] There was a time when they declared we dare hold no meeting here, and to-day and every day in this press they publish and adopt and approve by the republication of statements from newspapers all over the State of Colorado, from Gilpin, Clear Creek

[1] Colorado Springs.

and Pitkin and San Miguel and La Plata, and elsewhere, that Republicans do not dare to go to those towns and declare their political opinions. If that is so, shame on such towns! and shame on such papers!

It is undoubtedly true, fellow-citizens, that there is in this State an intolerance never before heard of or dreamed of, and an attempt by threats and by boycott to choke the utterances of individual opinion. I have been told here in Denver again and again by merchants, that they were for the election of McKinley, but that they did not dare say so for fear of a boycott. I have talked with merchants in the mountains, fellow-citizens, staunch and true and earnest Republicans, and they have told me that they were in fear, not only of their business, but of the safety of their property, if they dared declare their Republican principles; and they told me that committees levying collections for Bryan, to be used in Eastern States, would come into their stores and say to them, "You must make your subscription liberal, because the people suspect that you are for McKinley." The "Reign of Terror" and the French Revolution furnish little worse than this.

Fellow-citizens, in one county in this State, where a ticket was nominated—a county ticket—by the Republican party, the last day the notaries public in the town, appointed by the Governor and commissioned and sworn to obey the Constitution of the United States, refused to verify the ticket, as, under the law, it had to be verified. I tell you, fellow-citizens, the attempt at intimidation and fraud through this State is deeper than most men imagine. [A voice, "That is so."] It is so, my friend; it is so everywhere. No merchant dare say so, but each must speak under his breath when he declares his devotion to this glorious party that has made our State all that it is in splendor and given us all the hope it has for the future.

But I want to say to you that intolerance is the sure symptom of a little soul and a narrow intellect, and wherever you find any blatant man or any blatant newspaper declaring that you are a traitor to your party, or a traitor to the interests of your State, and threatening you with what he will do to you, don't pay any heed to him, fellow-citizens, for the friendship of such a man or such a paper is a degradation and a dishonor. My friends, stand up in the open and fight for your party and for your principles. Why, it is all there is in life worth living for. It is the very essence of our liberties. It is that which distinguishes us from the beasts that perish—that we

have an honest opinion (and, please God, we will stand for it in the face of the world!); and it is that which gives the Saxon race the deathless love of liberty that will never let free institutions perish from the face of the earth.

There is not in this whole State a mining camp so remote and so inaccessible that there are not in it two or three, or more, people who believe in Republican principles, and I trust they will have the courage to express their opinions.

Fellow-citizens,

> "They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three."

We took half of this State by purchase from France, and the other half we took from Mexico at the close of the Mexican War. All of the State came originally from Spain, and we do not propose at this end of the nineteenth century to go back to the processes and methods of the Spanish Inquisition. Why, twenty years ago, fellow-citizens, this splendid State was admitted into the Union under the auspices of the Republican party, and they called us the Centennial State, and they gave us a star on the flag that should stand forever in that azure field. When they gave it to us, it was a sign and symbol, not only that we were a sovereign State, but that we were one of the forty-five States in an indissoluble Union.

When we came into this Republican party, we agreed, fellow-citizens, upon two things: First, that we would keep alive within our own State the fires of patriotism, and would see to it that every individual had that freedom which was consistent with the equal liberty of every other man. We agreed further that we would stand forever as one of the States of the Union, stirring up no sectional strife and loyal to the whole Union, and in this audience, scattered all through it, are gray-haired men, who, in the din and smoke of battle, imperilled their lives that this principle might be forever true, and in the dying hour of this century we do not propose to abandon them in Colorado.

It is idle, fellow-citizens, to deny that the Republican situation in Colorado is greatly embarrassed by the hostile attitude of the Denver press, which is unanimously bitter and vindictive toward the Republican party. To those of us who live in Denver or who have lived in Colorado and know who own these newspapers and the estimation in which their owners are held, it

is idle to discuss the question. But there are some newcomers here, and there are some people, unfortunately, who are affected by the constant hammering of a newspaper until they are finally induced to believe that a lie, which they know is a lie at the start, may, by constant reiteration, have something of truth about it.

Fellow-citizens, I deem it my duty to meet some of these newspaper statements. I attack them with great hesitancy; it is like fighting a man who drives a garbage-cart every day, and has his wagon full. He is in the filth business, and he is accustomed to it and he likes it. But the interests of our party require that some of these statements should be refuted.

It has been constantly stated in the newspapers, fellow-citizens, that the National Committee had sent a lot of money out here to Colorado. Why, fellow-citizens, we would not know what to do with it, if we had it. There is not a McKinley man that you have to buy, and the people in our party who were the bummers and the heelers and the roustabouts, who had to be paid for their votes, have all joined the adversary. We do not need any money out here. [A voice: "We are Republicans."] You are Republicans, that is right. There is one thing, however, I got from the committee. I got no money, my fellow-citizens, but there is one thing I did get that is a great deal better than all the money in the world, and that was the firm and solemn assurance, based upon undoubted statistics, that McKinley would carry every State east of the Missouri River and north of Mason and Dixon's line. And that is not all: South of Mason and Dixon's line, he is going to carry, and—you mark it—I am not a false prophet, Maryland and West Virginia and Kentucky, and we are fighting it out in the old State of Missouri; and west of the Missouri River our intelligent neighbor, Nebraska, is sure to go for McKinley. I saw somewhere the other day that there were never but two very distinguished men who came from the State of Nebraska, and they were both named Bill. One was Bill Bryan and the other was Buffalo Bill; and it was said that the difference between the two men was that Buffalo Bill had a show, and the other had n't.

And there is another statement, fellow-citizens, that these newspapers have been making, and that is the charge that in this campaign, somehow, I am in a conspiracy to defeat my colleague [1] for re-election. I don't quite see how, but they say

[1] Senator Teller.

I am in such a conspiracy. Now, fellow-citizens, as a matter of fact, it is hardly necessary for me to say that I am not concerning myself in the slightest degree about Senatorial seats, my colleague's or my own; and I think I may say confidentially to this assemblage of friends, in view of the petitions which the Populists are circulating for my resignation, that, so far as my own seat in the Senate is concerned, anybody may have it who can get it.

This charge, fellow-citizens, I only refer to because from one of these lies you can measure the value of all of them, and you can measure the sort of genuine fear this paper, printed on Sixteenth Street, has as to my friendship for my colleague. I hold in my hand typewritten copies—and they are not five per cent. of what I could have got from the old files of that paper, of the most filthy and dirty and outrageous and lying attacks that were ever made, upon my colleague, during the different years he has been in public life. I won't soil my tongue by reading them. Those of you who have lived here during the past ten years have read them. They include the direct charge that since my colleague has been in public life, fighting the battle for silver in Washington, he has been an enemy of silver, and would defeat it if he could. They charge him with personal dishonor and personal misconduct and personal dishonesty, when there never was a man of purer life connected with public affairs.

That is the sort of stuff this paper has been publishing for years about him, and there is not a man in Colorado who knows that paper, or the people connected with it, who does not know that it will stab him in the back if it gets a chance between now and the day of election. The paper has traduced and has calumniated every man living and dead who has ever been in public life since the man who now owns the paper has been proprietor of it. It denounced Mr. Chaffee and opposed him. It denounced and opposed every man in public life, and the day after Bryan was nominated it denounced and opposed Bryan, and stated that he got his nomination only because he had promised all his Cabinet offices. At that very time the paper knew it would have to support him, but it has the instinct that a certain bird has to befoul its own nest.

Fellow-citizens, I should pay no attention to the personal attacks of the journal upon me were it not for the fact that this whole campaign, so far as the Denver newspapers are concerned, is concentrated in bitter and virulent and personal as-

sault upon myself. So far as I am individually concerned I care less about it than I do for the wind that blows. My public record is open to all the world. Since I have been in public life I have cast no ballot that has not been identical with my colleague's, and for the benefit of the people of the State of Colorado. No man can calumniate and abuse me for my past record; and the votes I have cast, I cast because they were your opinion as well as my own. I cannot be traduced successfully and vilified as an enemy of Colorado. And, fellow-citizens, so it will be as long as I am in public life, and to me this newspaper abuse is as nothing, except as it may hamper me in the performance of my public duty.

It was my good fortune a year or more ago to secure the passage of the Senate Bill appropriating money for a coinage mint at Denver, and I state nothing about this bill but what my colleagues will indorse. I went to the Appropriation Committee and we got it on the schedule. The Joint Appropriations Committee of the two Houses struck it out because it was a Democratic House and they were afraid of the cry of a billion-dollar Congress. I went before that Joint Committee on Appropriations, representing these great committees, both the Senate and the House, and pleaded for our State and for the rights of Colorado, and the need there was for a coinage mint here. I was confronted with an article from a Denver newspaper, stating that I had introduced it for buncombe; that there was no chance of its being passed by any House of Congress; that, in short, I had introduced it for cheap political capital. I had to face the opposition of the paper to this measure.

When we got the bill passed to remove the Indians down here out of that great country east of Durango, that same newspaper charged again and again that my colleague and I were not in good faith in what we were doing, and could not hope to get it passed; but we did, and whatever we have done in Washington for the relief and benefit of the people of Colorado has been against the paper's every effort to belittle and defeat out attempts.

The personal fortunes, fellow-citizens, of none of us are of much value, but it is of vital importance that whoever represents any State in any public capacity should live up to his convictions of public duty; and if after these scenes shall have passed away, when men come to review these exciting days in this crisis of our history, if it shall be said of me that I stood true to the principles of the party whose commission I hold; if

it shall be said of me that when others yielded, I stayed; that when the path to popularity and applause was easy, I yet stood by my party; that when I had only to desert my party and betray and abandon its principles, and I, too, would be beslimed with the praise of former political opponents and a section of my political adherents, I refused to yield to public clamor because I believed it hostile to our welfare; that not only in the day of our victory, but that in the days of adversity and defeat, I still remained true to that party which has ennobled our past and whose policy and whose principles offer us all our hope for the future; that, not alone in the triumphant charge, but that on the stricken field, when the deserters were many and the faithful were few, I still held aloft the banner you gave me in defence of what I believed to be the welfare of our State and the honor of our country,—I shall be content.

Now, fellow-citizens, I pass from State matters to the consideration of national politics. The hour is late and I don't feel that I ought to take much of your time.

[Here the speaker reiterated his arguments on Protection and bimetallism previously made at Colorado Springs, and closed his speech as follows:]

Fellow-citizens, these are days of ferment and unrest and discontent. The trial of the sword, which this nation nobly stood, was not so serious as that through which we are now passing. We meet the shock of battle ready and in the open. The disintegrating process involved in the spread of Socialistic doctrines and in the constant attacks upon our institutions is more insidious than war, and is a constant menace to our enjoyment of that equal and personal liberty which is the touchstone and very foundation of our form of government.

This nation will survive the attacks of Socialism and Populism and Bryanism. It will endure because the great mass and body of the people are intelligent and loyal to the Republic, and I believe its crowning glory to be that under our laws the individual counts for what is in him, and the humblest citizen may attain the highest honors. Because they realize that the levelling of paternalism lifts up the slothful and the improvident, and drags down the industrious and the brave; because the determination to transmit the liberties we enjoy is as strong and as vital as our sense of their value; because to every true soul whose hopeful vision peers into the centuries and sees there a happy, a united, and a free people, there comes an equal devotion

to every portion of our common country, and State lines and sectional bitterness grow dim and fade and are forgotten.

No honor can come to Colorado which we do not share. No dishonor can trail her good name in the mire without our bearing the stain and the reproach. The Colorado of our aspirations is not a State where sectional hate and bitterness may be successfully invoked; where intolerance thrives and free speech and free opinion are throttled, and where men who value the welfare of the whole country so deeply that even the bribe of free silver will not induce them to yield their convictions are hounded and denounced and vilified.

The Colorado of our vision and our hope is radiant with tolerance and with patriotism, stirring no embers of sectional hate; partaker of the joys and sharer of the sorrows of her sister States, and instinct with loyalty and devotion to the whole Union.

The realization of this hope must come some day, for we are one people, born of free mothers, under free skies. Fearless and confident, we await its coming, and with it the certain and triumphant vindication of the Republicans of Colorado.

They tell us we are few in number. It may be so. Then stand the closer, brothers, hand in hand, true to our faith, our honor, and our country, "until the day dawn and the day-star arise."

THE BATTLES OF 'NINETY-EIGHT AND 'NINETY-NINE

AT the Republican State Convention, Denver, September 15, 1898:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The State of Colorado is to be congratulated that this year it can furnish one State convention untrammelled by pledges, or promises, or the necessity of consulting any other organization on earth. We meet here devoted solely to the welfare of our country, and it will not be necessary for us to remain in session three long days to quarrel with other political organizations over the spoils of office like hungry dogs over a bone. We shall send the message to the vast mass of good citizens all over the land that there is one convention in Colorado which holds truth and principle as paramount, and considers political decency as still one of the factors of good citizenship. The disgraceful and sordid spectacle which was presented at Colorado Springs last week should bring the blush of shame to every decent man's cheek. Populists who still stand firm and true in their devotion to the Omaha platform, who want $40 worth of paper money immediately issued to every man, woman, and child per capita in the United States; who believe in the government ownership of railroads, subtreasuries for the storage of grain, and every other exploded, faded thought which has died out years ago; Democrats who believe in Free Trade, and whose only policy is to attempt to obstruct and destroy every honorable effort of the Republican party, and the huckstering fragment of the movement that was originally organized in an earnest desire to better our financial condition, the Silver Republicans—all these finally got in bed together. The Democrats got most of the clothes, and the result of it is a conglomerate ticket which pleases nobody except the men who are running upon it.

Democrats in that convention who two years ago were marching up and down this State declaring that we must elect Adams, because it would be ruin to have a Populist in office in Colorado, are now advocating the election of as rotten a lot of them as they could ever put upon a ticket—and they are the best of the ticket. But, fortunately, fellow-citizens, for their own peace of mind, they have put at the head of their ticket a man who has been so often defeated by the votes of Colorado people that when he is defeated again, as he is sure to be, neither he nor the people who voted for him will care very much; and between now and the time when he is to be defeated, the honest voters of Colorado will have time to reflect that never in the history of the State of Colorado have we had prosperity except under a Republican administration.

The situation of the party known as the Silver Republican party, and the transactions at Colorado Springs last week, deserve more than a passing notice. They are important as typifying the desperate and illegal methods to which people are willing to resort to overthrow the clear will of the majority; and they are important also as showing that the price of fusion, the price of a sacrifice of every conviction which they have heretofore advocated, was a couple of offices up here at the State-house. That party, Mr. President, had its origin as a protest against what seemed to be a great threatened financial wrong, and many of the best people in this State joined for a time that movement, and were engulfed in that wave which swept the State of Colorado two years ago. Some of us then believed, as we believe now, that the true interests of bimetallism rested still in the Republican party, the only party that has done anything in favor of silver. And gradually, fellow-citizens, our friends who left us came back to us, and as month after month passed, they have come more and more frequently. They listen no longer to the pleas of those Jeremiahs who travel around the State preaching a gospel of hate and bitterness, and keeping the decent people and capital out of this State, both of which we need. They wanted the time to come when we could again stand together as we have always stood; but, fellow-citizens, when you find a man who has once been a Republican, devoted to these splendid principles of the party, proud of its achievements and its traditions, you can't make a Democrat of him with all the resolutions on earth.

Three fourths of the people who two years ago were Silver

Republicans are Republicans to-day, and ninety-five per cent. of the people calling themselves Silver Republicans, who went to Colorado Springs a week ago, did not intend, and do not now intend, to fuse their principles and their future with the Populist and Democratic parties. The management of a fraction of this party saw the handwriting on the wall. They saw that by no decent and honest methods could they carry that party with Populism and Democracy, and so they found it necessary to resort to illegal and violent methods, and they summoned from another State a politician named Towne, to come out here and tell Colorado people how to run their conventions, and how to name their tickets; a man without following at home, who served one term in Congress, to which he was elected by a majority of some twelve to fifteen thousand, and who, having served one term in Congress, ran again, and managed to overcome that majority and be beaten by about a thousand votes. He poses out here as a Silver Republican, and when he ran for Congress two years ago the *Congressional Record* shows that he ran as a Populist and a Democrat, and as nothing else. They got this man to come out here clothed with an apparent badge of authority which was a forgery and a fraud.

I want to tell you, fellow-citizens, for it is essential, that the people of this State know what the facts are concerning this violent attempt to seize the party. In July, 1896, when our chairman, Irving Howbert, called the State Republican Committee together, they were called to meet at the Brown Palace Hotel, when Mr. Howbert presented his resignation, and Judge Hodges, who has since served us so ably as chairman, was elected in his place. Following that, in August, a notification was issued by W. D. Todd, claiming that too many proxies were used, and the action was not legal, and he thereupon called a meeting of the State Republican Committee to meet on a certain day. They met and assumed to remove Judge Hodges, and elected in his place Richard Broad, Jr., of Golden, still as a Republican. The convention met in September; they issued their call in August for a meeting of Silver Republicans, and in that call, and in that convention, for the first time in the whole United States, the phrase "Silver Republican" was used. At that convention Richard Broad was unanimously elected by the convention of his party, the Silver Republican party, as its chairman,—elected by acclamation. From that day until the meeting at Colorado Springs, there was but one official action of that party, and that was in a meeting a year ago, which was

called by Richard Broad, chairman, and in which his authority was recognized, and it had not been recognized until the meeting last week at Colorado Springs. This election of Broad, you will remember, was in September, 1896, and on February 22, 1897, nine gentlemen in Washington published a declaration to the public, in which they said that there should be established a National Silver Republican party, and that they recommended that provisional members of a State committee be appointed in the different States (they did not say how), and that these people should act hereafter as a committee pending the calling together of a National Silver Republican convention. These nine gentlemen said that, pending this action, they had taken the liberty of naming Mr. Towne as chairman of the Provisional National Republican Committee.

Later in September, some twenty gentlemen or more, representing but few comparatively of the States in the Union, met in Chicago, and this Provisional Committee proceeded to name Mr. Towne as their chairman without any authority, and provisionally until a National Silver Republican convention should be thereafter called. And that is the sole and only authority which Mr. Towne ever had conferred upon him. That National Silver Republican convention has never been called and it will never be, for there are not enough left of them to call it. That is the history of the appointment of this man and of his authority, and the result of his illegal and violent exercise of this authority was the awful murder at Colorado Springs last week.[1]

Fellow-citizens, I deplore that violence, I deprecate it, as you do. It is better to suffer than follow violent methods. We have no sympathy with them, and yet, my friends, we must always remember that that was a murder, a gross murder, and that the murderer, still unpunished, was a member and an adherent of that faction whose chief anxiety seemed to be lest the people of the United States should be informed that Bryanism was not as rampant in Colorado as it used to be.

It is of infinitely greater importance that the people of the

[1] As a result of the strong feeling between factions attending the Silver Republican convention at Colorado Springs in 1898 one of the attendants from Denver was killed in a fight over the possession of the meeting-place. There were two factions in the convention, one, headed by Richard Broad, opposing fusion and inclining toward affiliation with the straight Republicans, and the other, taking the name of James H. Blood of Denver, which advocated the opposite course. Broad and Blood were chairmen of the opposing sections.

State of Colorado should know that no methods were too violent or too illegal to overthrow the rights of an honest majority, and we are willing that both East and West should be informed that the small gang of disreputable manipulators who have disgraced the Republican party for years were willing to take pot-luck with Democrats or Populists, or any other old party that would receive them. For my part, fellow-citizens, I pray heaven that that small gang of manipulators who traded and dickered with that convention have forever left the ranks of the Republican party. For my part, I would rather we would go down to defeat forever than rest upon the manipulation and management of such a gang, for we do not need them. What was the result of that convention, even as it turned out? I take the figures from one of these yellow journals here in Denver, which stated that there were one hundred and thirty-six contesting delegates; that of the remaining delegates, one hundred and twenty-seven went to the Blood convention, and two hundred and forty-two went with the Broad convention, which did not propose to fuse with Populists and Democrats.

I have no doubt that this convention, in its wisdom and by methods which it will devise, will hereafter arrange some plan whereby we may co-operate heartily and in good faith with those Republicans heretofore designated as Silver Republicans, but who are now able to find all the silver they want in the name Republican.

One of the presiding officials of this tail-end convention of Silver Republicans, in a violent and open denunciation of an honorable citizen of Colorado, pronounced him a liar, and then followed that statement by the remark that liars had no place in any convention unless it were a McKinley convention. As I read that remark, fellow-citizens, my mind reverted to the men who have been presiding all over this country in McKinley Republican conventions. I thought of the gallant Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, who led his State to Republican victory and Democratic defeat. I thought of Senator Allison of Iowa, a consistent bimetallist and friend of silver, who was at the Brussels conference fighting for our interests, and who the other day presided over the Iowa State convention of liars, as they were designated by the gentleman at Colorado Springs. I thought of the venerable and magnificent Senator Hoar, as noble a bimetallist as ever lived, himself, I suppose, under this denunciation, to be called a liar, who presided over that splendid body of Massachusetts Republicans which stood up for their

party, their flag, and their government. I thought of Senator Chandler, that brilliant and splendid Senator who has made the interests of silver his own, when he stood in the State of New Hampshire in a Republican convention. I suppose they, too, would be called liars notwithstanding they stood for bimetallism against the world. Then, as I thought of that phrase, "McKinley Republican," meant as a term of opprobrium, I recalled the name of our beloved President, as able and splendid and noble and as true an American as ever lived, working for the interests of the whole country, animated by the highest religious principles, typifying the best and highest of American manhood and American civilization. Then I thought that it would not be more than two years more until that term of opprobrium of a "McKinley Republican" would be the noblest badge of honor that any man could wear.

All these incongruous conventions, which finally agreed upon everything, seemed to have no principles to animate them, no policy to pursue; they seemed to rest the whole basis of their appeal to the people upon two foundations, and two only. The first of them was a wholesale and direct denunciation of the junior Senator from Colorado. Fellow-citizens, that attack was too personal for me to pay any attention to it. But I may perhaps be permitted to say in this presence, among the people I love, and whose trust and confidence must ever be the greatest honor that can be conferred upon me, that I can send through you a message to these conspirators that, although they have been for some time digging my political grave, when they have dug it as deep as they like, and have put me in it, and have covered the earth over it, they never, never can write "renegade" above it.

The other policy and platform of this convention apparently was the declaration that people who voted the Republican ticket were gold-standard people, and those mendacious yellow journals that have kept millions of dollars out of Colorado continually publish the statement that our conventions are conventions of gold-standard Republicans. I am sick and tired of that stale lie. There are not twenty men in the State of Colorado of any party who are for the gold standard, and there are no better silver people on earth than the Republicans of Colorado. There is not one of us who does not believe that the welfare and prosperity of the world must ever rest in the rehabilitation of silver as a standard of value equally with gold, and you cannot send a representative to Washington who won't be found fight-

ing for that principle in season and out of season. It is true that some members of our party do not agree with us. It is equally true that some Democrats do not agree with the Democrats of Colorado upon that question. Take Gorman of Maryland, and Brice of Ohio, and Murphy of New York, and Smith of New Jersey;—they are counted as Democrats there and all of them oppose silver. Many of the members of the Republican party do not go as far as we do—but I tell you, fellow-citizens, the man who stands true to his principles and his party, and fights within it for recognition of what he knows is right, is bound to win, if he is right. We have won in many other battles.

I think perhaps it is proper that I should say a word, and but a word, to this convention on the subject of the Bimetallic Commission to Europe.

Soon after I left you in the fall, in December, at the opening of the Senate of the United States, we called a meeting of the Republican members of the Senate, and they unanimously agreed that the plank in the St. Louis platform which pledged the party to an attempt to restore bimetallism by international agreement was a pledge which ought to be carried out in the utmost good faith. Owing to suggestions of theirs, and some communications with the President-elect, Mr. McKinley, I was invited by the President (not then President, but President-elect) to visit Canton, where I had a long and extended talk with him. He was then, as he is now, and as he was through every day he served in Congress, a bimetallist, in favor, under adequate protection, of the use of the white metal. And it was at his suggestion, fellow-citizens, that I took my first trip abroad.

I went to France, and to Berlin, and to London. I found in France a splendid and hearty desire to co-operate with the United States in some method to bring back a restoration of silver. I found in Germany, among those highest in authority, an equally strong desire, although not backed by as strong a public opinion, in favor of the restoration of bimetallism. I found in England, among the best and highest of English statesmen, an earnest wish that by some method this great question might be settled in such a way as to restore silver to its parity by some international understanding, and I found further that when I was on my way across the ocean the Congress of the United States, with but three dissenting votes in either House, had passed a bill authorizing the President to appoint a commission to negotiate for an international settle-

ment of the question. The President saw fit to appoint me chairman of that commission. I may say here that the President gave us no instructions, except to do our best to bring about the agreement.

In France we received most splendid co-operation, and the French Government sent the strongest instructions to the French Ambassador at London, Baron Courcel, to co-operate with us. We had lengthy and extended negotiations with the English Ministry and with the English Chancellor of the Exchequer. And, fellow-citizens, in the early summer the English Government had intended, and so stated their purpose, to yield practically the demands which the French and English delegates had imposed upon them, and to co-operate with us. It was only upon the receipt of the unlooked-for and unexpected message from India, through Sir James Westland, who believed that the future of India should rest upon the gold standard, that a negative answer was given us. We did what we did as looking and tending to a future settlement of this question, which, fellow-citizens, is as sure to be settled by some international agreement if the Republican party remains in power, as we are to see to-morrow. Such settlement was helped and furthered and advanced by our mission, and the nastiest and meanest attacks that were made upon us—which were recopied and republished in English papers—were attacks which came from Bryanites in the West, who were so afraid that we would succeed in doing something that Bryan would not get the credit for that they tried to defeat us by every method in their power. And that is their interest in the restoration of the white metal.

I understand by the public press that Mr. Towne saw fit to ridicule that commission and its work. I had supposed when we finished our labors, which I hope and trust may be of value to the world hereafter, there might not be entire agreement upon the subject, and I had reason to expect that possibly some bumptious little whiffet from Minnesota would think that negotiations with Méline, the great French Premier, devoted to bimetallism, with the leaders of the bimetallic forces in Germany, and with Mr. Balfour, the leader in the House of Commons of England, a devoted bimetallist, and Lord Aldenham, at whose suggestion the first conference was called, would say that the mission was intended to befool the people, and not intended to bear fruit. But I am very glad that such foolish and silly criticisms of the serious work of a serious commission came from

some jay in Minnesota, who knows very little about the question.

These, fellow-citizens, are the only issues, apparently, which the Democratic party is able to present to the voters of Colorado. We have, however, as a Republican party, other issues which we intend to present, and upon which we propose to fight our battles. Great and paramount as is the silver question, there are, fellow-citizens, other vital and important issues, national and international, in which the Republicans of Colorado intend to take a hand.

Colorado, my friends, was settled by the best crowd of people that ever lived. They came out here, and have been coming for the last thirty years, from the New England States, from New York, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—splendid citizens,—starting out after the war, prompted by that restlessness which came when so many officers and soldiers were mustered out, and seeking to find some new fields for their industry. This movement has brought us as splendid and fine and intelligent a population as ever settled a State. If you go into the mining camps of the State, you find more college graduates and intelligent men in proportion to the population than you find anywhere else in the United States. These people were Republicans, Republican to the backbone, because they had intelligence, and love of their flag, and love of country, and they are coming back. We have resources that no other State in the Union has. There is not a single piece of land on the footstool that has more mineral resources than Colorado has, including gold and silver. We have more coal than the State of Pennsylvania. Our oil-fields and our iron deposits—the richest land ever kissed by God's sunshine;—everything conspires to make Colorado the most fruitful and the most prosperous and the most splendid State in the Union. These people living in Colorado are beginning to see that this snarling hate and denunciation of everybody who does not agree with us, keep capital and friends out, and keep from us that respect to which our manhood and womanhood are entitled. So far as the Republicans of Colorado are concerned, we do not propose to put our heads in a hole in the ground, and neglect to see that the sun is bright and the skies are blue, and that God reigns, and the Republican party is going to bring us prosperity.

We intend to join the procession ourselves, and as a party we have given the people some issues upon which we are ready to take our stand. The first of them was the Dingley tariff measure, which was passed by the Republican Congress two

years ago, a measure which not only is bringing prosperity to our country and increased revenues, but is building up commercial enterprises everywhere, a bill which has done more for the West than any bill which has ever been passed. . . .

[Mr. Wolcott here discussed many party questions, speaking along lines followed in other speeches made in the same campaign.]

Then came this most wonderful war[1] of three months' duration, less than a hundred days, in which we not only conquered a great nation, but in which, as well, we commanded the respect of every civilized country on earth. I am proud to say that in this contest, which at times was threatened with great international complications, the men of Anglo-Saxon blood and language stood together. I notice that I do not hear as much about "Cousin Ed" as I used to do. This war, which swept a great navy from the seas, which humiliated an ancient people, which demonstrated the fact that American officers and American soldiers rise always to the duties that are imposed upon them, developed the vast resources and the character of the people; and the wonderful triumph of Dewey, modest and courageous, presented to the country the greatest example it has yet seen of naval and administrative ability. He stood out there for weeks with no soldiers, with nothing but his fleet, and he maintained order, and protected from the insurgents the lives of foreign citizens and the safety of Manila. He displayed wonderful capacity in governing those islands, as well as in capturing them.

As against this policy the Democracy has so far developed on international questions only a policy of obstruction and interference. They wait until the Republican party advocates a measure, and then fight it unitedly and vigorously. The Democracy stands about the garbage-barrel looking for something that smells bad, and when found, they toss it around in the hope that it may taint the air. That is what they are doing to-day on the conduct of this war.

War is horrible; it is grim-visaged; it means death and suffering,—cruel suffering. Our war has been conducted with less loss of life proportionately in the time it has been conducted, by sickness and by wounds, than any war that has ever been fought,—far less than our Civil War. Undoubtedly, there have been serious mistakes made. We had a handful of regular troops; we had to employ additional commissaries and quarter-

[1] The war with Spain over Cuba.

masters from civil life, unskilled in business, and untrained to those particular duties. We shipped our troops to a torrid zone, unknown to us, to which they were not acclimated, and there were, unquestionably, cruel mistakes—no suggestion of jobbery, no suggestion of thieving, no suggestion of dishonesty—but suggestions, undoubtedly true, of incompetency in many directions. They are inevitable in any country that has only a small standing army at the outset of a contest. They are being investigated. The perpetrators of them, if they are guilty, will be punished; but you can no more becloud the Republican party with them than you can prevent the sun dissipating the mists of the morning.

In all this glorious future which the Republican party is to be called upon to shape and define, we of Colorado propose to take a man's share.

When, on the 13th of last month, early in the morning, the Colorado regiment, together with a California regiment and the Eighteenth Infantry, all of whom had been lying for days in trenches half filled with water and under tropical rains, were ordered to charge the old fortress at Malate, they started to cross the Rio Cingalon breast deep in its waters, and charged furiously up the hill amidst a rainstorm of bullets; when Private Phenix, who was the first of the Colorado troops to reach the flag-staff, hauled down the Spanish flag and was about to raise the American flag in its place, he was killed by a Spanish bullet, and when Private Holmes took the flag and gave it to the breeze, they shed undying lustre upon the prowess and courage of Colorado troops. But they did more, far more. The flag that slipped from the dying hand of Phenix and was unfurled by Holmes was the flag of our whole country. Emblazoned upon its azure field were forty-five stars, a star for every State, and a State for every star, and their heroism will forever typify the patriotism which animates the breasts of Colorado people, not alone for Colorado, but for their common country.

This convention, by its ticket and by its platform, will send the message to our brothers at the East: that hate, misbegotten hate, has no place in our breasts; that our patriotism is broader than the confines of our State boundaries; that, reunited and hopeful and undaunted, the Republicans of Colorado still keep step to the music of the Union.

IN THE CAMPAIGN

At Colorado Springs, October 8, 1898:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: There are many annoyances and few pleasures in an active and aggressive campaign, but there is always one pleasant night to me, and that is when I come here to speak to you, who have been my friends in sunshine and in shadow. This campaign we had hoped would be necessarily one, not of oratory, not of vituperation, but of bold statement of facts, wherein we should be permitted to speak out, and the other side should attempt to try and convince the voters of the State why they should cast their ballots with the one party or the other; but it has been one of vituperation and abuse, among the speakers principally by the Western Democrats, largely aided by the yellow journals of Colorado. You do not have yellow journals in Colorado Springs all day. You have your mornings to yourselves. We have them with us morning and night, and there is no slander too vile and no libel too atrocious to be hurled against the Republican party from this press in Denver. Safe in their mud-throwing because of the monopoly of press associations, they keep our great party from being represented in the metropolis by a metropolitan Republican journal. But free speech is left us and we have an opportunity of expressing to our constituents our disgust and contempt for such journals and their methods. I care less for their abuse than I do for the wind that blows.

There is not a decent man, living or dead, in public life who has not been the subject of their vile cartoons and their equally vile editorials. For myself, I welcome their attacks and vituperation at the outset of this campaign, because it proves to me that they are already afraid of the trials of Republican principles. They have become so abusive that no one now pays any attention to them. They are absolutely without influence, but it is to be regretted that our party has no journal in Denver to meet their constant lies. This course of the press has cost Colorado millions of dollars already, and I prefer their abuse to their support. I dismiss them from consideration, remembering "that whoso toucheth pitch, shall be defiled thereby."

At the expiration of my term in the Senate, I shall have served the people of this State for twelve years. I have been ten years in the Senate—ten happy years. I can realize my many defects. There is much I have not done that I wish I

could have done, but I am proud to say to-night that there is not a single vote I have ever cast that I would cast differently were I to cast it again.

When I leave the Senate, I shall return to Colorado to the practice of an honorable profession and to spend the remainder of my days here, battling for Republican principles, able to look you, my friends, in the face as long as I shall live, and know that you will know that I have been true to my State and to her interests.

I have been loyal to the party which intrusted to me its commission and I hope that I shall never merit the title "traitor" or "renegade." The term "McKinley Republican," which is thrown out so in the press, has ceased to be a term of opprobrium.

I shall never forget to my dying day, the convention that was held in this hall two years ago, when men and women, good men and women, from all over the State of Colorado, met here under the obloquy and ban of public disapproval and threats of boycott and personal violence. It is consecrated in my memory. We stood up here and declared our faith in the eternal principles of the Republican party, and our belief that those principles would yet triumph in this State. And now we are witnessing the dawn of that triumph. It is no longer a term of opprobrium to us.

"The world goes up and the world goes down,
And the sunshine follows the rain,
And yesterday's sneer, and yesterday's frown,
Can never come back again."

One of the leading persons of the Blood Republican convention here the other day said that liars have no place except in the McKinley Republican convention. All the mud and slime and epithets that can be thrown at our beloved President only soil the men who throw them. It has been my high privilege and duty in the last two years to see weekly, and sometimes daily, our President of the United States, and I can assure you no man ever entered into his presence who did not leave it a better man.

A man of character and purity, animated by deep religious principles, bearing upon his shoulders the burden and sorrows and aspirations of the American public; true to his trust, and rising like Lincoln to the magnitude of his high office and the

great duties imposed upon him, he stands before us the exemplar of everything that is noble and loyal, and the term "McKinley Republican" is to us the noblest badge of honor we can wear.

The conventions have all been held; at least we hope so,—and it is for us now to consider, as citizens, their work, their platforms, and their promises. Our convention met the other day in Denver, and many of you, representatives of the very best people, were there. Two years ago they would have been met with gibes and sneers, but delegations from this town and Pueblo marched up the street with the band playing "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night," and everybody welcomed them. We were full of hope and confidence. We have the eagle as our emblem and no party now to claim it from us. I have heard in the last few days what a lot of trouble the other party is having as to their emblem, the dove, and I recall the old words of Scripture about the waters beginning to recede after the flood, when the poor dove could find no rest for the soles of her feet.

As to the other conventions which met at Colorado Springs, what did we see? There were Democrats who have for years been championing Free Trade, who ran their campaign two years ago on the platform that Populism must be wiped out at all hazards.

The present candidate for Governor[1] on that ticket on a previous occasion got 8000 votes out of 18,000. He ran his former campaign on the doctrine of Populism. There was also the convention of the Populist party, most of them sincerely desirous of carrying out the principles of the Omaha platform, including the government ownership of railroads and other things, and the issue of paper money to the extent of $50 per capita. They met here to nominate a ticket of their own, but they were swept out of existence by what is known as the Patterson Populists. There must be good men among them, but if there are, the name will kill the party.

And of the small huckstering remnant known as the Blood convention, it only can be said that, few as they were, scores of men left the hall, refusing to be carried body and breeches into the Democratic party. That huckstering remnant have sold their birthright as Republicans for two paltry offices. "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." They have no right to call themselves Republicans. When the last tariff

[1] Hon. Charles S. Thomas.

bill came on, my colleague refused to vote, the Congressman of the First District ran away, and the Congressman from the other district voted against it. We must remember the words of their leader, when he said to the Democrats: "In 1900 I shall be found marching with you," and when he told them that not only on the money question, but on all others, the hope of the country lay in the Democracy. I speak of him with great respect, and I say he combines most of the brains and all the character and principle of that same set of Blood Silver Republicans.

The result of that convention was the most remarkable conglomerate ticket ever heard of. The head of it, Mr. Thomas, has travelled around the State denouncing the Populists, and the second man on the ticket, Francis Carney, is a Populist of Populists in Colorado, compared to whom Governor Waite was a sucking dove. It was an exhibition of the methods to which desperate men may resort rather than face an honest majority against them.

I do not care to go over the dates at length; but in July, 1896, the regular Republican committee accepted the resignation of Mr. Howbert and elected Mr. Hodges. They afterward assumed to remove Mr. Hodges and elected Mr. Broad in his place. They called a convention in September of that year, and that convention for the first time used the name "Silver Republican." They unanimously elected Mr. Broad as their chairman. He was elected by the highest power the State could confer, and was the legitimate and unquestioned chairman, and from that date until the convention at Colorado Springs no official action was had by that party except the convention at Glenwood, at which Mr. Broad was recognized as the chairman of the State Central Committee.

Long after that, nine gentlemen from Washington, of whom Mr. Towne of Minnesota was one, published a letter saying that it had been deemed wise that a National Silver Republican party should be organized; that Mr. Towne should be the chairman; that representatives should be named in each State, and that the meeting should be held at some time to be named.

In June of 1897, a meeting of that committee was held. It was composed of fifteen or twenty people, assuming to represent fifteen or twenty States of the Union, although there were no Silver Republicans in six or seven of these States to be represented, and they named Mr. Towne as the *pro tem.* chairman until ratified by the National Silver Republican convention.

That convention has never been called and never will be called.

Upon the strength of that appointment, this Mr. Towne of Minnesota, who two years ago was defeated for Congress by quite a majority, running as a Populist and Democrat, and not at all as a Silver Republican, assumed to come out here without notice to Chairman Broad. Finding that an overwhelming majority of his party was in favor of returning to the principles they had never abjured, he assumed to expel and remove Mr. Broad from his position. There never was a greater wrong sought to be inflicted upon a citizen in this State. But the scheme failed. The Blood convention had one hundred and thirty contesting delegates, and two hundred and forty-two of the delegates went with the Broad convention. That convention adopted a platform upon which any true Republican can stand —a platform which indicated their disinclination and refusal to be carried into the ranks of the Democratic party. That convention represented the honest voice, judgment, and wishes of three fourths of the so-called Silver Republicans of Colorado, —a party that was organized with an honest desire to voice the great demand of Colorado for the recognition of silver, a party most of the members of which feel is becoming a tool of manipulating politicians, and the rank and file of which propose to go back to the party which they left only temporarily.

This is a country of party. There never have been in any country in the world but two parties. There are in this State the Democratic and the Republican parties, and Silver Republicanism has no place in State or National politics. Its representatives are comparatively without influence in National councils, as they should be, and the great issues for weal or woe for Colorado in the National capital will be solved by the great Republican party and opposed by the Democratic party.

We may now discuss with each other for a few minutes the history of the silver movement in Colorado for the last few years. It started in 1892 just before the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act. This State cast its vote for Weaver, but in 1894 the State elected a State Republican ticket. In 1893, the Indian mints were closed. Silver fell in price, and the agitation went on until the St. Louis convention. At that time there arose in this State a great party of citizens, formerly members of the Republican party, who said they would no longer follow that party unless it took a certain position on silver. Some of us refused to coincide. Eight dele-

gates were sent to St. Louis instructed to leave the convention if the Republican party did not declare for silver. The terms in which the convention declared for silver did not suit them, and sixteen men, including the eight delegates and their alternates, walked out. Fourteen of them are back in the Republican party, again battling for its principles.

Then came the defeat of Bryan and afterward there commenced in this State a campaign unparalleled in violence and vituperation. It seemed as though the leaders of thought in Colorado had gone mad. They sought to build a wall of hate to divide us from every one that differed from us in opinion. It drove capital away from the State. We earned the name of being a State of cranks. We have made ourselves the laughing-stock of all people everywhere because we put our heads in a hole and shouted "16 to 1," and refused to see that the sky was blue and the sun was shining. What has been the result? The Silver Republican party started with strength and adherents in five of the Northwestern States. In Utah they refused to fuse, and the Silver Republicans have gone back and are now fighting with the Republican party. The only success in fusion has been in Wyoming, which has a smaller population than the county of El Paso. In Idaho the Silver Republicans and Populists have fused and the Democrats are going it alone. In Montana the Democrats would not touch the Silver Republicans with a pair of tongs, and the Silver Republicans are going back. The senior Senator from that State writes me that Montana will again cast her fortunes with the Republican party.

What have they done with the Democratic party of the East? There are Jeremiahs going around and saying that the only hope for silver is in the Democratic party. How about the Connecticut Democrats? They would not say a word about silver, and in New Jersey when some of them came in with a platform of 16 to 1 for the United States alone, it was downed almost unanimously. The majority would not have anything to do with them. In the great State of New York the Democrats would not say a blessed word about silver and 16 to 1.

What sort of a silver movement is that? Although men say to you that the hope for silver is in the Democratic party alone, there is not a State east of the Mississippi River and north of Mason and Dixon's line where the Democrats will stand up to the rack and stay with silver. When I first went to the Senate, and we went to our Republican Senators and worked for silver, they did not kick us out; they met us half way. They

wanted to help us, but because we made it such a nuisance and such a cause of war and dissension, we have made the East, which naturally was friendly to silver, hostile to it. The great mass of the Republican party to-day is a bimetallic party if you would let it alone. If we would stand by our party and its principles and give them a chance to help us and not denounce them as plutocrats and slaves of Wall Street and Jews of Lombard Street because their votes do not come up to ours, we would still have recognition and help. The policy these fusion leaders are seeking to get you to carry out, of voting as a unit against everybody who does not agree with you, is a mistake.

This is a country where the majority must rule, and resistance to that is coming to result to the discredit and disgrace of silver, and not in its restoration to the pedestal where it belongs. In Colorado we have all been and are still bimetallists and friends of silver. I am so tired of these silly lies printed day after day in the papers of Colorado, that the Republican party of Colorado is a gold party! We believe that prosperity can never come to the world again until we have bimetallism. But we are for bimetallism,—not for silver monometallism, any more than for gold monometallism.

We have been noticing the changes in the world for the last few years. Since the Indian mints were closed, the matter has changed materially. Austria has changed her ratio. Russia has changed hers to 24 to 1; Japan hers to 33½ to 1. Chile went on the gold standard, and we have had change after change. Within the last few months the Government of England has appointed a commission, which has just published its report. Witness after witness was in favor of the reopening of the Indian mints; but not one of them advocated that the mints should be reopened except on the ratio of 22 to 1. There are in India to-day one thousand million ounces of silver bullion being sold in the bazaars at the market value. Yet people here tell you that this is a question for the United States alone; that we do not need or want or desire the co-operation of other countries, but that we alone should open our mints at the ratio of 16 to 1, and invite the shipment to this country of this one thousand million ounces of silver, and of the silver of all countries whose ratio is different from ours. All the nations of the earth together can restore bimetallism at the old ratio; the great nations of the earth could restore silver to its parity with gold upon some fair ratio upon which they might agree;

but when people walk up and down this State and tell you it is a question to be settled by the United States alone, they either do not know what they are talking about or they conceal the facts from you.

Every country having commerce with other countries is interested in the parity of exchange. Every country having a common standard feels the increase or decrease of the coinage by any one of those countries. When we coined silver under the Sherman Act, there was not a country in Europe that did not feel the benefit of that coinage, and you thereby realize how great an international question it is. It will never be solved in this world until it is solved by an international agreement, except as the Republican party solves it.

I will not go over the history of my service abroad in connection with the commission sent from this country. The day of bimetallism is coming. The time is coming when the nations of the world will recognize the need of both silver and gold, and of a necessary parity between those metals. Our commerce with the silver-using countries requires it. Also there is the necessity of avoiding falling prices. It will surely come. This nation is changing its aspect toward the other nations of the world. We are rapidly becoming a creditor nation. Our exports exceeded our imports for the last year over six million dollars. If we have good crops for the next two years, the United States will be on the basis of the creditor nations of the world. England has already sold her securities held in this country to the extent of eighty per cent., and to-day millions of American money are being loaned in Europe, and that question which was to us burning while we were a debtor nation becomes, now that we are a creditor nation, a very different one, because it is a question in which the other nations of the world are more interested than we. If we continue our prosperity, and I believe we will under the Republican party, we will then have the other nations of the world seeking us to ascertain upon what basis we will restore silver to its old pedestal. The people of Colorado who understand this question, outside of national issues, are coming back, as I have said, to our party again. They are coming back, not to enemies, but to friends. They are coming back in the spirit of friendship, and we are going more than half way to meet them. We are going to fight together against Democracy and all its works.

"So the clouds of the morning are changed by the rising sun;
In the evening they float on and mingle into one."

This pretence of the Democrats that the Republican party is not for silver is absurd, and the desire on the part of several persons to take my place is the only question at issue. It is the only question that the conglomerate party has presented to the voters of Colorado for consideration. How does this affect the governorship of Colorado? I cannot talk much about the candidate for Governor[1];—he is too closely related in blood to me; but does any one contend that Mr. Charles S. Thomas is a greater friend of silver than he is? And take your own townsman, Mr. Noble, the candidate on the Republican ticket for the position of Lieutenant-Governor, is he as great an enemy to silver as Francis Carney of Ouray?

[Here Mr. Wolcott read a series of extracts from the public utterances of Mr. Thomas in a previous campaign, in which that gentleman in very severe language described the Populists and their platform and aims. Continuing, he said:]

That is the party whose votes Mr. Thomas is now soliciting and whose candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Francis Carney, is one of those very Populists. The Democratic platform is one of destruction and negation. It opposes all Republican measures, and just now the party is engaged in endeavoring to stir up the filth and find some ground of accusation against this Administration because of the conduct of the war. I want to call your attention to the injustice of this charge. Yellow journals have become hysterical over it.

[The remainder of this speech was a general review of political questions along the same lines as the speech delivered in Denver November 4th.]

SPEECH IN DENVER

At Denver, November 4, 1898:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens: I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the cordiality of your welcome. It seems like old times, my friends. For sixteen years, every two years, bar none, I have had the pleasure of looking into your faces and addressing you on the issues of the campaign.

This is the last great meeting before the election. We have

[1] His brother, Hon. H. R. Wolcott.

all been busy and our voices are partially gone, but our hopes are high and our courage is as dauntless as ever. We have got but one thing to grieve about in this campaign—that is, that it is not long enough, for if it could last ninety days longer we would sweep this State by 50,000 majority. We have done the best we could in the time we had. We have fought the good fight, we have kept the course, we have stood by the faith. The only news we get all over the State is good news. You won't read it in the morning papers, but they will have to print it the day after election. In all the Valley counties of this whole State there is a great movement back again to a reunited and a harmonious Republican party. Up in the mountains, where the sun climbs slowly, its beneficent light has already penetrated their depths, and you will see great disintegration and an overwhelming Republican vote from the remotest corners of the State of Colorado. In this county, strengthened by the support of its business men, upheld by lovers of good government, there has been a great and marvellous uprising, and to the rest of this entire State, after Tuesday next, we shall point the way to renewed prosperity for Colorado.

The campaign now closing has been one of unexampled bitterness on the part of our opponents. Every device that hate could invent or unfairness promote has been employed. It is not pleasing for me to refer to the personal issues which have been raised during the campaign. It would be far easier to dwell upon the important State and National problems which we are called upon to face; but these problems have been wholly ignored by the conglomerate orators in their campaign and have given place to personal vilification and misrepresentation. In all these attacks I seemed to be the storm centre. I have no apologies to make and no explanation to offer, for I never cast a vote in the Senate I would change if I had the chance. I am conscious of no act of mine, in my public life, of which I am either ashamed or regretful, but it may be wise to dispose of some of these attacks that they may be eliminated when we come to discuss the issues of the campaign.

The old channels for the dissemination of falsehood are open this year as usual. The garbage-carts of the yellow journals, with little exception, will deliver their loads. Press association monopoly renders this great party of ours powerless to be represented in this metropolis by a great morning journal, and we sit, day after day, under the assaults of misrepresentation, conscious of the justice of our cause and cherishing

a well-grounded reliance upon the reason and principle of the people.

There was a time, a decade or more ago, when the great journals of the large cities were leaders of thought and opinion. To-day, with notable exceptions, they are devoted to filth and to calumny, and they neglect the duty of elevating the public mind and public morality.

The orators of the campaign seem to imagine that when the conglomerates abuse our candidates they abuse their principles as well, and they are seeking to attract the voters of this State at this election solely by the pretence that I am no longer devoted to the interests of silver. Their orators include lawyers and alleged lawyers whose mental infirmity and political obscurity require violence of utterance in order that their statements may be listened to by anybody. Lawyers who have retainers, or have political ambition, or have personal ill-feeling have sought to convince the people of this State that I am hostile to silver and consequently to the interests of Colorado.

We have also had injected into this campaign for the first time a new form of vilification. For weeks the bill-boards of Denver and the leading towns in the State have been covered with huge posters bearing the following: "Vote for silver and Colorado; not gold and New York. Remember Teller was loyal; Wolcott was disloyal. Colorado is preparing for 1900." Those placards were new and their source is easy to trace. The Democrats are to be acquitted, for most of them are too decent to use such methods. Genuine Populists do not fight that way, and Patterson Populists prefer to keep their money for their own religious organ—the *News*. These bills were issued and posted by the few adherents of that homeless and anomalous faction which has been rejected and spit upon by the highest courts of the land, which is masquerading under a hyphenated name and attempting to deceive people by a spurious Republicanism. Its management comprises alleged lawyers, whose clientage comes to them because they are supposed to be able to corrupt and manipulate juries; boodle politicians who make their living by trying to debauch aldermen in the interests of local politicians; and a few political lawyers who sell themselves to anybody who will bid for their trained ability to corrupt elections, and whose adhesion to any party is a curse and a fate.

But I do not protest against this new move of lying defamation by public handbill. No man living can point to a word

or an utterance of mine that is hostile to silver. Such energies and abilities as I possess, poor though they may be, I have used, ever since I appeared in public, for the restoration of silver and the welfare of Colorado.

While certain political leaders, for their own selfish ends, have sought to create in Colorado a hatred of the citizens of other States; while they have falsely but successfully conveyed the impression in the East that we are poverty-stricken and wretched under existing conditions, and political Jeremiahs, prophets of evil, have travelled up and down the State, I have in the Senate of the United States and in the countries of Europe sought to obtain a recognition of bimetallism through an international agreement looking to the restoration of silver.

In all the steps I have taken for the welfare of the State they have sought to hamper and obstruct my efforts. But in the end, and the end will soon come—for lies and misrepresentations are short of life—the people of Colorado will come to know and recognize the truth. Meanwhile these slanderers are welcome to whatever of profit or satisfaction they may derive from the dissemination of their lying handbills, and I commend them to the father of all liars.

Except as these personal attacks might possibly affect the success of our State ticket, they are of no importance. All of them—newspapers and orators—I care no more for them than I do for the yelping of the coyotes around the corrals at Wolhurst, a pastime which seems to please the coyotes and no longer disturbs the family.

The burden of the song of these conglomerates this year is that our Republican party is disloyal to Colorado. Disloyal? How, when, and where? The characteristics of good citizenship are easily stated. Individually, a good citizen always obeys the law, tells the truth, and cherishes high ideals of life and conduct. He owes a duty to the nation as well as to the State, duties which never conflict in the breasts of honorable men. In the conduct of State affairs he believes in the necessity of obeying the law and in the right of individual opinion, and freedom of action, so long as that freedom does not interfere with his fellow-man. In the conduct of municipal affairs he seeks first good administration and home rule, unaffected by political considerations. He seeks the true welfare of Colorado. He knows that government is necessarily one of party, and if his party deserts its principles he leaves it. He prefers an honest adminis-

tration to one pledged to favoritism and class legislation. Above all, he respects the honor and good name of his State, and he resents any attempt to place his State in any other position than as a loyal member of the sisterhood of States. He demands that its representatives at the National capital shall stand not only for the welfare of the whole State, but for the welfare of the whole Union. Every good citizen owes his country loyal support, and he owes his life, if he shall be called upon to sacrifice it. As one of the inheritors of the liberties guaranteed us by the Constitution, his foremost duty is to maintain them inviolate and to transmit them to those who come after him. He recognizes the rule of the will of the majority. He owes an equal devotion to every section of our common country and loyalty to our Government and to our flag.

Measured by these definitions of good citizenship and loyalty, let us see whether or not it is the conglomerates or the Republicans who are disloyal to Colorado. Mr. Patterson, and I mention his name only because I have to in connection with the scurrilous journal he runs, combines his business with pleasure. I saw at La Junta the announcement that Mr. Patterson, the proprietor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, was to address a meeting. His proprietorship of that journal is patent, as in every report of a meeting addressed by him the account states that "Mr. Patterson made a brilliant and eloquent and convincing argument," or similar language is used. The other day, much to my surprise, he said in his paper that he had many friends in a certain county;—but I took very good notice that it was a county a long way from Denver.

His paper has been devoted to nothing but falsehoods all through the campaign. They are too numerous to deal with all of them. Did you notice a few days ago an alleged interview with Senator Lodge, followed by the statement that Mr. Lodge was less apt to misrepresent McKinley than myself? The interview appeared to me rather questionable, so I wrote to Senator Lodge and have heard from him that no such interview ever took place. The paper has for days printed in red ink an alleged statement of mine, but I never said anything of the kind. What I did say was that any man who did not think the question of the coinage of silver was an international question, did not know what he was talking about, and that is a horse of a very different color from the statement I was alleged to have made. There are so many changed conditions that our policy may have to be changed, and what I hope to assist in obtaining is, some

policy which shall restore the price of silver and restore silver to its old parity and forever settle the question.

Did you see the statement in the *News* containing what purported to be a copy of a letter I had written to Mr. Hanna, saying no woman would be appointed to an office? It is a lie made out of whole cloth. Good citizens of Colorado, do not seek to besmirch the State or to drag down its good name.

Have you seen in the papers for days that the Republican party in Colorado was receiving money from Mark Hanna and from people in the East? I am a member of the National Congressional Committee for Colorado, and I wrote and tried to get some money to help Mr. Hartzell and Mr. Wheeler, but I could not get a dollar. Mr. Hanna and the others simply smile in a quiet way. They think that we are able to take care of ourselves; and so we are.

There never has come a dollar of outside money, and we do not need it. The only outside money was supplied two years ago, when the treasurer of the Bryan fund sent to Senator Jones $133,000 of good Colorado money to help that campaign, and I know that the people who sent that money would be glad if they had it back.

There is not in the city of Denver a city official who has not been held up and compelled to contribute from $10 to $20 for the benefit of this conglomerate ticket. There is not a disreputable house in Denver that has not been forced to contribute money to the success of this conglomerate ticket, or a saloon in Denver that has not been blackmailed for from $50 to $150 apiece for the conduct of this campaign. But it won't do them any good.

Loyal citizens are interested in maintaining the law, and Mr. Patterson, the other day, in his speech at Victor, because he sought to overcome some loss of reputation which possibly Mr. Thomas had suffered in that camp, for the purpose of appealing to the lowest passions of men, mistook his audience. He told them if Henry Wolcott was elected Governor of Colorado, and there was a riot, the troops would be called out; but he gave them to understand that if Mr. Thomas were Governor, they could riot and plunder and destroy. Is that loyalty to Colorado?

I happen to be on the Finance Committee of the Senate, which has had to deal with the Revenue bill. This measure levies taxes on every one, which should not be burdensome, to provide the sinews of war. One clause was a tax of one cent on each express package, and it seems some of these newspapers send copies out

by express as cheaper in some cases than mailing. I had a telegram from the *Rocky Mountain News* protesting against the imposition of one cent per package unless newspapers were excepted. I found on calculation that by leaving out newspapers the *News* would be relieved to the extent of $2 a day, and this small contribution this patriotic paper was unwilling to make toward the war with Spain. Yet Mr. Patterson says I am nothing better than a Cuban spy, and he is showing what mistakes Mr. McKinley has been making in his conduct of the war.

[Mr. Wolcott then gave a brief history of the bimetallic movement in Colorado during the years down to the St. Louis convention, thirteen of the sixteen Colorado delegates and alternates at which, he said, were back again fighting in the ranks of the Republican party where they belonged. He continued:]

Next came the election and triumph of Mr. McKinley and then ensued the most remarkable occurrence that has ever been witnessed in any State of the Union. All of us here seemed to forget for a moment our kinships, our relationships, and our friendships in the East. We joined in denouncing bitterly everybody who differed with us on the money question. However much they might agree with us on other questions, we called for agreement on the silver question.

We thereby drove away hundreds of thousands of persons of both political parties always inclined to bimetallism, men who had been our friends, and gained for ourselves an unenviable reputation in the East, where formerly we had many friends. We gained a reputation for being a lot of irreconcilable cranks. We forgot for the time that upon the azure of our flag are emblazoned forty-five stars, a star for every State and a State for every star. We embittered every man who differed from us, and the feeling grew in intensity until about a year ago, when a reaction began to set in and men began to inquire whether there were not other issues in which Colorado had an interest which Eastern friendship and Eastern capital might assist to develop; whether, after all, the interests of our State were not intimately connected with those of every other State.

We began to realize that the prosperity of one State was the prosperity of the others. The reaction began to gain in volume and it had its culmination the other day in the disgraceful spectacle at Colorado Springs, where the representatives of two parties and the huckstering remnant of a third squabbled like fishwomen over a division of the offices. We saw then the last Silver Republican convention that will ever be held in Colo-

rado, for the party is melting away like the mists in the morning. The good ones are all coming back to us and we are going half-way to meet them in the spirit of conciliation and friendship. The good ones are coming our way and the bad ones, thank God, are leaving us forever, going first to the Democracy and then——.

Perhaps I should say that this movement culminated in the remarkable meeting which was held in this hall a couple of nights ago, of which I read a most diverting account in the newspapers and which from all that the papers said must have been "hot stuff." All those little peanut politicians had a whack at me, one after the other. Mr. H. H. Eddy said: "I charge E. O. Wolcott with being the Benedict Arnold of Colorado." It reminded me of some resolutions I got after I had made some references in the Senate to the Coxey army. The resolutions were adopted by some organization at Creede, the Independent Order of Weary Willies, or something of that kind. One resolution read as follows: "And be it further *Resolved*, That, compared with Hon. E. O. Wolcott, Benedict Arnold is a patriot and Judas Iscariot a saint." After H. H. Eddy was through pouring his hot stuff, then came A. M. Stevenson, usually known as "Stevie," and he said: "I charge E. O. Wolcott with having voted for Grover Cleveland and the ballot is still in existence. I charge him with voting for Davis H. Waite, and he has got to have the word 'renegade' on his tombstone whether he wants it or not." Then came Mr. James H. Blood, famous as the chairman of the notorious Blood convention, and he had his say. Next came Judge Decker, the calliope of the show, who furnished the steam organ. He charged himself with having supported me. I would have given a lot of money if I could have heard those speeches. If the meeting could have been held under a tent, Ringling Brothers would not have been in it.

That was the culmination of the Silver Republican movement in Colorado.

But their orators are saying we have got to vote solid for silver or the division will discourage the other States and especially those in the East. There are only five Silver Republican States altogether, and there never were but five.

[Mr. Wolcott here gave a detailed account of the present state of affairs in Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, and Montana, going to show that there had not been fusion in those States. He then reviewed the existing situation in Delaware, Maryland, Penn-

sylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York, where the Democratic parties had ignored the silver question and the Chicago platform. He continued:]

That is an honest, straight, true story of just what happened in all those States. I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I risk nothing in predicting that, when the Democratic convention of 1900 meets, it will either have nothing on earth to say about silver at 16 to 1 by the United States alone, or, if it does say anything, it will be a convention of the Democrats of the far Western States, with the bone and sinew and body of the Democracy of this country left out of it.

I understand Mr. Thomas talks to his audience about Andrew Jackson and what happened to the National Bank a few years before our Lord. What I have been telling you about the Democratic party in the Eastern States happened within the last thirty days.

How does the Republican party stand on this question? There are not twenty gold-standard men in the State, and if you went through the State with a fine-tooth comb you could not find them. Silver must be restored to its old pedestal on a fair parity with gold. We believe that where a man believes in the achievements and traditions of the Republican party, proud of its past and sharing its aspirations for its future, his place to fight for bimetallism is in his party and not out of it. The Republican party never ostracized one of its members or read him out because of his views, and if any man poses as a martyr in this regard he kicked himself out.

However important he may be locally, no man who organizes himself into a little political party cuts much ice in Washington; nor can he. There are fifteen of us in the Senate in the Republican party fighting for bimetallism. We find ourselves, not in the house of our enemies, but in the house of our friends. It is true that a lot of our Eastern brothers do not agree with us on the subject, any more than the Eastern Democrats agree with Colorado Democrats. The Bland Bill was passed by a Republican Congress, as well as the Sherman Act, which was repealed by a Democratic Congress. This last seigniorage clause in the Tariff Bill, which disposes forever of the $44,000,000 of silver in the Treasury, was a Republican measure passed against Democratic opposition, only two Democrats having the courage to vote for it.

But our opponents say it is not an international question, but a national question. If you get bimetallism back, with the

co-operation of the other great countries of the world, you will take it out of the region of experiment and put it into the position of certainty. No country is great without a foreign commerce. If any country is great and its commerce is to flourish and its flag to float the seas, it must have some common exchange with other countries. There is no question so international as that of money.

With the operation of the Sherman Law the $4,000,000 additional silver monthly had a beneficial effect in France, Germany, and England. If to-morrow the Bank of France should call in $250,000,000 of its circulating medium, the result would be felt in this country to the extent that our money bears relationship to the money of the world.

The creditor nation has its choice of the money because it is a creditor, and the fact that the United States has become such a nation means that the countries of Europe, seeing the political and economical conditions changing, will come to us to see what we will do on this great question of bimetallism. I just as much believe as I believe I am addressing this audience to-night, that the day of bimetallism will come and will come ere long. I believe it will come only and can come only through international action, and I believe it is destined to come solely and only through the efforts of the Republican party, the only party that has ever given this country a stable financial policy.

This claim of the conglomerate party that the Republicans of Colorado are a gold party, and the general desire of some of the conglomerates to get my seat in the Senate are the only principles on which they are running this campaign.

Mr. Thomas is campaigning upon a series of speeches which principally consist of Andrew Jackson and myself. It would be a great deal more to the point if he quoted anything I ever said against silver instead of so much that I have said for it.

I have no grievance against Mr. Thomas; he is a good fellow; he is infinitely better fitted for the United States Senate than any of the other conglomerates, and there is no knowing but that he may get there if he joins the Republican party. No matter who the man may be, the Republican party of Colorado will send a Republican to the Senate in 1902, and they will try to send somebody who will stick to his party and not turn renegade.

I have fairly stated the policy of the Democratic party with one exception. The Democratic party is seeking to get your votes by an attempt to besmirch and attack the conduct of the

Administration in the recent war with Spain, the most glorious war ever fought.

Fellow-citizens, I want to call your attention for a moment or two to the injustice of this charge. The yellow journals have taken it up, too, and have become hysterical over it. When the war was first impending you will remember that the President of the United States opposed it and wanted to postpone it, because he wanted first to save the lives of the reconcentrados down there in Cuba, and then he wanted to wait, if the war must come, until the late fall, when our troops could be landed in Cuba with impunity. General Miles strongly urged that no soldiers be sent to Cuba until November, when the rains would be over and there would be no danger of epidemic. But our people were impatient and anxious, urging an onward movement. In Washington I saw occasionally the Denver papers, and I remember seeing it stated that ten days had elapsed and no army had yet embarked for Cuba; again, that sixteen days had elapsed and that we had not yet bombarded Morro Castle. Cartoons depicted the President asleep with the cobwebs all around him while the Spanish had possession of Cuba, and he was denounced for not taking it.

We moved an army of 200,000 men from the east and west of this country, of whom 175,000 were new troops. We had to take men from civil positions who could not know the routine of army life, and the same experiences were had which were had during the Crimean War by England, except that in this country there has never been a charge of corruption or jobbery. Men unaccustomed to the movement of troops, and men unaccustomed to the duties of quartermasters and commissaries, doing the best they could, became somewhat entangled and confused in the movement of their supplies and there was more or less inconvenience. I talked the other day with the regimental quartermaster of the Seventh Infantry, the regular Seventh, formerly stationed here, which performed such gallant conduct before Santiago, and he told me that all around there in the volunteer regiments there was a great profusion of supplies, but an entire inability to economize them. He said also that in the march toward Santiago many of the volunteers, impeded by their supplies and rations, would throw them away, trusting to find food at the front, and then would be hungry because they did not have anything to eat for a day or two. Still, he said there was never an army in the world so lavishly and plentifully supplied with all the necessaries of life. Ask

any old soldier here to-night of the hardships of the Civil War and he will tell you that the stories that these yellow journals have manufactured fall far short of the suffering and deprivation that were undergone by our own soldiers during the war. And in the recent war the American soldiers fought in the tropics and in an unhealthy season in the first war that this country has ever undertaken where we had to move troops across water from our own soil.

To my mind, fellow-citizens, the achievements of our army in its wonderful march and its wonderful results, with so little suffering and death, constitute the greatest triumph in history and not a great misconduct. Fellow-citizens, these people who seek to criticise our President seem to forget that he is the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy of the United States as well as of its Army, and there is no pretence anywhere that he ever was unequal to the needs of the Navy. The efficiency of the Navy was due to the fact that it was so largely officered that trained men could be taken from the regular staff and put upon transports. Therefore the Navy did not suffer, and I would like to see some praise accorded to the President for the splendid conduct of the Navy.

The Republicans of Colorado, fellow-citizens, on the other hand, have positive issues which they desire to present to the people of this State at the coming election. The Republican party is a party of construction and not a party of obstruction. The Republican party is a party that builds up and not a party that tears down. The Fusion party in Colorado is a party for Colorado and against the Union. The Republican party of Colorado is a party for Colorado and the Union.

New problems are opening. We are fitted to share by reason of our intelligence and our character in their settlement, and the Republicans of Colorado propose to do their part like men in the determination of the great national questions that are forging to the front. We stand first on the great question of the protection of American labor and American industries. Without that policy we never would take our place to-day among the nations of the earth, and the Republican party proposes to continue it while it remains in power. During the past two years it has continued its policy in that respect.

After the McKinley Bill came the Wilson Bill, which robbed our revenue and brought on a deficit of hundreds of millions of dollars. Two years ago the Republican party enacted the Dingley Bill which has greatly stimulated the revenues of this country,

until when war was declared we had, for the first time since the last Republican President had been in power, made our income equal to our expenditures. That bill, fellow-citizens, was one which appealed to every citizen of Colorado in its protection to hides, in its protection of the wool industry, and in its protection of every industry and manufacture which can bring prosperity to Colorado. I regret to say, fellow-citizens, that when that measure came up for its final passage, in this great State, more vitally interested in the great principles of Protection than any other State of the Union, unless it be Pennsylvania, I was the only person among our delegation who voted or was paired in favor of that measure.

Then, fellow-citizens, came the Cuban question, when the Democracy sought to embarrass the Administration by forcing it to recognize the Cubans, and attempted to precipitate war before we were ready. You remember how our President stood opposing it until war was unavoidable and the people demanded war in consequence of the destruction of the great warship, and then invoked the God of Battle. The Democracy, finding that war was inevitable, joined the hue and cry and demanded immediate hostilities.

The next question that came up was how to pay our troops. We had voted to enlarge our army enormously and to increase our supply of transports. We had granted every possible facility for the war, and we had to pay for all of them. The Republican party, through the Finance Committee of the Senate, of which I happen to be a member, reported the War-Revenue measure and put into it a provision that the Government should borrow money at three per cent., offering the loan first to private subscription at par, provided that the smaller subscriptions should be received first to the exclusion of the others. These bonds should be not gold bonds or silver bonds, but bonds payable in lawful money, like all other bonds of the United States, and we would not have authorized their issue unless they were actually needed.

And, fellow-citizens, to the utter amazement of almost every man in public life in Washington, the Democracy, after a caucus, decided to oppose the raising of money to pay the expenses of the war which they were egging on. They brought in substitution for it a measure for the issue of $150,000,000 of irredeemable greenbacks. That, fellow-citizens, brings me back again for only a minute to this great silver question that has been discussed so much all over the State of Colorado. If there is

one basis on earth for the bimetallist, it is that he is a believer in hard money, gold and silver; it is that he is not a believer in paper money, but that he is a believer in metallic money. If you once issue paper money, fellow-citizens, how can you ever get the metal back of it to redeem it? You can only borrow it, and the great basis for our demand for the opening of the mints to silver has been that we needed more money. Here was this Democracy, pretending to be for silver, clamoring for $150,000,000 of irredeemable greenbacks, which, if they had been voted, and if the President had signed the bill, would have settled the silver question for twenty-five years to come.

That is the opposition we had to meet. Then they introduced an amendment for the coinage of the seigniorage, and we altered it, slightly changing the term, but still recognizing the principle, and, finally, fellow-citizens, because we fought within our party, our Republican brothers recognized that there was justice in our demand and they gave us in the conference the coinage of the seigniorage for which the Democrats had been clamoring and to secure which the Democrats had offered the amendment. And lo and behold, when we had got the seigniorage clause ingrafted on the Revenue bill every Democrat but two voted against the passage of the bill!

And then, fellow-citizens, came the conduct of this war of ours. It lasted one hundred and fourteen days, from April 21st to August 13th, when the peace protocol was signed; one hundred and fourteen days, fellow-citizens, of the most glorious war that was ever fought since civilization existed, and for the highest, noblest principles, because it was fought for the lives and liberties of others, when our own liberties were unassailed; and out of it we came with unextinguishable honor, and without a defeat. We find ourselves to-day with our flag moved an empire westward; a great nation under our fostering care, and waiting to be made free men and women, under the flag which floats forever over free men, and free men only. Hardly were the Philippines taken by Dewey before Mr. Bryan and Senator Jones, the Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, who knows much more of what his party wants than these assistant Democrats who assume to speak for it, tell us that under no circumstances will the Democratic party ever consent to the Philippines being annexed, but that they must be given up. We join issues with them!

With these new vistas opening before us, and these new duties opening upon us, the Republican party alone is fitted

to deal. The Republican party gave us the Homestead Law against Democratic opposition, and opened up the great Northwest. The Republican party struck the shackles from the slave and made this country forever free. The Republican party has been at the head of every great movement for progress and for civilization which has ever prevailed in the United States. And we believe that the mission should be entrusted to the Republican party of dealing with this great empire which we have acquired.

Now, fellow-citizens, and Mr. Chairman, but one word more. The one hope of the future of this great country must ever rest in the courage and patriotism of its young blood. This glorious war, now happily ended, has demonstrated that youth has taken its full share in the fighting of its battles. We have seen about us for years the scarred veterans of the civil conflict. Age has crept imperceptibly upon them until their hair is gray. Time has left its impress upon them, and we are apt to forget that they too, when their country called them, were in the glory of their youth. And not alone in war, but in times of peace, the duty of helping to guide the destinies of this great nation must largely rest with the young men, until, in turn, the mantle of responsibility falls upon them. New horizons are opening to us; new duties are devolving upon us, and to-day no man may venture to predict the great future in store for this country.

It is a glorious time to be alive and it is a noble duty that devolves upon every citizen of this free country. It may be, my friends, that this is the first year of your vote. Let me beg of you to come out into the sunlight of hope and cast your fortunes with the party which seeks to strengthen the hands of the Administration, to support the Government, and to maintain the honor of the flag wherever it floats. Do not soil yourselves by joining a party which stands for no principle; which teaches hate and bitterness: whose only hope for success lies in creating a disloyal sectionalism and the arraying of class against class, and which is even now trying to climb into power by slandering the Command-in-Chief of our Army and our Navy, who has guided us so wisely through international breakers and who has led us to an honorable peace.

When you, in your turn, shall look back upon the days of your youth there could be no more bitter memory in store for you than that you were then helping to erect a wall of hate to divide this commonwealth from the brotherhood of States and that you were seeking only to snarl and to criticise. When the

heroes of San Juan Hill and the survivors of the Colorado regiment who led the charge at the battle of Manila, also grown old, shall recount their stirring memories by flood and field, how would you feel if you recalled the fact that you were then engaged in throwing mud at somebody, in criticising an Administration which at that time you must at heart have honored, in voting with a party which places the question of silver paramount to that of the protection of American labor, paramount to that of the maintenance of our cherished institutions, paramount to the cordial and friendly relations with our brothers to the east of us, paramount to the great issues which we are now facing, and above the honor of the flag? Don't do it, boys. Your country needs you. The world is to be made better; the shackles have to be struck from the downtrodden and the oppressed the world over. New areas are to be opened to our commerce, new duties are devolving upon us, and you, who are in the first flush of your manhood, you are needed never more than now to stand with us in the front ranks, in the open day, to fight while life is in you, that this nation shall bear the flaming sword of righteousness wherever we owe a duty to civilization and Christianity.

Come with us; face the truth and the truth shall make you free. Hundreds of gallant souls have recently died for our country and for the sacred cause of humanity; heroes all, whether they fell by Spanish bullets or wasted by cruel disease. It is for you to make secure what they have won; to pay your country the debt you owe her; the debt of chivalrous devotion, of high patriotism, and of unquestioning loyalty to your Government and your flag.

SPEECH IN 1899

Before Arapahoe Republican County Convention, Denver, September 19, 1899:

I have n't any speech to make to you, but it is a very great pleasure when our conventions meet, for me to be with you so that we can look each other in the face and pledge ourselves anew to the principles of the party we all love. They may beat us some years at the election, but there is not a party on earth that can send a better and cleaner and more intelligent lot of people to a county or State convention than the Republicans of this State.

These are days of sunshine and prosperity all over the land.

There is not a man out of work who earns labor with his hands who cannot get it. The hum of machinery is heard all over the Union; the transportation companies are overcrowded with the business that is offered them. All over our land there is great prosperity everywhere. Mortgages are being paid by the borrower; the farmer is prosperous; labor is prosperous; the merchant is prosperous, and if we in Colorado have not as yet found a full fruition and benefit from such a condition, it is not the fault of Colorado. There is not a richer piece of land out of doors than that embraced within our borders. Everything which goes to make prosperity and supply the necessities and the luxuries of life is here, and if the sun of prosperity is slow to rise over our commonwealth, you may lay the blame at the doors of those people who preach the doctrine and the gospel of sectional hate.

We ought to be to-day sharing in the showers of prosperity, and it cannot be kept away from us finally. But I want to say to you, my friends, that the time is coming in this State when the decent men and women in it will have only hate, contumely, and scorn for those leaders within our State who preach a doctrine of hate to those who live in our sister States and whose esteem and co-operation we need.

Every convention we hold brings more familiar faces back to meet with us. They are coming in friendship. They are coming because we share in common the welfare and the love for our commonwealth. It is a return to friendly association and friendly intimacy as of yore.

There is one fact, my fellow-citizens, as to the party in this county, however, that I think we ought to remember—that is, that when this party comes back into power, we want to come back clean.

No moneyed institution and no corporation owns the Republican party to-day. My fellow-citizens, this Republican party was hurt, torn down, and betrayed in Arapahoe County long before the India mints were closed and the wave of Bryanism swept over this State. It was destroyed when corporations laid their hands upon it and sought to make it the tool and the appendage for debauching municipalities. Last year we gave the people of the State of Colorado as splendid a ticket as ever was nominated; and I say that, although my brother headed it. The corporations of the city of Denver, while some of its leaders are unctuously proclaiming, for Eastern consumption, their devotion to the Republican party, spent thousands and thousands

of dollars to defeat it, and helped to elect the rump-fusion ticket which at present disgraces the State.

This year when we put up a city ticket that was clean, with splendid men on it from top to bottom, those same corporate influences spent thousands and thousands of dollars to defeat it, and their action is responsible to-day for the iniquitous and outrageous condition of affairs that exists in the city of Denver, where vice stalks abroad and highwaymen and thugs dominate the community. Whenever a city is full of vice it is usually committed under the cover of darkness; but it now basks in broad daylight, with the approval of the city and State authorities, because the vicious classes are the principal contributors to the campaign fund. I say, my friends, that it is better for us that this money be expended against us this year and next year and every year, rather than that we should become the tool to help debauch officials in municipal positions.

I say to you, fellow-citizens, that the man who bribes an alderman is as much a felon as the alderman who takes a bribe; and when corporations in this county, through their instrumentalities and representatives, boast that they are able to control in advance the decisions of our courts of record, it is time for decent people to dissociate themselves from such instrumentalities and such methods.

Fellow-citizens, in that connection I would like to say to you that last spring, when a gleam of sense seemed to have radiated through the Legislature and through the local press, and it looked as if we might have a creditable coliseum in the city of Denver to receive conventions from without the State, at the suggestion of friends I wrote to every member of the National Republican Committee, stating we were about to erect a capable and creditable coliseum for the purpose of holding conventions; that with the certainty of its erection, public-spirited citizens would make proper guarantees as to hotel accommodations and as to the sums necessary to take charge of such a convention; and I have received, and I have in my office here, answers from almost every member of the National Committee, from every State and Territory in the Union.

Nine tenths say they are not committed. A great majority of them express the pleasure it would give them to meet in Denver, and it is humiliating to me that I must write these people that the same quarrelling, kicking, snarling, and fighting which seems to animate everybody in Colorado who does not belong to the Republican party, has made it impossible

for me to make good my offer. Some day we will have it though.[1]

Fellow-citizens, although I have but little to say, I cannot leave this stage without speaking a word on the subject of silver. We are all bimetallists from principle, and I regret extremely that the outlook is not more hopeful than it is. I had occasion to talk recently with the leading bimetallists of France and Great Britain. They feel discouraged over the situation, but by no means abandon the hope that the world will some day come to a realizing sense of the great advantages of some international agreement. They believe, as I believe, and as life students of the question believe, that the attempt to fix the gold standard of currency upon India will fail. But the experiment must be tried.

Fellow-citizens, one fact has been demonstrated in the last few months, more than any other in connection with the question, and that is, that it is a world-wide question, depending for its settlement upon the fact of international agreement. You remember that a year ago these fusion orators were barnstorming over the State, denouncing some of us as traitors and scoundrels who ought to be run out of the State because we advocated bimetallism as an international subject, and because we talked of a change of ratio. To-day these same sapient people are saying nothing about 16 to 1 by the United States alone. From Bryan down, or from Bryan up, they are all against it. I tell you, fellow-citizens, no matter what any of them may say out here for Colorado consumption, when the national Democratic ticket and platform come to be presented to the people of the United States next year, you will find they will sing low in the talk about international bimetallism; that it will be pushed to the rear for the new questions they will seek to gull voters with. Already, to-day, you hear them saying all over, bimetallism is important, but there are other great questions to be considered; and I suggest to those of you who want the doctrine as it comes from the best of them, to read, if you have not, the late interview of Senator Morgan of Alabama, one of the ablest bimetallists who ever lived, and a leading Democrat. He says, while he still cherishes his views on bimetallism, he thinks the question ought to be pushed to the rear for the present, in order that other and more important topics may be con-

[1] An Auditorium seating ten thousand was erected in 1908, and the Democratic National Convention of that year was held in it.

sidered, and when next fall comes, fellow-citizens, the pot won't be calling the kettle black.

Fellow-citizens, when we met in this hall a year ago, the war with Spain had already finished and ended in our triumphant victories. The President of the United States had appointed a Commission to proceed to Paris to meet Commissioners from Spain, and they were then in session and had not agreed. You will bear me out when I say that ninety-five per cent.—yes, ninety-nine per cent.—of the people of these United States at that time, when that Commission was in session, would have repudiated with scorn any suggestion that that Commission should come to an agreement which should abandon the Philippine Islands to other hands. We must do what we know now; but out of the late trouble and great loss of life and vexation that have come and are still to come before a final solution of the question is reached, I take it to-day there is no thinking American citizen who does not believe that the United States of America should be large enough and broad enough and Christian enough to give to the people of the islands a decent government and relief from oppression by Spain and danger from insurrection. My fellow-citizens, true to its instincts, since the insurrection took form, and there was something apparent that it could get hold of, the Democratic party at once began to count those insurrectionary leaders as Democrats and enrolled them in the Democratic columns. They have to-day Aguinaldo a member of their Executive Committee, and are comparing him with George Washington. Out of it all nothing will come but humiliation to the party that seeks to degrade our Government, dishonor our President, and attack our flag.

The President, whom we love and who stands for all that is righteous and noble and good in our form of government and the future of our civilization, is untarnished and unsullied by such unworthy attacks. Because of his conduct of this war he is loved and respected by the American people, because, through the policy which in all his official life he has advocated, he has seen this country, under his guidance, rise again to the highest pinnacle of prosperity,—when men who are willing to work are relieved from the burdens of idleness and poverty, and when the flag floats over a contented and a happy people. We love him because he stands for what is best for the people and is the flag-bearer of his party.

CAMPAIGN OF NINETEEN HUNDRED

SPRING CONVENTION

BEFORE Colorado Republican Convention to select national delegates, Denver, May 11, 1900:

MR. CHAIRMAN, DELEGATES OF THE CONVENTION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I ought, perhaps, not to be here, for my public duties in your behalf should require my presence in Washington; but I cannot and could not resist the temptation of coming here, if only for a day, to look into the faces of friends from all over the State, who were sure to come to this convention, to participate with you in a convention under such changed and auspicious circumstances, and to join with you in congratulations that Colorado has again, and for all time, determined to place herself in the line of Republicanism. And I am here, too, fellow-citizens, because I wanted, as one friend and one Republican to another, to say to you what I have said in all the letters I have written in the last few months: That in my opinion there is but one test of Republicanism in Colorado, and that is a desire now, and henceforth, for the triumph of Republican principles. It is a question of to-day, and all of the to-morrows and all the yesterdays are relegated to the rear and buried in oblivion.

A wave swept over this State four years ago that took from their moorings many of the best and truest men who have ever lived in our State. We all sought what we believed to be for the best welfare of the commonwealth. Time and experience have brought us together again, never to be separated. Our boys in the Philippines and prosperity at home have done what Bryanism can never again undo—they forged the links of an indivisible Republican party in Colorado.

There are no bosses here. There shall be no peg to hang a grievance on, in the Republican party henceforth, if I can help it; and, Mr. Chairman, I believe we have a hundred thousand Republicans this fall in Colorado, each five of whom, equally with every other five, constitutes a High Five.[1] The Republican County Committee of Arapahoe County intend to suspend and forever repeal the clause unanimously adopted, requiring a two years' voting with the party to constitute eligibility for voting at the primary elections.

We date, my friends, our Republicanism in Colorado as a future Republicanism, and we lay the foundations of the new Republican party, on this May morning of Colorado's sunshine in the year of grace 1900.

Fellow-citizens, I desire to voice what I know will be the unanimous feeling of this convention, when I express, on your behalf, our deep and genuine sympathy with that distinguished ex-Senator from Colorado, Nathaniel P. Hill, who is now suffering a serious illness. He represented our State as a member of the Republican party for six years. He rendered it distinguished and able and patriotic service. When he retired into private life, he differed with many of us and he differed with our party on many questions. It might be that he would yet, if he recovered; but he rendered us brave service, and whenever he differed with us, or found ground for criticism, he founded it upon what he believed to be a sense of public duty; and I know you join me in hoping that he may have a speedy and sure recovery.

Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, there has never been a time in the history of the Republican party when it met in convention, all over the country, with the same hope and enthusiasm as it does to-day, at the close of the first half of Mr. McKinley's Administration. We come before you openly and confidently, the country prosperous and every pledge kept, and I know, Mr. Chairman, that there is but one impulse that rises to our hearts to-day, at the very opening of this convention, and that is, that the Republicans of Colorado, represented here by their delegates, shall send to our beloved President a message of affectionate greeting and loyal support. Brave and true and able—the truest American alive,—he has been great in peace and great in war; he has given this country a genuine and true

[1] Five of Mr. Wolcott's principal supporters in Colorado were charged by the opposition press with directing affairs in the State, and were referred to derisively as the High Five.

and honorable administration, and we are proud to do to him honor. Every farm in Colorado is worth more money because his policy has been maintained for the last four years, and every laboring man gets more money at the close of the week, and we in Colorado share in the glorious reign of prosperity which he has brought us.

Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to talk on national topics, but there are a few things I am anxious to say to this convention. There has never been a time, during any Administration since our country became a Republic, in which there have been crammed so many events of vital and world-wide importance as this, and in the glories of war and of conquest we are apt to forget the years back, at the commencement of Mr. McKinley's Administration.

Do you recall the fact that during Harrison's Administration $260,000,000 and more of the national debt had been paid, and that when Mr. McKinley became President he found a depleted and empty treasury and war impending; that he found the Administration which had preceded him had been compelled to sell two hundred and thirty-odd millions of our national securities to make secure the revenues for running the Government; that he called Congress in session and wrote that important and imposing message in which he called upon Congress to pass a proper protective tariff bill that should protect American labor and American industries; and the result of it was that the war, which has cost us three hundred and sixty-odd millions of dollars up to this time, has required the issue of only two hundred million dollars of bonds? For the first time in five years there is a surplus income over the expenditures, and because of the action of Congress, under his request and direction, this country was able to maintain, without diminution of its prosperity and without feeling the financial strain, one of the great wars of modern times.

We must not forget that. We must not forget that during Mr. Cleveland's Administration there was an attempt to settle the entire Pacific Railroad indebtedness by throwing off the whole amount of interest due, and under Mr. McKinley's Administration every dollar of the Union Pacific indebtedness was collected, adding thirty or forty millions of dollars to the national coffers. The Kansas Pacific debt, except a small portion of the interest, was likewise collected, and we took into our treasury, as payment for the building of those railroads, every dollar that we loaned and every dollar of interest that we advanced. We must not

forget, too, that during this Administration we have passed a Bankruptcy law that enables an insolvent debtor who sees no ray of prosperity in front of him, burdened with debt, to find a way to get a new start, and that is a Republican measure; and the islands of Hawaii, twice before seized by England, once by France, and once by Russia, all of whom were compelled to let go their hold, because we said that their occupancy of those islands so near our western coast would be a menace to our peace—they came under our control not alone by Republican votes, but against the almost united Democratic opposition.

Another measure that Congress has passed, to which I must call your attention before I pass to the great events that accompanied our war, was the Currency Bill, about which there has been so much discussion. Mr. Chairman, under that measure we provided that the bonds of the country now outstanding at 4 and 4½ per cent. and 5 per cent., might be exchanged for longer bonds of these United States drawing but 2 per cent. interest. There is not a country in the world that has such credit, and it came because a Republican President was in the White House. There are to-day nearly three hundred millions of those bonds exchanged—over two hundred millions already exchanged—and within the next few years you will find that the obligations outstanding by this Government draw but 2 per cent. interest. England pays, at the present price of consols, nearly 3 per cent. Germany pays 3 per cent., and her bonds are selling at less than par. No other country in the world has a credit like ours, or has ever been able to establish such a financial exchange as has been provided by this last Congress.

And, Mr. Chairman, Congress has also undertaken, although our volume of currency is far greater than ever before in the history of our country—far greater than that of any country in the world, except France—to further enlarge the volume of our currency, to enlarge the privileges of these bonds as a basis for the issue of paper money. It has already brought into circulation over thirty millions of much needed additional currency, as good currency, for practical purposes, as exists in the world; and it is estimated by those who know, that within the next twelve months more than one hundred millions of additional currency will be added to the country, growing out of the passage of the Currency Bill.

It is popular, Mr. Chairman, among the Democracy and the Bryanites, to denounce national banks as enemies of mankind. For my part, Mr. Chairman, I am not in favor of a man because

he owns a dollar or a bank, and I am not against a man, wanting to drive him out of the community, because he has a dollar or a bank. I don't know whether you feel as deeply as I do upon this question, because I am probably the only man in this great audience who ever finds it necessary to borrow a dollar. But I am free to say, Mr. Chairman, that I am very glad that throughout our country these national banks, which were a necessity when we resumed specie payments, still exist, to absorb our national debt and to give us the basis of an enduring and safe and reliable currency.

Then, Mr. Chairman, we passed a measure redeeming these obligations in gold, and it is concerning that against which the great hue and cry in Colorado has been raised.

The evidence of the last few years has demonstrated, to every intelligent man not branded by passion or hate or ignorance, that the question of bimetallism, to which we are all equally devoted, is an international and not a national question. The other nations of the world have all rejected silver and gone to gold. I believe that they will find their policy will not be sustained. The famine in India is the first indication of it. I believe the time will come when all Europe will request that we meet them in international conference to ascertain if silver cannot be again restored on some fair parity, and to my mind, Mr. Chairman, every intelligent bimetallist who wants silver reestablished on a parity with gold will find his relief in the Republican party and not at the hands of Mr. Bryan.

Fellow-citizens, when any man, whatever may be his position, sees fit through the columns of a vile, yellow journal, today, when our Republican convention meets, to state that no man can be a bimetallist and be a Republican, he either states that which he knows to be unqualifiedly false, or else he does not know what he is talking about; and if such a person, whoever he may be, will sweep in front of his own doorstep—if he knows where his house is—we will sweep in front of ours. But at this time the distribution of brains in this country has been upon a pretty fair basis and we all have some of them. God Almighty has not, up to this time, endowed any one man with better qualities than anybody else, nor made any one more able to stand and criticise his neighbor than another, and I do not believe the man has yet seen daylight who knows more than the great political party which at present dominates this country.

I am a bimetallist, and every man and woman in this audience is a bimetallist; we are bimetallists and Republicans.

My friends, I say to you, the enemy, the bitter enemy of bimetallism, which means the equal use at a parity of both gold and silver, is the man, or the set of men, who, when they know it cannot be brought about, when they know their efforts have been futile and useless, seek to drag down this great question through the degrading and dishonoring planks of the Chicago platform, and seek to impose upon this country free silver at 16 to 1, and to drive the gold out of it. If we ever get bimetallism, it will come when the countries of Europe believe that the decent men who have something at stake in the country besides long hair want it.

This brings me, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, to the great question which has occupied the time and the ability and the patriotism of this Administration.

When the casualty in the harbor of Havana made war inevitable, no man ever stood with such courage and fortitude against the declaration of hostilities as did our President. No man ever made such great efforts to find a peaceful way out of difficulties. When the war came, no man ever rose to the occasion as did President McKinley.

And, Mr. Chairman, when the war closed and we sent our Commissioners of Peace to Paris, men composed of members of both political parties, I want to recall to your attention the fact that there was not an individual in all these six, of any political party, who did not insist that it was our duty to keep the Philippines; and if that Commission had reported in favor of giving up the Philippine Islands or of maintaining only a coaling station there, you would find the leading plank of the Bryanite party to-day a denunciation of the Republican party because it did n't keep those islands. When we went into the war and declared Cuba was, and by right ought to be, free and independent, we recall the fact that an almost united Democracy voted against it. It was Republican votes that made that declaration. We expressly declared we had no desire to occupy the island, but they voted against it because we did not declare the Cubans at that time free and independent; and to-day there is not a Democrat in either House of Congress who would vote for a bill to withdraw our troops and let Cuba try it on an independent basis.

With a great rich island, we say it is our duty, as befits a great nation, that we should see that just laws are established, that its revenues are raised—that some fiscal arrangement be made that will make the island self-supporting. We will en-

courage its people to self-government and to acquire ability to maintain a free government, and then we shall make good our promise and withdraw from the island. That is our attitude toward Cuba.

We took Porto Rico on still another basis. We took Porto Rico because its occupancy by a foreign power would always be a menace to our Atlantic shores and to the Isthmian Canal when we build it, and so we said Porto Rico must be ours; and we have taken that million of people, stricken by famine, stricken by disease and poverty and suffering and flood. We have appropriated millions of dollars for their relief. We are expending hundreds of thousands of dollars on the roads and highways that the unemployed may be employed, and we have carried out the recommendation of the President that there should be freedom of trade—not free trade—between Porto Rico and the United States.

There has been so much of misstatement that I want to take just a minute to explain to you what was done in Porto Rico. We enacted, as to those people, a law which gives them self-government—two Houses of the Legislature with an ability to pass laws—practical self-government. We put them upon as favorable a basis as any Territory of the United States ever occupied, and as favorable a position as Colorado occupied during the many years when she was a Territory. We have said to Porto Rico: "All the necessaries of life shall go in freely to you, all the necessaries of life you may export freely and without duty—you may take to your island, without the slightest duty or revenue charge, all the necessaries of life, not only food, but rough lumber and those elements which go to make the structures and rehabilitate you in your homes; and as to the others, the luxuries of life, we shall impose upon those things which you shall take into your country a duty amounting to fifteen per cent. of the present Dingley tariff, which amounts to an average of less than seven per cent. revenue duty upon the articles which go into Porto Rico." Then we say to them: "At the end of two years, during which you will be able to pass laws to raise your own revenues, it shall forever cease, and you shall have free trade, and if between now and two years from the first of last March, if within that period you shall, through your Legislature, enact any laws that will make your island self-supporting and give you the revenues you need, that then free trade shall at once come into existence and you shall pay no duties at all." Nobody in Porto Rico is making a fuss

about it. No Republican who now understands it is making a fuss about it. It is only the Bryanites, who are against everything, who don't like it.

And then, Mr. Chairman, this brings us to the great question of the Philippine Islands. When that war closed and found us treating for peace with Spain, we found hundreds and thousands of islands in the Orient linked together in a group and called the Philippines, loaded down with oppression, treated with centuries of cruelty and wrongs, ignorant and enslaved; we found there eighty different tribes, most of them speaking languages entirely different and not understood by the other—eighty separate savage tribes. We took possession of those islands under a title as clear and undisputed as that under which every member of this convention who has a home holds it by deed.

Nobody in the world disputed our title, and when we found, due to Bryanite disaffection at home, that a savage insurrection against our power and authority was existing, we proceeded, as it was our duty to do, to suppress it, and that, fellow-citizens, is the origin of the new Bryanite crusade against the Republican policy. What would you have us do? Would you have us turn back that island to savagery? They have no pretence of self-government. The race of Tagalos which is fighting us has no cohesion with the other eighty-odd tribes that exist in the islands. To turn them back to their own resources would be to turn them back to bloody—to endless and cruel—war. We took those islands, not for aggrandizement and not for selfish purposes. We took them because there were ten millions of ignorant people occupying them. They were coveted by every nation of Europe. There would have been war over them, and we realized that our duty as an Anglo-Saxon race required us to take possession of those islands and lift those people up into the light of civilization and of Christianity. That is the policy which the Democratic party attacks.

There, Mr. Chairman, we stand, and there the Republican party proposes to stand. They say, Give back those islands. Why, fellow-citizens, we took Colorado south of the Arkansas and west of it from Mexico, when we had our war with Mexico, and we took parts of Arizona and New Mexico and California under the Gadsden Purchase. Would you have us give back Southern Colorado to the red Indian, who dominated it when we took it? With equal right and with equal justice, the United States could be called upon to give back the Philippines to the equally red savages who dominate them now and resist American authority.

The question is broader than that. It is a question of what this nation shall do as a world-wide nation. We step out of the old days, because the burden and circumstances have compelled it, and we take our place with the great intelligent nations of the world, who are not afraid to assume honest responsibility, and who desire to bear their share in the burden of uplifting and ennobling mankind.

American diplomacy has recently won a pronounced victory in respect to the open door in China, and when that great empire shall fall to pieces, as it will, you will find, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, that we shall be called upon, as intelligent American citizens, and as a great free nation, to assert our sphere of influence and declare our rights in that great and wealthy empire. It was not for naught, my friends, that for a century and a quarter we followed the plough and confined ourselves to the original borders of our country as bounded by the two oceans. We were fitting ourselves for free government and a free people, and with a great civil war we made a nation, one of whose foundations had been slavery, forever a free people, and we have educated ourselves until we are not afraid to face a world-wide responsibility.

Colorado has more at stake in this great question than any of the commonwealths of the Union. There is no area of land of the same size in the whole world of equal richness. The young men before me to-day, before they die, will see the population of Colorado counted by millions where it is now counted by hundreds of thousands. Our great plains and valleys will furnish the meat and the grain—the food—for mankind. The coal from our inexhaustible mines will feed the furnaces of the world and speed her iron ships. The iron from our mines, rolled out by our great mills, will supply the rails that will open up countries that are yet unexplored and undreamed of. Our mines of gold and silver will furnish a circulating medium for the world and all its nations. To our State this campaign is vital, my friends. These days are fraught with importance more than any since the days of Washington—these days when cowards and poltroons snarl and bark in the rear, and brave men, and loyal men, and patriotic men stand together for the welfare of our country and our State and the honor of our flag.

SECOND STATE CONVENTION

BEFORE the Colorado Republican Convention, at Denver, September 17, 1900:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This great convention with its surging mass of earnest Republicans already casts the shadow before it of an approaching victory. We are met again, a united party, animated by that instinct of loyalty which characterizes every citizen who values the perpetuity of the Republic. No man here is called upon to sacrifice the convictions which once divided us. Events throughout the world in the last few years have modified them. The Democracy has abandoned the silver issue and has declared that the great question before the American people is the betrayal of our responsibilities growing out of the war with Spain—the abandonment of our obligations to our new possessions; and when a political party asks this great nation to make itself a by-word and a reproach among the civilized countries of the world, to dishonor our soldiers and our sailors, and to degrade our flag, the good men and women of Colorado will stand together for the honor of our country.

It is a good omen to-day, my friends, that thirty-eight years ago, on the 17th of September, on such a day as this, in the dark hours of the war, was fought and won with bloody sacrifice the great battle of Antietam. Four years ago I used to hope, when some of our friends left us, that they would return soon. They called themselves Silver Republicans, but the first word has been abandoned and made a by-word by the Democracy; nothing was left but "Republicans," and that is the tie that binds us all.

If we had not come together on other issues, fellow-citizens, the maladministration of the State of Colorado would have

brought us together this fall. Two years ago we elected a Democratic Governor. He found the State in good financial condition; for, whatever criticism may be made as to his predecessor, he at least had the merit of public virtue. He found the State in good condition; he has left it a disgrace to a solvent commonwealth. He found our warrants commanding a premium, but they are out to-day, without an appropriation to meet them, at fifty cents on the dollar. He found our great public institutions doing well. They had been built up from nothing until they were a credit to our State and to our nation and to the world. He has left them so bankrupt that the banks of Colorado have been called upon to advance money enough to keep them going, under a threat that the fusion Legislature would be reconvened if they did not.

He was elected upon a solemn pledge by the Democratic party that he would procure home-rule for Denver, and rid this great community—an integral part of the State, and its pride—from the oppression and jobbery of its Police Board. That was the platform on which he stood then. Those were the principles which he announced while he was a candidate before the people. As soon as he was elected he began to hedge, and he wound up by asking that a commission be appointed to investigate the subject. He has gone on signing bill after bill, when he was informed that this State could no longer from its revenues pay them, until the aggregate was over $600,000 more than our revenue. He left the incumbency of the office, with a debt upon this State of $200,000 and an incompetent commission appointed to ascertain how this already overburdened people can be taxed annually $500,000 more to pay the expenses of our State. And those of you who come from farming regions I hope will bear in mind, that one of the parties which joined in this aggregation that was nominated last week, and upon whose platform every candidate must lean, unanimously resolved as a part of its platform that these additional burdens should be borne by the owners of land. That, fellow-citizens, is the public administration of our government so far as its credit is concerned, and its administration found a fitting climax here in the last ten days.

Under the provision that those who registered might vote, the struggle for supremacy in the Fusion party in this county began. Corporations—legitimate corporations doing business under the franchise of the people—have been blackmailed to pay the expenses of these primaries. Gamblers and thieves and dis-

reputable people and law-breakers have been assessed to pay the expenses of the primary contest here. And those of you who do not come from this county will be interested in this story of bad government. There were for a week preceding the election, brought up to the court-house to be registered, in hacks, by policemen in uniform, those unfortunates who seek only seclusion from the light of day, and they were registered and instructed to vote the Fusion ticket, under the threat that if they did not they would be driven out of business. They registered people in the most outrageous manner. From the Clifton House down here, which, under the sanction of the Police Board, is now occupied by a saloon on the first floor, and by an open gambling-house on the second, forty-two people registered and voted, where three people do not sleep. From a dance-hall on Market Street, where at night no man sleeps unless he is drugged by bad liquor or "knock-out drops," were thirty people brought to the registration office and registered and made to vote for the opposition candidates' ticket. There were in the Governor's own ward frauds and outrages—in his own precinct here on Capitol Hill—of the most pronounced character. One little house on Lincoln Avenue, a house of six rooms, registered thirteen people for the Fusion ticket, in charge of a police official who held the proxy of the Governor in the county convention. People were dragged from the slums of the town in hacks to this precinct, which is a respectable precinct on Capitol Hill, and in the name of chaste women, voted the ticket. Out here at the county hospital, where the inmates are county charges, nearly all of them, and where they have no right to vote, eighty-seven people, inmates, were registered to be voted for the Fusion ticket. Two years ago at that same hospital sixty-seven votes were cast for the Democratic ticket. They won't be voted this year.

In the Fusion conventions which followed there sat ninety policemen and firemen—men charged with the duty of protecting our homes from fire and of preserving the public peace; more than fifty policemen sat in those conventions, and it is but fair to say that they could never have been spared at a better time, when the Democrats were in convention, for the city was never so peaceful as it was during those four days. And yet it is true, fellow-citizens, unfortunately and disgracefully true, that in an area of one half of the residence portion of Denver no woman dare walk two blocks from her home after dark for fear of assault and robbery, and that business and working-men going to their homes after dark,

away from the street-car lines, walk in the middle of the street, armed and in fear and trembling under the administration of a Governor who has sworn to obey the laws, but who has turned his police force into pot-house politicians.

My friends, Barnum & Bailey's circus is in Europe; Forepaugh rarely comes this way, and Ringling Brothers have come and gone, and yet by all odds the most amusing and instructive three-ring circus that ever exhibited in Denver was here last week. The Populist party received as its share of the aggregation a Lieutenant-Governor, and the next morning he was dragged from his place and another, far more disreputable, named in his stead. The difference between the two was that the first did his work in daylight and that the other used his dynamite with a mask—a professional agitator. The Silver Republicans got more places than they wanted and more than they really had members to fill.

The Democratic party has set a precedent in this State which good people will not follow, or, if they do, will follow at a sacrifice. Because a Democratic judge—a judge belonging to the Democratic party, joining with his brothers on the bench, rendered with them a unanimous decision upon a question of law, the Democratic party, unwilling to face a howling mob, led by such people as its present candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and too cowardly to acknowledge him in the light of day, has turned over the judicial nomination to the Silver Republican party.

Fellow-citizens, every political party before election ought to consist of three constituents: There should be candidates and voters and kickers. This party, known officially as the Teller Silver Republican party, we might offer as furnishing some candidates; it has in this county—not many anywhere else—three or four chronic kickers; but its voters are all gone. That party is represented to-day only by its distinguished leader and by a reminiscence. This fact has been reminding me lately of that woman who wore constantly about her neck a locket; and a friend said to her one day: "You must have in that locket some tender and sacred memento." She replied: "I have; it is a lock of my husband's hair." And the friend said: "But your husband is still alive." "Yes," she replied, "but his hair is all gone."

The Democratic share in this cosmopolitan ticket which was presented to us, and which is a stench in the nostrils of the good people of Colorado, appeared in a manner that the people

of Denver will be slow to forget, and the Governor of this State furnished a fitting ending to his disgraceful maladministration of the affairs of this State by indulging in a wholly false and malicious slander and personal abuse of a Senator of this State whose place he is anxious to fill. I am accustomed to this sort of attack. For years I have had it, and whatever may be the great public questions that upset the Democratic party I seem to have been for some years their paramount issue in Colorado.

The usual purveyor of this sort of stuff is a yellow journal published each morning down the street, in which there has appeared from time to time, repeated day after day, a statement which I know you will pardon me if I refer to briefly, for you are representatives of the different counties of the State, and I do not often have a chance of addressing you *en masse*. The statement made again and again under different forms has been that, being rich, I am rarely in Colorado; that I only return here when I ask your friendly support and that I don't intend to make Denver my residence. My friends, unfortunately I am not so well off in this world's goods as when you first sent me to the Senate; but I am prosperous, and every dollar I have made I have made in Colorado—in the honorable practice of an honorable profession and in mining silver from these mountains. Since I have been in the Senate I have never, with one exception, years ago, when for my health I was compelled to go abroad, been absent from Colorado a month in any year except when engaged in my public duties.

I have been abroad twice at the request of the President and Congress, seeking to procure international bimetallism, and my great obstacle was Bryan opposition in this country. I am a member of the Finance Committee, which is engaged in investigations at which I am compelled to be present. I am now in my thirtieth year of continuous residence in Colorado. I have lived here since I was a boy. I have known no other home. I shall die here and, if Heaven grants me the longevity extended to the average man, I shall be living here when the influence of that yellow journal, and perhaps, though I hope not, when the Democratic aspirants for my place in the Senate, whose chief stock in trade is mud, are dead, descended, and forgotten.

I have enjoyed your confidence and your support, my friends, for twelve happy years. With limitations and failings, of which no man can be more conscious than I, I can upon my

honor say to you who sent me, at the close of my second term in the Senate, that, since I have been there, there is no public act of mine I would change or disavow, and that I return you my commission with clean hands and am able to look you in the face.

My return to the Senate is not essential to my happiness or your welfare. If I am retired to private life I shall still be found battling in Colorado for Republican principles, and I shall be established at Wolhurst with the latch-string always out.

I say it is not essential that any Republican Senator from Colorado should go back; but it is important if we want to share in the general prosperity and not be represented by backbiters and reactionaries and snarling critics, and if we want the Senate of the United States to be free from all assaults upon the flag for six years to come. It is not essential, fellow-citizens, that the electoral ticket in Colorado should go Republican, although we would all have a much clearer taste in our mouths if we quit lining up with Missouri and Arkansas and joined the intelligent States of the Union. A great, overwhelming majority of the Electoral College, without our four votes in Colorado, will be cast this year for William McKinley.

It is essential, fellow-citizens, that in Colorado this year we redeem this State from its vicious and bad rule, and that by a majority vote, which we will see counted this year, we shall send to victory the State ticket and your nominee for the Supreme Court, who will be named in this convention.

The editor of this paper here seems to object because I am so much away, but I would like to send him the message that if he will go away from this State and take his yellow journal with him I will guarantee that ninety-five per cent. of the taxpayers, irrespective of party, will contribute to his support in increasing volume the longer he stays away.

This man's last complaint is about the census of Denver also. Fellow-citizens, the census of Denver was fairly taken. It shows a fair growth, but nothing like the growth it ought to show, and the responsibility for it lies chiefly at the door of this same newspaper. For years that paper has vilified every man in this State, living or dead. It has attacked every industry, our banks, national and savings, our corporations which serve the people and should be protected. It has given counsel of violence at all times. It has sought to declare war between labor and capital. It has arrayed itself against the prosperity of Colorado, and has declared us all to be impoverished and

on the way to the poorhouse. It has dishonored and degraded our State and has kept from it tens of millions of dollars and thousands of good citizens.

And in this connection, and turning to national topics, I want to call your attention to the remarkable fact that wherever there has been complaint in these United States as to the population as shown by the census, that wherever there has been a loss, you will find it always in States where Bryanism and Democracy are triumphant. If there is any place where there is bitter complaint because the growth has not been large enough, it is due to Bryan. Take Denver, where, instead of twenty-odd per cent., we ought to have shown sixty or seventy: it is Democracy and yellow journals. Take Lincoln, Nebraska, where there has been an actual falling off in population: it is a matter of Bryan. In Charleston, South Carolina, the home of Tillman and Democracy, they have a growth of one per cent.; Richmond, where are buried so many of the great Presidents of the nation, beautifully situated, with Bryan to induce growth, has an increase of two per cent. Bryan and Democracy! In this country, in these days, when prosperity is knocking for admission at every door, where you find people shutting themselves in the cave of gloom and preaching the gospels of despair and Bryanism and Democracy, there you will find disaster and loss of population.

We have had in the White House for four years as Chief Executive of this Nation, a Christian gentleman, great in war and great in peace, whose every thought is instinct with patriotism and the honor of his country, who will live in history as one of the greatest Americans Heaven has ever vouchsafed us. There has been in the history of the Republic no such triumphant and prosperous and glorious an administration of public affairs as his has been. And now you are asked to give it up. For what? Have you read the Democratic platform of 1864, where they declared the war a failure and called for the immediate cessation of hostilities? Have you read the Democratic platform of 1872, where they declared that the Republic would fall and an empire rise out of its ashes if the great and gentle Grant should be elected? Wherever there has been a chance to assail and attack and dishonor the flag, there you find a Democratic National Convention assailing it and dishonoring it.

If this Republic is to live and not perish from the acts of foes within, it will be because it is guided by a party which is able to accept the responsibilities which are imposed upon us,

and march forward with resistless step with the other civilized nations of the earth to do full duty in reclaiming the savage races of the world, and lift them up into the light of civilization and good government. If this Republic is to live and not perish, it will be because its citizens do not propose to trail in dishonor a flag once raised in honor.

This year three generations march together for the redemption of our State. First come the grizzled pioneers who made this place habitable. With them also march the survivors of our late Civil War, thousands of whom came to Colorado at its close to see if they could better their conditions. Each year they are growing fewer in number. Part of the host have crossed the flood, the rest are crossing now. They are old and gray and their shoulders are bent and their eyes are dim with the mist of years. Yes! dim with the mist of years, but until their eyelids close in death they will still discern in the ether, the blue and the white and the red of the flag they risked their lives to make the flag of one whole Union. With them will march the generation to which most of us belong, the generation whose earliest instinctive recollection is of the flag struck down on Sumter and replaced by our gallant heroes, who remember homes made desolate because bereft of brothers and fathers who fought to preserve their country. And then comes that increasing band of young men whose ranks are rapidly filling while ours are being decimated, upon whose shoulders some day the responsibilities of government must rest. These young men, hundreds of whom went from our State to fight the wars for others, will cast their first ballot this year.

Fellow-citizens, when the twentieth century dawns next January it will see Colorado marvellous in her resources, and majestic in her beauty, standing glorious among the sister States;—our Colorado, our mother and our pride, standing for progress, prosperity, and good government, renewing her faith in Republican principles, and declaring her unalterable devotion to her interests and her undying love of country and of flag!

PARTY MANAGEMENT IN COLORADO

AT the banquet of the Republican Union Club at Windsor Hotel, Denver, January 14, 1902:

I have no manuscript. I came here only to speak out of the fulness of my heart, to tell you how glad and how grateful I am too for this opportunity to look my fellow-Republican in the face, to bid him success and God-speed. I congratulate you on this splendid meeting, and on the fact that it did not need the stimulus of a campaign to get together this room full of people.

I am glad, too, that I am here, because I should be unwilling that you should depart without paying a tribute to him to whom we bow in grief and respect.[1]

> "Let others hail the rising sun;
> I bow to him whose race is run,"

that noble, upright, glorious man, who by his life and character did more to uplift the standard of American manhood than any leader since the days of Lincoln. As I said to many of you before this grief came upon us, no man ever entered his presence who did not come out a better man. The memory of his high statesmanship, of his genial Christianity, and of his splendid achievements will live in the hearts of Americans as long as our Republic shall endure.

I am not here to talk of the achievements of the past. The work of the Republican party is before us. It is not only our duty to extend to every person of this hemisphere, from ocean to ocean, the benefits of enlightened, pure, upright government, but our path of duty has reached out across the ocean, unto the children of ignorance and oppression. We must take our place with the other nations and do our share of the duty of carrying civilization and Christianity to every part of the globe.

[1] President McKinley, who died at Buffalo, N. Y.

And here I want to voice the humiliation that must come to nine tenths of the people of this great and glorious State of Colorado, that it should have been one of its representatives—formerly a Republican, who upon the first day of the session of a Republican Congress offered a bill proposing that we give the Philippines back to Spain.

I am not here to discuss the policy or politics of the Democratic party. What policy can be formed by any piecing together in that long string of negations? I was trying to think as I came here to-night of something to say on this point, and the only thing I could think of was a story about one of the comic papers in New York. Its editor told one of the writers to go to a performance of the "Black Crook" and write a take-off of the play. He came back and said: "I saw the play, but I could not find anything to take off."

I have not time to-night to talk of the politics of the Republican party in a national way, but it is a fitting time to talk of the welfare of our own party in our own State of Colorado. I want to speak to you with the utmost frankness and the utmost friendliness. I am not conscious of any enmity toward any man who votes with the Republican party in Colorado, and so I want to speak openly and above board. There are matters which have been causing some concern to the members of the party, and there is nothing to be gained by hiding them.

Our party never had such a splendid star of hope as that which is now rising before us, and it is natural that with this increase of hope and success, there should be an increase of interest in the control of the party. When it was a forlorn hope, any one could lead it. There have been complaints about the management of the party in this State, and there has been discontent expressed as to the appointments which have been made, particularly of Federal office-holders. And I want to say here that for the appointments that have been made in the last five years I alone have been responsible.

As the sole Republican Senator from this State, every one of them has been made by me, but only because of my service. The position that I held in this regard I have abdicated with great cheerfulness. Since my retirement from the Senate I have not sent a single letter to the President of the United States, or to any member of his Cabinet, regarding any appointment.

Complaints have been made as to the party rules, and in these complaints, let me say, that I most heartily and sincerely concur. Four years ago I begged and pleaded with the men in

charge of the party in this State to change the rules so that the primaries should be open and free to every man in the State that was an avowed Republican. But while all may join in censure of such methods now applied, I must remember, and so must you, that when these rules were framed our opponents were making every effort to control the Republican party in this State. We worked under the shadow of obloquy, unpopularity, and hatred to keep our party organization together. Do you remember that five years ago, when McKinley—for whom they are now talking of naming the parks and boulevards—was nominated for the Presidency, we had to fight our way through the Supreme Court of the State before we were permitted to place Republican electors on the ballots in this State? We had to exercise caution in those dark days, now long passed away. The hostilities then engendered have long been buried. Men who then left us have come back. There should be no cause for complaint that all of them cannot have the fullest participation in the management of the party.

Complaint has been made of the participation of Federal office-holders in State affairs. There is ground for complaint in this, but let us remember that it is true that ninety per cent. of the members of National and State committees—they may be changing it now; but an overwhelming majority—have been Federal or State officials. In New York State—which you all know is the home of political purity—the Chairman of the State Committee has been, I believe, State Railway Commissioner. In Massachusetts the Chairman has been the Collector of the Port of Boston. Is it true that the men who are in politics not for personal gain but because they like to breathe the air of political life, are likely to press forward and take a leading part in political organization?

In discussing the affairs of our party we must let compromise, and not insistence, be the rule. We want to remember, in thinking upon this subject, that in those dark days of five years ago less than eleven per cent. of the entire population of the State was to be found in the Republican party, and of that eleven per cent. about one third was in the county of El Paso. Nobody could be found who was willing to dare to defy the obloquy which would be heaped upon a man in charge of the Republican organization. Why, here in Denver we wanted to put out a McKinley banner, and in the whole city we could not find two property owners, on opposite sides of the same street, who even dared to let us run the ropes on their premises. Do

you remember that we had to get McKinley badges by the gross because we could not find a merchant that would dare to have them on sale? It was not unnatural that the men who would take charge of the affairs of the party under the guaranty of the seal of the Government that their business should not be injured nor they driven to poverty, should stand to the front to hold our primaries and help to conduct our conventions.

Complaints have been made about unfit appointments. I will say that there have been mistakes—a very few. But you must remember that when only eleven per cent. of the population was left to choose from, it was not always possible to get the best citizens. Many of the best Republicans did not care to sacrifice their personal interests to take office under the conditions. But we did the best we could—and I will say, too, that of all the Federal office-holders now in the State of Colorado half, if not more, are from those who in 1896 saw fit to cast their votes for Bryan.

The party has seen the great wave of popular opinion sweep away from it, leaving it in apparent ruin and desolation. It has seen the slowly-rising tide, and now it sees the wave coming back again in another great sweep, as the party comes back to its old principles. It is but natural that under such circumstances there should be some rock of offence. I had hoped that I might be it. I believe that if some bad appointments have been made, of men bad in character, they should be removed; but I also believe that when the State returns to its allegiance to the party it will do so because of the general conviction that the principles of the Republican party are right, and not merely because A or B holds a land office down at Lamar.

The old ties cling to me. The thoughts of the friendships that were cemented in those days of bitterness still cling to my heart, and perhaps those strings may bend my judgment. I cannot forget that five years ago there came from every quarter of the State boasts that of the State Republican Committee an overwhelming majority was ready to declare for Bryan. And I remember one old man [1]—some of you like him and some of you don't—who had fought through the war, four years, who was a member of the Loyal Legion; he was never called a personal friend of mine, but he worked, he went up and down in the State, and I shall never forget one committee woman who came down here from Custer County, in answer to one of the letters that he wrote. She could not leave her little three-months-old baby,

[1] J. L. Hodges.

so she brought it with her, and sat there in the committee's room with it in her arms, until three o'clock in the morning, when the Republican organization was saved to the party. Now, when they talk to me of turning out that old man, who fought that battle and won it, alone and unaided, you must pardon me if I say I shall want pretty clear proof before I consent to expel him.

["Three cheers for Hodges!" shouted some one in the rear, and they were given with a hurrah and a waving of napkins. Tears rolled down the cheeks of Mr. Hodges, who sat at one of the tables.]

And I recall another occasion, when every newspaper in Colorado outside of El Paso County, without exception, boasted that the Republicans did not dare to try to hold a public meeting outside of El Paso County in the State. That was when they were hanging us in effigy in most of the towns of the State. Me they generally burned in effigy. But there was one man[1] in Denver who was n't afraid of their boycott or of their attempts to frighten him. He armed one hundred and twenty men each with eighteen inches of lead pipe, and we held our meeting in Coliseum Hall. I have not forgotten how they took me to the back door of that hall because men were waiting at the front with wagons, ready to pelt me with eggs and with filth, because I dared to voice my convictions. And I remember that outside that door was a mob of 5000 or 6000 people clamoring for vengeance against us inside who dared to stand up for our party and our political faith. And among the people who are now clamoring for the removal of that man, there are some who were among the speakers that night, outside our hall. Forgive me if I now have a tender feeling for such a Republican.

[A demonstration was started over Henry Brady, who sat with bowed head in the centre of the room, but the Senator went on speaking, in lowered tones, and the meeting hushed.]

Now, my friends, these men may go. They tell me they will, but if they do, I tell you it is time that we in Colorado learned a lesson that we have too long forgotten—that of compliance with and obedience to the will of the head of our organization.

The President of the United States, so long as he is a member of our party, is and must be at the head and front of our leadership. What he may do may cut me to the quick, but whether it does or does not, whatever he may do I shall

[1] Henry Brady.

accept as a loyal Republican. It makes little difference who the Senator may be from this State; it may make less difference who may have this land office or that;—sinking all personal differences and ambition and friendship, facing the dawn, we must give our devoted adherence to the principles of the party we love. Cut in half the record of the last century of the growth of our nation and apply it to the century upon whose dawn we have just entered, and before this hundred years shall have passed, on the soil over which waves the flag we love there will be not less than three hundred million people devoted to the perpetuation of free institutions. How best to hold the conditions unimpaired for the progress of the nations is the one and the only question to be placed first in our thoughts. It can be done only by our fearless adhesion and devotion to the principles which have brought prosperity and happiness and which alone can make this nation what it must be, the hope of all mankind.

AFTER THE ELECTION OF 1902

At Coliseum Hall, Denver, November 18, 1902:

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB, MR. LOWRY, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE OF ARAPAHOE COUNTY, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This does not look much like a postponed meeting. Almost all of us seem to be here, and it is a meeting where every Republican meets with equality every other Republican; with no politics in it except that we are all Republicans, with one desire only, and that is, to look each other in the face and thank God that Colorado is back again where she belongs.

I am sorry the others [Senatorial candidates] are n't here. I wish my friend Judge Dixon was here, that the people might meet him and thank him for his great efforts in the campaign. And so with my friend, and your friend, Frank Goudy—I wish he was here with us. And Irving Howbert, I wish he was here. And I wish, ladies and gentlemen, that either on this platform or in the audience all the "dark horses" were present.

A ratification meeting like this makes a specialty of dark horses, and nobody knows it better than our friend Colonel Springer, who is at the head of the Blooded Stock Association of the United States. I am sorry they are n't here, but, my friends, if there were no other speakers here, it would not be the first time in Colorado that I alone had spoken in this hall.

These ratification meetings are being held all over the Union, for the victory this fall has been unparalleled in the history of intermediate years in Republican administrations. All the old States stood firm, and the three far Northwestern commonwealths—Montana, Idaho, and Colorado—finally came back to join the Republican column. The reason of it all is to be found chiefly in the public record and recognition of the wonderful courage and lofty ideals of President Roosevelt. The people of the United States applaud his policy and his Administration. He compels our approval and fires the imagination of the people, and when, in the dark days of the great strike, when famine and suffering threatened, he, as the first citizen of the land, intervened in the interest of humanity, he commanded the applause and sympathy of every American citizen. Who is there who was not moved by his reference, the other day, when speaking of the duties of American citizenship and what we owe to our fellow-man, and referring to the quarrels and differences that sometimes arise between employer and employee, he told us that our duty as American citizens, one to the other, was, that each should be his brother's keeper? He stands, my friends, like the great tower of strength four-square to all the winds that blow.

Our share in Colorado in this jubilation is increased tenfold by our experiences from '96 till now. My share, ladies and gentlemen, in this last contest, has been belated, but there is no person within the limits of the commonwealth whose title to a participation in the great happiness of the night is better than mine. For more than thirty years I have participated in every Republican campaign in Colorado, and in most of the conventions. In this last campaign I was requested by the managers of the Republican campaign to withdraw from the convention and from the State, because they believed that if the Senatorial contest were eliminated and the battle fought out upon State issues, our chance of success would be better. My pride was hurt as never before, but, as a loyal Republican, I yielded, and as we won, the plan may have seemed to work, and did work; for although we cast fewer Republican votes than we cast two years ago, we did n't stir up the animals so much, and more thousands of the Democrats stayed at home than of us.

And, my friends, if I am called upon to abstain from one contest in Colorado, I think perhaps my average of loyalty to the party will be as great as that of most of the party. And if I am to be debarred from any campaign in this State I would

rather it be such a one as this, where the contest was on practically equal terms and victory was in sight; for I cherish no memory in life so precious and so sacred as the associations formed in those dark days, now happily forever past, when with no ray of hope and no star in the sky, facing certain defeat, and hate and obloquy, it was my blessed privilege to be one of those who helped keep alive the almost dead embers of Republican principles in Colorado, until now they have burst into victorious flame. So when they want us, all of us, sometimes to come to their party, they ought at least to feel kindly toward us.

Hear my little fable:

> He who runs, may read;
> Most may raise the flowers now,
> For all have got the seed.

But there was n't much seed six years ago and four years ago.

The notable victory which we have won this fall has been due, in the first instance, to the high character of the Republican ticket which we presented to the people of the State. From the highest man on the ticket to the last name, our nominees were men of intelligence and character and integrity; who commanded popular approval. And the next great reason for our success will be found in the untiring work of the organization, the members of the county committees, the members of the State Committee, the State Chairman [Mr. Fairley], and the State Secretary, to whom great praise is due for their conduct and guidance of the campaign.

I regret deeply the personal attack which has grown out of this meeting. I don't intend to discuss it, for its author will be heartily ashamed of it some day. My friends, I put in my years fighting Democrats. I don't propose to go into a contest of slander with Republicans. I know that we all feel grateful to him, and I think we should send him our greetings to-night and tell him that when he gives his party in January, if he will only invite us, we will all be there. And if there is not room for us on the platform, we will go to the gallery or sit in the pit, or stand up, for we are a-coming, good party people—men and women; all good party people are entitled to sit at any table where Republicans gather.

Whoever is of opinion that Arapahoe County is not entitled to share in this jubilation is mistaken. As Mr. Costigan told

you, we cast here one third of the Republican votes of the State, and it is a popular opinion that if the vote had been fairly counted there would have been a respectable and good-sized majority of the Republican ticket returned in Arapahoe County.

The people expect more of Republicans than they do of Democrats, and we must not follow the example Democracy set us two years ago and four years ago. Wherever we legally elected our members of the Legislature, in Pueblo and other counties, they did not need any testimony, but they only turned them out. We don't do that. We don't, as a party, desire a Republican Legislature unless a Republican Legislature has been elected, and unless we can show to the people—good Democrats as well as good Republicans—that the fraudulent votes and the fraudulent practices in Arapahoe County alone cause the return of a Democratic majority. But if that fact is proved, no matter what may be the result or who may be affected, we owe it to ourselves and to good government and to common decency, to decent Democrats as well as to good Republicans, to set right the wrong that has been done and to install in office the people legally elected.

This election, my friends, means much to us. It means that we shall have at Washington Republican members of Congress who will be able to fairly and honorably present the claims of Colorado to the recognition of the party, now and for decades to come the majority party, at Washington. And when we are through with it, we will not only have the two Congressmen who have been declared elected, but I trust we shall also have the third Republican who ran in the Northern district [Mr. Bonynge, who afterward was given a seat in the national House of Representatives]. I am sorry he is not here to-night. There is a great deal of sickness about here now, and I cannot account for it. I hope he is all right. But whether he is or not, we are with him, and if he is elected we are going to do our best to see that he is recognized as our Congressman, for whom we cast a majority of the votes.

But it means more than that, my friends. It means that in the State of Colorado, and in Denver and Pueblo, and Colorado Springs, and Durango, and in every city in the State, every town lot and every piece of improved property is worth twenty-five per cent. more than it was the day before election. It means that capital is coming here; it means that public confidence in the East in the wisdom of Colorado people is restored. It means that the taxes of the farmer are lightened; it means

that the burdens of misgovernment in the great city of Denver are removed; it means a clean and upright administration, of which the people will not be ashamed.

It means more. It means that Colorado again takes her place among the great, intelligent States of the North. It means that whenever, hereafter, men in high official life, from Colorado, preach a small America, and slander and defile our army and our navy, the East has notice that they don't speak for the majority of our people. It means that we are for the flag wherever it floats, and that we will stand by our duties.

It means more, my friends. It means that every one of us, since the election, stands a little more erect and looks his neighbor a little more squarely in the eye, and when he goes abroad is a little more glad to register "From Colorado," because we are back where we belong.

Mr. Chairman, this meeting is given under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Club. It seems to me but yesterday when I, too, used to speak for young men and young men's Republican clubs; but the span of political life is short, and the workers drop out, and the new men and the young men come and fill the ranks.

You are to be congratulated that you come upon the arena at a time when the old battles have been fought and the old bitterness threshed out, and you have only to preserve and maintain intact that for which your elders fought.

Growing out of the lessons of the last few years, may I beg of you to insist to the members of your club and to the young men of Colorado, to stand always with their party. If things go wrong and you want to right them, fight them from within and not from without. And, further, my friends, when you see factions and personalities in your own party raising their heads, stamp them out. The individual is nothing; the party is all. Faction and slander are the poor creatures of the hour. The great principles of the Republican party are eternal, and by your devotion to them, and so only, can you lift this great commonwealth, with its marvellous resources, into the front rank of the States of the Union; and so, and so only, can you place our beloved country in the forefront of the nations of the earth, a mighty instrument for progress, for civilization, and for Christianity.

AGAIN IN THE SADDLE

As Temporary Chairman of the Republican State Con-

vention, Denver, September 29, 1903, which met to nominate a candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN; MEMBERS OF THE STATE CONVENTION: I feel moved and touched by this further evidence of your appreciation and friendship—perhaps more to-day than on any day in the years that have passed, because I am in private life, and am not counted a purveyor of patronage, but a simple citizen fighting in your ranks.

For thirty years I have been attending these conventions, and I never, in an off-year or in an on-year, knew of the assembling in Denver of a better or more representative body of Republicans since the old territorial days than to-day, and it seems to me that, although it is a little late in the season, the Republican party of Colorado is celebrating its "Peach day."

I have but a word or two before you devote yourselves to the business which calls you here from different vocations. In the few words of counsel and advice I am going to presume to give, I feel the more free because I speak with only gratitude in my heart for the honors that have been showered on me by the party, with enmity to no living Republican in the State of Colorado, in forgetfulness of so much of the past as it is not pleasant to remember, and in pleasant anticipation—looking forward with you buoyantly and hopefully to the day when Republicanism shall again be permanently triumphant in Colorado, untarnished with association or fusion with Democracy.

It is very easy for a party to be harmonious when it is in the minority. The troubled days come when victory is in sight and there is a legitimate struggle for place and power.

After years of minority in Colorado we are again in possession, if we behave ourselves, of a legitimate Republican majority, and it behooves the Republican party of Colorado, as never before in its history, to so conduct itself as to command and obtain and to continue to receive the support of the good citizens of Colorado, if it intends to plant its rule in this State for the years to come. We must remember, my friends, that the Republican party is a party of principles and not of men. It was founded to redress a great wrong to humanity. It has continued in power because it has advocated economic policies and principles and instilled patriotic desires into the breasts of the American people, that led them to believe that through its teachings prosperity and happiness and honor were to come to our country. It was never organized as a party for men or individual interests, but a party for principles and a party of principle.

The Republican party does not exist in Colorado for the benefit or for the injury of any man within the State. We do not exist in order that we may nominate or renominate or fail to renominate any man as Governor of our State. We are organized as a party to declare Republican principles through our platforms and to insist upon Republican policy by our candidates. When they do well it is our duty to support them; but under no circumstances are we created to "boom" anybody or hurt anybody. The Republican party is not in existence to send any man to the United States Senate, nor to defeat any man in its party for the United States Senate. It is in existence, if the majority will of the party can be asserted by a majority of its members, to send a Republican to the United States Senate.

The people of Colorado are a unit in favor of the nomination for the Presidency of the United States of our President Theodore Roosevelt.

Your National Convention can never be assembled, where Colorado votes are represented, that his name will not be affectionately and eagerly and earnestly presented by whomsoever shall represent this State in the National Convention; but, my friends, this Republican party does not exist in Colorado for the purpose of naming any man for the Presidency. It exists for the declaration of Republican principles, for the following of Republican teachings, for the support of the head of the Republican party in the executive chair at Washington, whoever he may be. Our success or failure as a party depends upon our principles and our following them, and not upon our favoring any man for the Presidency of the United States.

And I want to say, my friends, that we do not in this State stand for other than the principles of the party, with a free platform and free room to every Republican in the State of Colorado, to claim with right an equal friendship for the President of the United States—the head of our party.

Fellow-citizens, the Republican party does not exist in Colorado for the benefit of any individual, nor does it exist for the benefit of any corporation or aggregation of capital.

I am a lawyer by profession, and all my life, in common with other lawyers who have reached the maturity of years with a fair measure of success, I have been called upon to defend vested interests, and my sympathies and feelings in that direction have never been hidden; but, fellow-citizens, I believe that the welfare of the State depends upon a cordial, generous,

and liberal treatment of every one of its citizens, whether he labor or whether he employ, and that you cannot oppress the corporations which render their aid in conducting the commerce of the State, without injury to the State.

So far we all agree. But, my friends, we are confronting to-day a far more serious situation, and I say to you, in all kindness and in all sincerity, without prejudice in the faintest degree, that the moment the corporations of Colorado which depend upon municipalities for aid and for franchises, assume to dominate the parties of the State and to make political parties an appendage of corporate needs, then comes the death-knell of political integrity of any party which sustains it.

We may have—as we had once some years ago—long and weary days to travel before we plant our flag where it belongs, but I do not believe, as I look into the faces of the Republicans of Colorado, that on earth we will ever yield Republican principles to corporate needs.

So far, my friends, I say, the Republican party exists for principles and not for men. It is unfortunate in any State when one municipality within its borders contains a quarter or more of its population and casts a quarter or more of its vote, because it extends its overshadowing influence over the rest of the State. I fear that we have presented before us this fall the possibility, rendered certain by the recent vote, that the frauds again to be practised in the city of Denver will fill the ballot-box with thousands of false and fraudulent votes, which may count against us; and there is no better time than this to remind this convention that, if that be true, the duty which devolves upon each of us who cast our votes outside of the city of Denver is doubly great, that we overslaugh and overcome by honest methods, by the uprising will of the people, the frauds that the slums of Denver can practise against us.

Our path this autumn is not easy, and it is our duty in convention assembled, so far as in our power lies, to see wherein the difficulty exists and whether or not we or any one of us can do aught to remove it. We must examine our hearts and our consciences and see whether or not it may be possible that we see the mote in our brother's eye and see not the beam in our own.

And I say to you, fellow-citizens, that there is no individual member of the Republican party in the State of Colorado who should not be proud and glad to make any sacrifice within his power if thereby he can bring success in the State of Colorado to Republican principles.

That leads me to say, what I have long been anxious to say, to a representative body of Colorado Republicans: If it be true, my friends, and I am inclined to think it is, that any considerable number of men now allying themselves with the Republican party make it a condition of their returning allegiance or of their continued allegiance to the Republican party in Colorado, that any one of its members who, in the dark and bitter days now forever past, met bitterness with bitterness, and, holding aloft the flag of the party, made enemies and became a rock of offence to many brothers who went out and have now come back; if it be true that his elimination is a condition of harmony in this State, then from my heart of hearts I say that man should withdraw from active participation in public affairs.

And I say further, if he be one who more than any other man now living, and a present member of the party, has received the honors and tributes and affection of the party, he would be doubly a churl and ingrate if he failed to respond to that appeal.

There is so much left, my friends! There is the memory of the months and the years that are gone, when, fighting for what we believed to be the sanctity of the Republic and the honor of the party and of the State, we stood shoulder to shoulder in days of disgrace and days of hostility. When one dropped away from the ranks we simply moved the closer and held higher the banner and marched our lonely way, confident in the final return to reason of the people of the State. Those were days in which friendships were formed and ties cemented that are stronger than office and that mean more than anything the world can give—friendships that will last while life lasts!

That sacrifice, I say, should cheerfully and gladly be made. It is right that such should be eliminated. It is right that they should be refused even participation in the victories of the party, if that helps to bring out a larger vote. But beyond that, my friends, we cannot go. You cannot drive a man out of the Republican party if it is bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood.

And if his neighbors see fit sometimes to send him to a convention like this, you must tolerate his presence. And you must permit him to be an alert and active member of the party so far as he keeps in the background and seeks only party success; for, my friends, if there be one organization on earth where the boycott is forever unknown and forever detested, it is that organization, the corner-stone of whose foundation was freedom—the Republican party.

There is another matter to which I make reference without consultation with the countless friends on the floor. We have had in the past year more or less discussion respecting the Chairman of the State Central Committee. There have been conflicts between the Committee and the Chairman. I say, my friends, that upon the eve of a campaign where victory is what we want, where we need again upon the bench the distinguished services of one of the most eminent jurists of the West, it is for some of us who believe ourselves to be right, to remember that we can afford to be generous, and the personnel of the Committee should be unaffected by the action of the Convention to-day.

So far as I have gone, I have searched my heart; I do not know what else I can suggest in the way of harmony, but if there is anything further I hope it may find, and it must find, us good citizens and good Republicans, true to our party and its traditions. And we ask of those who class themselves as Republicans that they bury whatever animosities they have, and if there are sacrifices to make on their part, that they find them and make them. The day of party slander is past. If we have enmity to gratify and slander to spit, let us find an enemy to vent it on and not a fellow-Republican!

Ah! my friends, this is the word I wanted to say to you: Colorado has not yet received in due measure the prosperity which belongs to it. We stay too long in the outer ranks. We are to-day jangling over interests on the settlement of which depends our future prosperity. It is for us, perhaps as never before, by a clean nomination, supported by a clean and upright election, to show our brothers in the East that the days of fusion, the days of paltering with the Democracy, are forever ended, and that Colorado takes its place among the first. I resent defeat more than most men living; but I want to say to you, my friends, that, standing as a party man, I would court personal and party defeat until the day I died, rather than all the victories on earth won by fusions and associations with the Democracy.

There is one other word I want to say. (I am suffering so that it is with great difficulty I can say a word.) So far as my word of counsel may help to guide the future deliberations of the party it will be given freely, and I would say now that in my opinion there is in the organization of the Republican party no room for wheels within wheels.

Every member of the party is expected to help as a free man, and every free man is eligible to positions of trust and confidence.

I want to say to you that the people, the Republicans of the State of Colorado, view with no favor the false pretence that any individual or any small coterie of individuals are so peculiarly close to the head of our party, the President of the United States, that the sunshine of official patronage can filter only through them. We are not that kind of Republicans. We are Republicans without a "pull," as much as we are Republicans with a "pull," and we view with contempt any attempt on the part of any individuals of the people of the State of Colorado to keep honest Republicans from doing their duty by the threat of Executive disapproval, or to lead them to dishonorable conduct by the promise of official reward.

RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE

At Colorado Republican Club banquet on Lincoln's Birthday, Denver, February 12, 1904:

My dear friends, it is long after midnight, and it is too late for me to speak to you at any length. I am not certain whether to deliver an evening address or a morning greeting. Happy as is this occasion, I wish it were not saddened by the fact that hovering near the border of death to-night is, perhaps, the best embodiment to-day of American manhood and American statesmanship, Marcus A. Hanna.

We owe, my friends, a great debt to the distinguished gentlemen who have addressed us to-night, and who have brought to our councils, and to our dinner, and to this occasion, and to us the eloquence and a fund of memories and of information which made them welcome visitors to Colorado and to the Republican Club. As I heard them, I could recall the two occasions when it was my privilege to see Abraham Lincoln. Once in '64, after the dark days following the second battle of Fredericksburg, a private in the army, with three or four associates, I stood one Sunday morning in front of the White House. He walked out, and after watching for a moment his boy Tad, who rode in front on his pony, he turned and with tired step walked slowly to the War Department. I saw him again in that solemn, triumphal funeral march, when his body was taken from Washington to Springfield, and the grief of the whole nation accompanied him. And, as our friends were speaking to-night, I realized how much more to-day Abraham Licoln stood for, because of what he was, than because of what he did.

He was the great liberator, and to-day he stands in the hearts of all of us, instinctively, as the highest embodiment of American citizenship. And I realize, too, how rare it is that recognition comes so quickly. Not often in the history of the world has it been so.

Why, Joan of Arc, who was burned at the stake, was only canonized the other day. The heroes of Italian liberty were forgotten within five years of their dauntless deeds. Oliver Cromwell waited two hundred years for the English Parliament to put his statue in the halls of its heroes in the Parliament Houses of Great Britain. But Abraham Lincoln went from the pistol of the assassin to the American Walhalla, and there he has remained since, with growing fame, year after year dearer and dearer to the old Republicans, and equally precious to new Republicans as they grow to manhood. There is no such imposing and solemn occasion in all the months of the year as when Republicans all over the land meet to pay tribute to his memory; and, my friends, I am unwilling to believe that any Republican, because of prejudice or passion or partisanship, would refuse to join his fellow-Republicans in pledging themselves anew to the pure principles of the Republic at the shrine of Abraham Lincoln.

We may all have our faults, but I tell you, there is no contagion in the touch of elbows of brother Republicans when they bow at the tomb of that Great American.

I have been asked to respond to the toast of "Colorado," and if I had chosen it—had had my own choice—I should have taken it. I have lived here years enough almost to entitle me to speak; I have been honored by the Republicans of Colorado as no other Republican ever has been who counts himself to-day a Republican. But when there was nothing but your love and friendship to guide me, I yet was honored last year, as never before in my history, when I had named for me a great Republican party,[1] a Republican party which has the unique distinction of having attracted to itself more Democratic votes than any Republican party that was ever named. So I feel myself fitted to respond for Colorado. There is not out of doors, anywhere under the canopy of heaven, a piece of ground like it, or as rich as it is. Everything that would grow anywhere is within our soil. There is not an acre of land in the State, that water can reach, which if you should tickle it with

[1] For a time the Regular Republicans were derisively designated as the "Wolcott" Republicans.

the hoe but would bear the harvest. There is not a cereal or a vegetable raised that would not grow more to the acre here than elsewhere. We have more coal in Colorado than has ever yet been developed and produced, or is in prospect, in the great coal State of Pennsylvania; we have inexhaustible deposits of iron and of all the base metals, and we have the precious metals of every kind, from one end of the State to the other, waiting for the industry of the prospector. These we have, and, unlike most States, we do not carry all our goods on the counter. We have hidden in the recesses of the mountains wealth for the children yet unborn, and the generations to come will find that they have but to grub at the surface to find riches beyond the dreams of avarice.

All these we have—all this is ours, but, my friends, it is not enough. We need with it, for the confidence of the citizens of other States, who must bear the expense of developing it, we need a population which shall represent the highest type of citizenship, which shall provide the best examples of American manhood. The foundation of this Republic is based upon human liberty and equal rights and obedience to law and government by the majority, and until we have these we cannot have prosperity.

And here to-night, as a citizen, I want to bear my tribute to the Governor of the State[1] for the work he has done in enforcing throughout this State obedience to law. I wish he were here to-night. There is nothing the matter with us; he would like it here if he would come. We would have to talk a little about Lincoln, of course, but we would talk a great deal about him, and we would bear tribute to the splendid courage he has displayed in these dark days of trouble here in Colorado. For one, I am delighted that there is to be a banquet in his honor, and if they will ask us we will go too. And if they do not ask us we will wish them well, and we won't hold an opposition banquet.

I am so glad they are to have it on Washington's Birthday, for that is a day of high and patriotic memory. I wish we could commemorate all our holidays to the memory of our friends. There is but one holiday I hope we may not lose, but fear we may. I trust we may yet keep our Christmas day, and not have to give up our Christmas stocking to the "Big Mitt."

If we need, as one of our bulwarks, obedience to law, we must also have under this Republic a rule of the majority, and that, my friends, we have not had. Have you noticed in the papers to-night and yesterday that in Washington the Committee on

[1] Hon. James H. Peabody.

Elections has declared that in the last Congressional election there were cast in the city and county of Denver more than six thousand fraudulent votes. In one precinct, a sample of the others, every woman and man registered in the precinct voted. They voted in one handwriting upon the ticket and they voted, curiously enough, in alphabetical order, commencing with the first and ending with the last letter. And I regret to say, my friends, that the evidence upon which that Congressional committee, acting without prejudice and without feeling, found that election void, and our State dishonored, was the same evidence upon which our General Assembly declared that there was no fraud in Denver. There is no more proper test of American citizenship than the test of party fealty. As Judge Dixon wisely and ably and eloquently told us, this is a government by party, and every measure of benefit that has ever been enacted into law has come through party and party organization, and party honor should be as dear as business honor.

Party fealty we must have, if our State would flourish, and if we would have that measure of prosperity to which we are entitled. We have not had it always, my friends. We have had our period of depression, which has grown out of years when men for local issues became indifferent on national questions, when we had that blight upon the party and upon prosperity that has been known as Fusion. It never brought us anything but disaster. You have got to stand by party and party organization if you would win. I respect an honest Democrat and I respect an honest Republican. I do not respect the man who claims to belong to one party and votes with the other.

Talk of men being Republicans and Democrats, and being an anti-something Democrat and an anti-something Republican! There is only one kind of a Republican, and that is an anti-Democrat Republican. There is no other "anti" known to good morals or party morals; we must stand with the party with which we belong. And, my friends, I speak thus freely because to my interests it matters but little.

As I think of those days and the friction and personal bitterness that grew out of them, I am reminded of the fact that along the borderland of Scotland you see mounds of stones, great cairns, built because every passer-by has thrown something upon the spot to build up a great monument. It started, perhaps, with a murder, or a battle, or a skirmish, but now to the modern traveller it simply stands as typifying some episode in the Scottish struggle for liberty. So my friends,

it may be that when this generation and its bitterness have passed away, when the student of Colorado politics, looking back upon the history of these days and unable to trace an adequate or a righteous reason for party hate and bitterness, may find, in these occurrences, a monument to the fact that in dark and bitter and trying days some men incurred the hate of others because they held aloft their party principles as the ark of the covenant.

In old days, we used to get on together. I look about upon this assemblage and recall, as the months go by, the faces of old friends with whom we have fought for thirty years. There could never be a time in the history of our party when it should be so easy for us to come together on a common basis. So far as I now know, no obnoxious person, and I can speak only for myself, is a candidate for an office, and we are united as a party, whatever may be our predilections on any questions, —united in faith and belief, and enthusiastically desiring the nomination for the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt.

The party campaign is upon us, and what excuse can any honest Republican find in his breast for failing to join with the party organization and to keep step to the music of the Union? As the years go by, I am admonished that those of us who once were young are stamped with furrowed cheek by the inexorable years and that which was imposed upon us will soon be imposed upon you who are younger and fresher. I have but one word of counsel to suggest, and that is, Be true and staunch to your party. What a miserable situation Colorado is now in in the upper House of Congress, with nobody to stand for our Government in its desire to build a Panama Canal; with nobody to stand up for our Administration in the Philippines; with nobody to stand shoulder to shoulder with the intelligent Republicans of the North and East and say: "We believe in the doctrine of Protection; we believe in a greater America; we believe in reaching out our hands to the farthermost portions of the sea, wherever we have a duty to perform to humanity; and whatever may be the outcome we will stand with the party and with the flag."

I was thinking, as our friends here were talking of Abraham Lincoln, that there are tens of thousands of Northern men living to-day who voted against Abraham Lincoln because they did not believe in the war. You could not hire one of them to admit it now. The best men in the State of Colorado went with silver and voted for Bryan. I want to tell you, my friends, they

are all back now—all that are worth having. I want to tell you that twenty years from now there is not a Republican in Colorado who will admit to the wife of his bosom that he ever voted against William McKinley.

All there is for us if we will build up our State and stand by American institutions, is to listen, is to be loyal to our party, to yield to the will of a majority fairly expressed. It is dishonorable for a man or set of men, against the wishes of the majority of the party, to withdraw from the responsibility imposed upon them, as it is dishonest for a minority to attempt to impose its wishes upon the majority.

It is for us to march steadily on, without anger, without hostility, yielding in personal prestige, always insisting upon party organization, standing with our brothers of the East on every great national question, eliminating from party consideration the petty questions of local and municipal rule.

The great Republican party has its mission of civilization and Christianization the world over, in behalf of that which is uplifting and upbuilding, remembering that in the century of which we but stand at the dawn the population of Colorado will be counted by the millions where it is now counted by the hundreds of thousands, and remembering that as this generation conducts itself so will the prosperity of our beloved commonwealth be benefited or injured in the generations to follow, —standing true always to the great principles of unity, which alone have brought our country safety and our State prosperity. So, and so only, can we fulfil the high duty of citizenship which devolves upon us; so, and so only, can we fulfil our obligations to our country and our commonwealth.

LAST STATE CONVENTION

Speech as Temporary Chairman of the Republican State Convention to select National delegates, Denver, May 6, 1894:

Ladies and Gentlemen: If my words are few and halting, as are my steps to-day, I know you will forgive me, and I know that you know that I speak from a full heart when I thank you for this further manifestation of your regard and affection. That was a pleasant omen of victory that you gave us in the Second District day before yesterday, when you renominated by acclamation for Congress Hon. Herschell M. Hogg, who has already taken so high and creditable a position in the lower

House of Congress, and who serves the people with the one end of promoting and advancing the welfare of the State of Colorado. And in this connection, my friends, it is fitting that we congratulate ourselves that that sturdy Republican, Mr. Bonynge, finally came to his due. If it is not quite satisfactory to us all to remember that he was seated unanimously by the House of Representatives upon identically the same testimony which the last General Assembly found insufficient to turn out the disreputable Democrats from that body, we must satisfy ourselves with remembering that distance sometimes lends clearness to the view.

The gratifying feature of this convention, my friends, is that once more we meet, knowing that we do not stop with our demonstration of Republicanism by sending delegates to a national convention, but that we propose to carry it out by giving a substantial majority at the polls. I remember, and so do some of you, soon after we became a State, when, in one Presidential election, Colorado, based upon its population, was the banner Republican State of the Union. Then came the unfortunate days of Weaver and of Bryan, when eight years ago we were unrepresented; when, four years ago we cast our votes in convention with love and affection for William McKinley, but knew that our aid, that Colorado's aid, closed with the convention, and we classed ourselves with the hopeless States of the South. But it is all different now. Massachusetts is no more certain than is Colorado to cast a Republican majority for our gallant leader, Theodore Roosevelt. I wish I might add with equal certainty that we will cast our ballots for Roosevelt and Springer.[1] We will do the best we can, but I confess that I am not as anxious as I was, because we need John Springer here in Denver to act as Mayor. And here we are going to have him.

All these possibilities of victory come to us because the members of the different wings of the Republican party have this year determined that factions shall cease and harmony shall reign. I know that I am on somewhat sensitive ground, where the fissures of old differences have but recently been closed. But we have learned our lesson. Since '93, Colorado has had many a rocky road to travel, and the great majority of our ills, including such lack of prestige as has come to Colorado from the other States of the Union, may be laid at the unhappy door of Fusion.

[1] Hon. John W. Springer, of Denver, who was a candidate for the Vice-Presidential nomination and also for Mayor of the city of Denver.

Year after year men fused their differences and satisfied their enmities and disappointments by alliance with other parties, until party fealty became a mockery and a by-word. My friends, our first duty is to our country, and there is no such fair test of good citizenship in the world as an intelligent and discriminating interest in our public affairs. Under our republican institutions it is inevitable that men who differ on questions of policy should ally themselves with one or the other of the great political parties of the Union, and when they have so allied themselves, they bind themselves to a fair and honest expression of the majority of their party.

I know of no Republican in Colorado fairly and honestly nominated by a convention of this party to whom I would not give my cheerful and ungrudging support, and no other rule can govern honest Republicans. If we follow it, we have a united and a victorious party. If we abandon it, we face a disunited and destroyed party; we may gratify some personal spite, but we lose the respect of our fellow-citizens and we injure irreparably the welfare of the State in which we live. I believe that these unhappy days are forever passed, and surely no convention ever met with greater promise of cheer in national affairs.

Republican administrations originated the idea of the great waterway between the two oceans; the Administration of President Roosevelt is carrying it out and making it a certainty. This Administration has seen laws fair and equitable passed for Porto Rico. It has dealt not only justly but generously with the island of Cuba, which was freed by our blood and by our treasure. We have so extended our beneficent rule in the Philippines that nothing now is heard of rebellion, and our government there is a tribute to American integrity and American capacity.

Above all, fellow-citizens, we have so preserved our Protective Tariff as that this country has had abounding prosperity and will enjoy it for years to come. The policy which has been the foundation of all our prosperity and our growth, adds millions of dollars to the wealth of America every year. By reason of it we have grown to the greatest place among all the nations of the earth. If Democracy comes into power, that policy is destroyed or imperilled. And the people of Colorado, so far as their votes are concerned, do not mean that this shall happen.

We are far from the ocean, but we are more vitally interested than any State in the Union in the policy of Protection.

Our sands and our clay, our steel and our iron, our lead and our copper, our sugar, our cattle, our sheep, and our farming products, all alike, flourish and are vivified because of the wise policy of the Protective Tariff which we propose, if it lies in our power, to see continued and uninterfered with. This is an old question. We have thrashed it out year after year, and it would become dull and dry and tiresome if it did not come home to the happiness of every man in the State of Colorado.

Important, however, as are these national questions, we are confronted with State issues of far greater moment. The Governor of this State, soon after his inauguration, found himself facing a most remarkable and critical situation. He dealt with it with great courage, seeking only the security of life and property, the maintenance of order, and obedience to law. For this policy and its carrying out he deserves the hearty approval and endorsement of every good citizen of Colorado, irrespective of party. For it is not a partisan question, and I know that this convention will gladly and cheerfully approve, and bear testimony of its approval, of his maintenance of order in obedience to law in Colorado.

I said a little while ago, my friends, that we face the certainty of victory. There is a condition attached to it, an unfortunate condition that exists in the city of Denver. There is not a city in the whole world existing under any pretence of free institutions so burdened as this. There are precincts and wards in Denver, where no vote that is cast is ever counted. There is precinct after precinct where the fraudulent votes registered, and I know cast, are returned as valid votes and where legitimate voters have no share in any election. This has been going on for three or four elections. All the low and wicked and vile influences of the community are brought to support this fraud. The strong arm of the law is lifted, not to protect the honest voter, who seeks to secure an honest election, but to strike him down and support the fraudulent machine which seeks to return a dishonest election. The situation is critical and seems wellnigh hopeless.

There are thousands of good citizens in Denver who would give their lives upon the battle-field for their country, who hesitate to go armed in these lower wards of Denver and help secure an honest election, because going armed is a violation of the letter of the law,—and yet who know if they do not go armed on election day they subject themselves to assaults by thugs employed for the purpose. And the public-utility corporations

of Denver, not content with the adequate and fair protection which Republican administrations have ever given them in every right and franchise they are entitled to enjoy, have joined hands with these disreputable elements and seek to destroy the integrity of this municipality. Under existing conditions, citizenship has no value.

Yet I believe that somehow out of this will victory come. We rely, first, upon our courageous leader—fearless, intrepid, and tireless—Colonel Springer. We rely next upon the public spirit which has been aroused in Denver, and which upon election day will pour an avalanche of votes against these fraudulent manipulators in precincts, where these votes must be counted. But, my friends, upon you, who live outside the blight of these frauds, a great responsibility rests. We beg of you to come to our help—to the help of the law against the wicked. You have done it in past years. We beg of you to do it again in greater measure than ever. A distinct Republican majority in the Legislature of Colorado will forever prevent the recurrence of these frauds in Denver, even if it requires the taking away of the charter of the city.

It would be easier, perhaps, for us as citizens to say: "Let it go; in time the wrongs will right themselves." It would, perhaps, be easier for you who live outside of Denver to say: "Let these people stew in their own juice, for which they are largely responsible." But, my friends, the stake for which we contend is worth every sacrifice. It is not the success of any individual, for that is paltry, but of this great commonwealth, which, set like a glittering jewel in the heart of the great Northwest, blest by the Almighty with wealth and possibilities far beyond those of any other State in the Union, is our home. Every instinct of our being demands that we keep it pure, that we make it an abode of peace and righteousness and honor, and that those who are to come after us shall receive it at our hands, swept and garnished, a fit home for free men.

THE LAST SPEECH

At the Coliseum in Denver, November 7, 1904:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am touched by this cordial and kindly reception. I feel moved to make but one personal explanation, and it is that the reason I have not participated more early in the campaign has been solely because, though I do not count my years as old, I have become weary to death of personal abuse, vituperation, and slander.

They have followed me since '96. While this persistency does not keep me awake at night, it yet makes me feel that there are times when the post of honor is the private station, and I can say to you that I have no political enemy attacked by vituperation and slander, and no political friend similarly attacked, that my feeling toward him is not kindlier and warmer because of attacks upon his private character.

We have more of personal abuse in Colorado, I fear, than in most of the States, and while for the moment it meets the passions that partisanship engenders, in the end it lowers the moral tone and degrades the community which endures and tolerates it.

It is two years ago this week since I had the pleasure of addressing an audience in this hall, and while some of our friends were unable from various causes to be present we yet had a very delightful ratification meeting.

We are going to hold another one at the close of this week. We will have our Governor upon the stage this time, and the rest of us who are not here on the platform will be down with you in the audience.

There are many tests, my friends, of Republicanism. The best one I know of is the voting of the Republican ticket.

It is very easy when the candidates named are your personal preference; but when the time comes, if it ever does, when interests may seem to dominate with which you may not be in

sympathy, or which you think not best for the party's interest, then comes the party test, and there is but one thing to do—and that is to walk up to the polls and vote the Republican ticket.

And if you differ with anybody in your own party on any question, the only thing to do is to fight it out within the ranks of your party. Never go outside and throw stones at your own house.

Not since the early days before the Civil War has there been a national campaign waged as quietly throughout this country as this has been. But it does not mean apathy; it means certainty; and it means that the people of this country see nothing to be excited about, because the Republican ticket is sure to be elected.

Although there are issues overshadowing this, we cannot and should not at this time, on the day before the National election, let the occasion pass without some reference to the great National issues in which Colorado is so much interested.

We have to face two or three problems of great importance. The first is the Philippines, and as to that, my friends, it is my sincere judgment that the United States paid a far greater penalty than Spain for the Spanish War. I know, because I was in the Senate at the time when we took the Philippines; we took them through no love of aggrandizement, through no selfish desire for territory. We took them because if we had turned them back to Spain, we would have turned seven millions of people back to a condition worse than slavery, worse than servitude. And having taken them, with the burden imposed upon us by Christianity and by civilization, there is but one course left for an honorable nation to pursue. That is to take these people and lift them up, by education, to a condition where they can govern themselves. That is what the people of these United States propose to do, and they do not propose to turn over the government of those islands to the Democratic party, the chief candidate of which advocates their immediate abandonment and the leaving of them as flotsam and jetsam upon the face of the Southern seas.

More than that, the other question which affects us so vitally is the great question of protection of American industries and the protection of American labor. We are more interested in it than almost any State in the Union. Nothing comes from our soil or from out the bowels of the earth in this great State that is not benefited by the policy of Protection, and while in the years that are past we stood isolated between the oceans, and without need of protection because of the terri-

tory that surrounded us that was non-productive, that day has passed. The price of metals, the price of steel, and the price of commodities that enter into ordinary life are regulated in Colorado by their price in the East, and the upbuilding of our State, with its splendid resources, must ever rest upon the great principle of protection to American industries. The enemy talks to us of a revision of the tariff. Did you ever think what it means? It means that the tariff should be revised because industries that would never have had existence had it not been for the great policy of Protection have been now so enabled to grow and establish themselves and thrive that a lower tariff may be imposed and these industries continue to live. There are good citizens who believe in that revision, but believe that it should come at the hands of the friends of the policy, and not at the hands of its enemies. And when revision comes, as come it will, it will come at the hands of the Republican party, which has made these industries possible.

Beyond all, my friends, we are confronted with the question as to whether we want to continue in power the Republican party, that party which has saved our country and has built it up, whose name and whose principles cluster around every achievement that tells for human liberty, the dignity of human labor, or the advancement of human civilization.

The people of Colorado, in what I believe to have been their blindness, have let three Republican Presidents go into the executive chair without their endorsement and against their vote. I believe that day is ended forever in this commonwealth, and that we again stand with our faces to the foe against a solid South, and in favor of a Protective policy and a Republican Administration.

But even these great National issues, vital as they are, are overwhelmed by the great question which presents itself to us, whether within the State of Colorado free government shall be maintained and law and order established.

It is not a question of whether we shall vindicate Governor Peabody, because the results have vindicated him. It is a question of whether the majority of the citizens of Colorado will to-morrow put upon record a notice to the world that the State of Colorado stands for the right to live and the right to labor, without which the republican form of government is a sham and a degradation.

The facts leading up to the policy which has been carried out by the Chief Executive of this State are known to us all. They are familiar as household words.

I do not propose to go into their details, but I do propose to state, so far as I can, a short summary of them, because, before we go to the polls to-morrow morning, it may be well that our sense of public duty shall be quickened and strengthened by recalling the appalling occurrences here during the past ten years.

Eleven years ago, as you know, at a time when Colorado had been admirably governed, when its miners were contented and happy with the wage they received, when our mines were prosperous, and pleasant relations existed between employers and employees all over these mountains and in these valleys and cañons, there was organized a murderous set of Cœur d'Alene miners, an organization known as the Western Federation of Miners.

These men, by covert threats and open acts, forced into its membership thousands and thousands of decent miners who had no sympathy with bloody acts or unlawful conduct, but who realized that they could not continue to work unless they joined this organization, governed, not by its members, but by an inner circle devoted to unlawful means, if necessary, to carry out their ends.

I will not go into their conduct, their bloody conduct, their ambushes and their murders in the Cœur d'Alenes; the record of Colorado is sad and tragic enough. A year after its organization, in the Bull Hill campaign, when Governor Waite imposed the authority of law on behalf of striking miners, when deputy sheriffs were killed, as a condition of peace, acting as an emissary of the Western Federation of Miners, he established a wage in the Cripple Creek district which has never yet been changed, of $3 minimum and of eight hours a day of work.

And then followed in 1896 the organization of the Western Federation of Miners in the Leadville mines, when, in the absence of other mischief to do, these people set fire to and burned the new buildings and shaft-houses of the Coronado mine, and when as honest and brave an Irishman as ever lived, Jerry O'Keefe of the Fire Department, went in the fulfilment of his duty to extinguish the flames, they shot him from ambush. And during the weeks that ensued they killed secretly and openly twenty or thirty of the miners of the district, and their bodies to-day are probably rotting in prospecting shafts at Leadville. That was their conduct in 1896.

In 1899, in the small town of Lake City, where we had an

armory, this labor organization, presumably devoted to promoting "a peaceful solution" of labor questions between the employer and employee, broke into the armory of the State and robbed it of its firearms. Their next act was in 1901, when the awful Telluride murders took place—when on July 3d, the day before we, as American citizens, celebrate the birth of American liberty, two hundred and fifty miners, under the lead of a man named St. John, now a fugitive from justice, marched to the Smuggler-Union mine, in the possession of its owners, and assailed it with revolvers and with guns, and when the eighty-three men within it, defending it as long as they could, unable to withstand a longer fight, sent word to the commander that they would yield if they were permitted to return to their homes in Telluride. That liberty was promised them under a flag of truce, but as these eighty-three unarmed men marched out, these Western Federation miners assaulted them with revolvers, with brass knuckles, and with other weapons, and beat some of them into insensibility, and started the whole lot of them on a dreary climb over mountain paths, full of vicissitudes, and above timber line, between twenty and thirty miles to the nearest settlement. When any of them did n't go fast enough they shot them down. One of them, wounded, crept into a cabin. They found him the next day, the Fourth of July, and, of all days in the year, beat him again, shot him in the back, and started him over the range. Another man they shot through both arms while on his way, but he dragged himself to the nearest settlement, where his life was saved.

They killed two or three of them. The rest they drove out of the camp, their only crime being that they did not have a card and were working for their wives and children at the prevailing wage.

They followed this work by murders so awful, and so secret, and so terrible that you would hardly believe the record. One mine boss with his dinner-pail in his hand, marching out at night to take his place on the night shift, was shot down, buried somewhere, and never heard of.

One man, a foreman in a livery stable, waiting to go to his mine, was followed by some of these Federation people, was heard to say "Don't murder me," and from that day to this has never been heard of.

Another mine boss was seen in the evening in the presence of two or three Federation miners, and his body has never been found.

The next year in Telluride came the awful murder of Arthur Collins, a pure-minded, generous, and able man, shot in the back through the window, while he was sitting in his own room in the presence of his friends.

Those were the Telluride experiences; and Governor Orman, far worse than Governor Waite—for Orman professed not to entertain Populistic sympathies and should have had common intelligence,—added infinitely to the difficulties and embarrassments of the situation by not only refusing to send help, but by encouraging the strikers in their violent attitude.

And the following year came the troubles of the Standard mill in Colorado City, when these Western Federation miners, numbering about forty out of three hundred employees, with no question as to wages or hours, sought to compel the owners of that mill to employ nobody but members of their Federation. When they declined, by force and by threats they got out as many of the men as they could, and then lay in ambush to pop shots at those who remained, and inaugurated a series of assaults, a system of disorder there, until the Governor of the State called out some of the troops.

Right here, my friends, I want to bear my humble tribute to the lofty patriotism and noble character and uncomplaining conduct of the rank and file of the militia of the State of Colorado. With as great patriotism as was ever displayed on San Juan Hill, or in the swamps in the Philippines, these men, in difficulty and in danger, faced the situation and stood for the maintenance of law and order and obedience to the Chief Executive of the State.

Following this strike, my friends, unable to conquer the Standard mill, because its owners were men of indomitable will and character, they went to the Cripple Creek district, where men were working under a wage which they had agreed to accept and with which they found no fault, and in order to compel the mine-owners to send no ore to the Standard mill, they ordered a strike and by force and fraud and threats forced out four thousand men in the district. Then the Governor, in response to a call from every man who represented anything in that district, sent down the militia to protect them.

The record of the crimes that have been committed in that Cripple Creek district in the two years of that strike passes belief among a Christian people. Miners whose only offence was in not belonging to the union, had their cabins dynamited and blown to nothing. Assayers, five of them, who did not pay

enough for stolen ore to satisfy the greed of these men, had their offices dynamited.

A carpenter, a poor old man of nearly sixty, with a family, because he was a non-union man, was assaulted in the back and crippled for life.

A justice of the peace who held a man guilty for carrying concealed weapons against the law was assaulted in the back with knuckles and knocked down and left insensible.

A colored barber who did not belong to a union had his house dynamited, and was so injured that he died of his sufferings four or five months later.

Ore was stolen right and left, and the law was powerless because the jury was invariably packed by a Western Federation sheriff, until it became a farce to attempt to convict anybody of stealing ore.

A railroad agent at Independence, who did not happen to belong to a union, was assaulted and driven from the country.

An electric car, carrying passengers, because the Western Federation was opposed to the railroad, was sought to be thrown from the track by the pulling of the spikes at a place where there was an embankment of four hundred feet; but fortunately the plot was discovered in time to save a terrible loss of life.

A railroad switch on the Florence and Cripple Creek road was twice sought to be thrown, each time just before the arrival of passenger trains with innocent men and women upon them, simply because the strikers wanted to wreak their vengeance upon that railroad.

These are startling crimes, and they culminated on June 6th, when a band of men at Independence station, guilty of no wrong but the desire to support their wives and children and give them the necessary home and what comforts they could, with their dinner-pails in their hands, were dynamited by these fiends, and thirteen of them killed and many of them crippled and wounded. There are in Victor to-day two men, with both their legs gone as a result of this outrage, and one with one leg blown off, living witnesses to the atrocities that were committed.

They differ, my friends, only from the crimes of the Apaches and the Sioux in the early days of Colorado and the West, in that the Apaches and the Sioux did not know the use of dynamite.

This is only a brief summary of the awful tragedies which have disgraced and disfigured our State for the last ten years,

and which Governor Peabody, finding them increasing in volume and cruelty, has checked so that they shall never recur. There are other facts, but I do not care to go into them.

Few good citizens in this State doubt the wisdom, the necessity, and the desirability of his course of conduct, except always as to the deportation of miners or anybody from the limits of this State, which I believe to have been a mistake. Its object was merciful, because it saved them from the just indignation of a people whose lives had been sought, whose property had been destroyed, and who were unsafe in their homes while these men remained. I say this only as to the deportation from the State, which was intended to be merciful.

As to the distribution of men throughout the limits of this State, there was the same right as had the Chief Executive of Indiana, when during the Civil War he broke up and scattered the members of the Knights of the Golden Circle, who sought the destruction of the welfare of our country.

No man can question that right. I must say, I am inclined to view this deportation question as of not much importance, for I myself, although I have lived here thirty-one years, was deported two years ago. They thought I would hurt the Republican ticket if I stayed.

But they have let me come back, and if I am good, they let me talk a little. When I saw my name with others on a tramway car in Denver to-day, I said with Brother Jasper of Richmond, "Certainly the sun do move."

But as I say, fellow-citizens, except as to the one incident no good citizen with whom I have talked has ever made the slightest question as to the wisdom and desirability of what has taken place, and this campaign seems to proceed upon the question of the legal situation, the legal condition, and as to whether or not the Governor, who by his inexorable courage and his inflexible will has brought order out of chaos, has proceeded according to the rules and forms of law. We have able lawyers in our party who show precedents for every act that has taken place, and to their arguments our judgment largely yields. But I approach the subject from another side. An insurrection existed; the facts showed it; the Governor upon investigation declared it.

The general of the army whom the President sent out here reported to his Chief that an insurrection existed. The officers of the law in the different counties where the Federation flourished were, nearly all of them, traitors to their State. Juries

were packed by members of the Federation until no man could be convicted. There are counties in the State where the writs of the commonwealth did not reach.

Now, fellow-citizens, the power to maintain law and order is lodged somewhere. It is the foundation of our form of government, and who but the Chief Executive is charged with the duty of establishing and maintaining peace and order?

The State of Colorado, set in the heart of the mountains, has a situation peculiar to the Mountain States. We have a vast area of rich and splendid mineral country. It is sparsely settled necessarily. It is full of rocky defiles and mountain cañons, remote and solitary and hidden, and many of its mines are remote and almost inaccessible. This country affords place for ambush if bad men infest it.

In the early days, my friends, no ore bin was ever locked and no miner ever bolted his cabin-door when he went to bed. I remember in the early '70's at Georgetown, nestled among the hills, when late at night we would see some man climbing the slow trail, see him by the twinkling of the lantern he carried, and we knew he was going to take his place on the night shift. We would see him creeping up the mountains, as safe as he would be on Sixteenth Street at noonday. We walked these hills, these mountains, in safety and we did not have to carry a card with us, and these men in those days worked for a fair wage in the mines on friendly relations with their employers. They worked until they got money enough to either take a lease on some undeveloped property or until they had money enough for a grub-stake to go out on the hills and work and try to find a property of their own. These were the relations that existed in those early days.

In my younger days, when I was ardent, in the hope that young men cherish for the future, I always believed that the labor question would be settled by the growing beneficence of mankind; that men grow kinder as they grow older, and as the world grew older classes would come nearer together. And so they did, in those early days of Colorado, until this Western Federation of Miners, with its inner circle making good men among its membership responsible for the bad conduct of its secret conclave, imposed a gospel of hatred as its doctrine and sought to create trouble and hostility between employer and employee, which is our situation to-day.

No man who knows Governor Adams would believe for a

moment that he is affiliated and allied with the Western Federation of Miners. I do not, but in view of the assurances that he has given his party in this State as to the use he would make of the strong arm of the law, or rather the non-use he would make of it, I am led to believe that the people of this State would be infinitely worse off with a weak man than with a vicious one.

They tell us it costs money, this action of our Governor's. Of course it costs money. No man ever fought for liberty and freedom without cost and sacrifices, but it will cost us if we defeat our Governor this year ten times as much before we find law and order re-established in Colorado. This is the condition we confront. I believe, fellow-citizens, there will be one answer at the polls to-morrow.

I object, however, to one assurance that I have read as being made frequently by the friends of our own party upon the stump, and that is that an undesirable result to-morrow, or any other day, will be a final disaster to Colorado. Not so, my friends. There is a nucleus of good men and honest hearts and courageous people in Colorado that will not be daunted by any disaster however it may come.

I recall how we had Waite, who oppressed us and made us a laughing-stock and drove capital from our State. And we had Orman, who was as bad or worse. Then we had Bryanism which lifted us up and carried us on a wave of folly until we lost our moral sense of what was due the other States of the Union.

Now we have this awful band of secret assassins known as the Western Federation of Miners, which the Governor has scotched but may not wholly have killed, and yet I say that there is a future for us.

When I think of Colorado I recall the picture of Hope, by the great master Watts, who sits upon a dim and dark and swirling world, with her eyes bandaged, with but one star shining in the sky, holding a lute in her hands, all the strings broken but one, and leaning over to catch from that one string some note of melody that shall give her courage to go on.

So, I say in Colorado, my friends, there are enough brave and good men to face whatever in the Providence of God may be in store for us, until the end; and we shall finally make Colorado the home of good men and good women, where they may rear their children and bury their dead. We shall make it the home of a decent, a happy, a prosperous, and a free people.

POLITICAL SPEECHES OUTSIDE OF COLORADO

IN IOWA IN 1888

BEFORE Republican Clubs of Iowa, Des Moines, May 2, 1888:

The National Convention is still a month before us, and we must wait until November for the Presidential election; you have "waked and called us early," Mr. Chairman, but none too soon. To Western Republicans, who love their homes because they made them, and their country because they helped to make it free; especially to the younger Republicans, who are content to follow and not ambitious to lead, asking only to bear their share of the burden and heat of the day, the clamor of the approaching conflict is sweetest music.

In these later days of uncertainties, when a long and honorable record is successfully advanced as a reason for deposing a great political party, it is gratifying to meet with the representative Republicans of a State whose loyalty has never wavered, and whose unquestioned and patriotic devotion to the great principles which animate the party has known no change or shadow of turning. Colorado owes an eternal debt of gratitude to Iowa. When the news of our great mineral resources first drew across the then barren miles of desert the sturdy settlers and fortune-seekers, the young men of Iowa kept pace with the immigrants from Missouri and the South. And although for a time in the earlier Territorial days, rebels and Confederates were almost as much respected and honored in Colorado as they are now in Washington, yet the Iowa contingent never faltered. They brought with them even as their religion, the passionate love of country, and firm adherence to the party that was to save it, which they had here learned in their boyhood; and as they hewed from the virgin forests their little homes in the

valley and their cabins on the mountain-side, they built into them altars to freedom and good government, and the heights on which they dwelt were forever consecrated to liberty. The fires they lighted have never been extinguished, and because of these men and their influence and their teachings, Colorado in a Presidential year gives, in proportion to her population, as large a Republican majority as the great State of Iowa. And all the calumnies of Democratic candidates yet invented have not served to take it away or lessen it.

Nations, like individuals, are sometimes swept by vagary and caprice. Upon no other theory, when the history of these times shall be written and the actors in them shall have passed away, can the apparent result of the election of four years ago be explained. Think of it! Here was a Republic cursed with slavery; a party born in obscurity and poverty and hate, but nurtured by intrepid spirits, taking the name of Republican, organized to make this a free people. When war followed its victory at the polls, its members, that the Nation might live and not die, gave themselves and their first-born, laying down their lives as gladly as men go to a feast. Rebellion was crushed, and this same party carried though the Reconstruction acts with a magnanimity and unselfishness such as the world has never seen in a victorious people. The camp-followers and the greedy, attracted by the hope of plunder, attended in the wake, seeking to drag down and to gather spoil; but the Republican party, true to its record and the purity of its principles, drove them out, established the country on a firm financial basis and gave us, under Garfield and Arthur, as pure, as able, and as patriotic an Administration as this Republic had enjoyed since the days of Washington.

Arrayed against this party we had always expected to see the solid South, always solid, always preventing with iron hand the legitimate votes of that section from being either cast or counted;—the same old South whose guns we silenced and whose forts we captured, but upon whose ideas the North has never made the faintest impress, by force or by kindness, and whose beliefs we could never conquer. Within her whole broad domains no man who ever wore the Confederate gray, or his children after him, can you find who will admit that the doctrine of secession was pernicious and wrong, or that the principles for which the North fought and triumphed were forever right. The solid South, like the poor, we have always with us. But that even the few necessary votes in the North could be found

to join that South in reinstating it in power, simply exemplifies again the old story of the banishment of Aristides the Just. You remember Aristides was recalled, and so, when again the people are called upon to judge between the party that saved the Union and the party that sought to compass its destruction, our glorious record will never again be used as a means for our defeat. The skies are already bright with promises; the Democratic triumph of four years ago has served only to add to that party's ranks the camp-followers and the unworthy. The Republican party was not nourished on official pap; in the vigor of its manhood it does not require that sustenance, and in the hour of defeat we march together with the same undaunted faith in the triumph of Republican principles as in the day of victory.

Already State and local Democratic conventions are "pointing with pride" to the present Administration. A man who would point with pride to the Administration of President Cleveland would point with pride to the Missouri River. He commenced his term by appointing as Ministers abroad ex-rebels who had to wait to get their disabilities removed before they could represent the Nation that exists in spite of their efforts to destroy it. He signalized the purity which was to characterize his term, by pardoning from the penitentiary at Cincinnati, on the eve of an election, thugs and murderers who had been convicted of Democratic election frauds. He promised us a Civil-Service reform in its integrity; he has permitted such fraudulent methods in conducting his pretended Civil Service that already more than ninety per cent. of the offices of the Government are held by Democrats. His attitude toward the Pension bills presented him has been that which a man who had no share and felt no sympathy in our glorious struggle might naturally take. And finally, he has given the country a Free-Trade manifesto which his own party is busily seeking to explain away, and is afraid to follow in its entirety.

So far, I think, no Democratic convention has "pointed with pride" to the Democratic majority in the lower House of Congress. "Skim milk masquerades as cream." Nothing accomplished, everybody at sea—and the wind flows free! The whole history of American legislation furnishes no parallel in imbecility to the last two sessions of the National House of Representatives, controlled by a Democratic majority. The redeeming feature of their course is that they are furnishing campaign arguments for their overthrow; and, unless all signs fail, it will be different "when the robins nest again."

On March 6th last, in the Senate of the United States, the debate on the Dependent Pension Bill was resumed. I desire, even as a stranger among strangers, to take the first public occasion of expressing my hearty accord and approval of the sentiments on that day expressed by the Hon. John J. Ingalls. One sentence of his speech has been distorted by his adversaries and political capital sought to be made out of it. He said, in substance, referring to the two Union Generals who had been Democratic candidates for the Presidency, what every man in the land, Democratic or Republican, knows to be true,—that any man in the North accepting such a nomination becomes the cat's-paw and ally of an unrepentant and a solid South. No one seriously doubts the loyalty during the war of Generals McClellan and Hancock, yet when the defence of their loyalty and patriotism is entrusted in the United States Senate to an Indiana Copperhead and a Rebel Major-General from Kentucky, it is time for the friends of their memory to feel alarmed.

For one, I am heartily tired of the suggestion, so common these days among a certain class, that the man who carried a musket in the armies of the North should forget it, keep silence about it, or apologize for it. All over the South the memory of the Lost Cause is treasured, its sacredness is taught to the children as they grow to manhood, and on every pretext the old flags are brought out. But when a Northern man ventures to refer to the sacrifices which were made to save the Union, he is told that he is keeping alive sectional hate. Our Southern brother is mistaken. We cherish no sectional animosities. But there is one thing he can never understand; and that is, that there is not, and never will be, in the Republic, so noble and so high an incentive to good citizenship and noble living as that furnished by the example of the men who counted their lives as naught, that the Union should be preserved; and that it will be a sad presage for the future of our common country if the glory of their achievements shall be ever forgotten: that though dead they yet speak:

> "Above or underneath,
> What matter, brothers, if you keep your post
> On duty's side?"

Other questions and issues, especially that of the tariff, you will, I know, gladly pardon me if I do not discuss. Between now and November we will all have enough of the tariff;

we will be gorged with it, and will feel somewhat like the young woman at the seashore last summer, who said she had eaten so many clams that she rose and fell with the tide. There are, however, one or two matters in which Iowa and Colorado have a common interest, to which I must refer; matters concerning which there may be room for men to differ, but upon which I must speak if I would be true to my convictions.

There is of late a growing tendency in Western States, in both parties alike, to look upon corporations, and railroad corporations especially, as if they were public enemies, and upon all men who are in any way connected with them, as if they were conspirators and hardly entitled to the rights of citizenship. Some of this feeling arises unconsciously, of course, from the fact that in these far Western States the ownership of the property is almost exclusively in the East, and it is easy to legislate about other people's property. Most of it, however, comes from an honest desire to obtain the proper performance on the part of railroads of their duties to the public. Anything which savors of a conspiracy to unduly raise prices, call it trusts or what you may, any sort of favoritism or discrimination, whereby sections or towns or peoples or individuals receive special privileges or are made to suffer unjust burdens, is abhorrent to the American idea of fair play, and should be crushed with an iron hand; and if rates are exorbitant they should be made reasonable. But when all this is said, something still remains to say. The railroads have been the most important and vital factor in building up the West; we want them all, and more of them; their prosperity is ours, and their interests and ours are identical. We invited them to come and invest their millions, and it is as vicious and wicked to rob them of the legitimate fruits of their investment as it would be to rob the widow and the orphan under pretence of law. I don't care to dwell further on the subject; but I do believe that it does pay to be fair and honest, and that it does not pay to be a demagogue.

Just a word, too, on the labor question. We all believe in the dignity of labor and heartily approve of all organizations seeking to improve the condition of the laboring men, and the Republican party, by wiping out human slavery and protecting American industries, and wherever otherwise opportunity has offered, has uniformly arrayed itself on the side of the laboring man. Any man has the right to work, and, if he does not thereby compel the public to support him, has the right to cease

work whenever he sees fit. But it is none the less true that if any man in the Republic, call him what name you will, is offered work and desires to do it, and is not protected while doing it, even if it takes the whole armies of these United States to guard him, then is the fabric of this Government rotten, and its Constitution a lie.

And now,—about Chicago! Never, it would seem, has such interest centred in a similar event, for, whoever the nominee may be, the Republican party believes that, under God, he will be elected. There is to-night, unspoken, one name upon all our lips, before which, for the moment, all other names must stand aside; that of our generous, chivalric, gallant captain, who carries with him, wherever he may go, our loving thought and loyalest devotion. How gladly would we cast our lot with his; how eagerly would we follow his fortunes! And not alone because his leadership would surely bring us victory, but that we might show him how all the lies and venom and calumny heaped upon him by dishonorable foes had served only to tattoo across all our hearts, in letters which a loving memory will never permit to fade, the name of Blaine! Because, however, we believe in the sincerity of the man, we must believe in the sincerity of his declination. No man can speak for a State; least of all can any man speak for Colorado (every voter out there is equally a boss); but it is my personal opinion that most of us are in favor of whomsoever New York wants, and that we hope the Empire State will be content with that able statesman who has been the best friend, outside the State, Colorado and the white metal have ever known, the Hon. Wm. B. Allison.

We are ready for the campaign. The past is radiant with achievement, the future bright with promise. The laggards, the time-servers, and the seekers after spoils we have shaken from us. Every four years brings to the front new voters and young blood. Come with us! The safety of the Nation and the permanence of its institutions must ever rest in the courage of young hearts and the vigor of a noble manhood. Come with us! Identify yourselves with the party which has never taken a step backward and whose mission has ever been to lift up the downtrodden and oppressed, and plant their feet on the eternal rock of liberty. You love the flag. Attach yourselves to the party which has preserved its thirty-eight stars! To you the Republican party offers the right hand of fellowship—a hand unsoiled with treason and unstained with its country's blood.

IN NEW YORK IN 1888

At a New York State Republican rally, Saratoga, N. Y., July 11, 1888:

The high honor you have conferred upon me in inviting me to say a word at this magnificent assemblage of the Republicans of the Republican Organizations of the State of New York, I must consider not as a personal tribute to any ability of my own, but must know that it comes to me because it is fitting that on an occasion like this some word of cheer should come to you from the West, where States are never doubtful and where Republicanism knows no change nor shadow of turning. Colorado is the youngest of the Sisterhood. She was settled by Eastern men, and as they hewed their cabins on the mountain-side they built in them altars to liberty and good government. The fires those earlier settlers kindled have never been extinguished, and whether this fall the grand State of New York again suffers her interests to be sacrificed through default, or whether she redeems herself and parts company with a South that seems forever solid, you will find our lights trimmed and burning as long as there is a Republican party to support.

In the Republican Convention at Chicago New York named both the candidates and should elect them with the best of good feeling. There were some who claimed that the States with the largest proportionate majorities should have corresponding voice in determining the personnel of the candidates, and that it should not be considered that some men were born great, while others came from doubtful States. Every Republican throughout the land is pleased with the choice of the Convention, and in this connection I desire to say that no man who attended the Chicago Convention came away from it without being strongly moved by the exalted patriotism and self-abnegation of that distinguished citizen of this State who stepped aside in deference to certain temporary sectional views which had no solid basis, rather than in the slightest degree to affect by his candidacy the success of his party;—a gentleman who, in addition to his other high claims to the respect and esteem of his fellow-men, has endeared himself to every lover of learning, by his interest in education and educational institutions. I refer, of course, to the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew.

The campaign is still so young that our friends the enemy have not yet found time to concoct the slanders, which are sure to come, respecting our candidates. They have difficult work before them, and it is gratifying that General Harrison, in a country where we have no nobility save that which comes of nobility of conduct, has demonstrated by his career that the effect of Republican institutions is to prove and not to deter inherited abilities; that he is a gentleman of clean life and noble purposes; that when his country was assailed he himself went to her defence, and not by proxy, and that during the whole of that conflict, which made heroes by the hundred, no man furnished a higher Christian example in the camp or bore himself with more conspicuous gallantry on the field of battle. We are justified in assuming that if he announces himself as opposed to a second term he won't take it back. Of the distinguished statesman [1] who is associated with General Harrison on the Presidential ticket, you of New York are most competent to speak. We of the West are exceedingly gratified, in these times of flunkyism, over the nomination of the gentleman who was able to represent his country abroad in an important mission and not return ashamed of her, and we are not sorry that he is neither a Bourbon nor a Roman, and that his qualities of heart are not such as to be best exemplified by a bandanna handkerchief.

The younger men of the country represent the generation that has grown to maturity since the War. To them must be entrusted the welfare of this people and the preservation of our Constitution. Prominent among the duties that devolve on us is that of keeping alive in all our hearts the love for our common country, preserving it as the ark of our covenant. The Democracy tell us that the war is over and that we are again a united country. True, but if we let its lessons fade and the memories of its heroes die we are unworthy of the country which gave us birth and of the names we bear; and until there is some recognition on the part of Southern leaders that the cause for which they fought was wrong and vicious in principle; until the South ceases to be solid—solid for no political principle, for it pretends to none, but simply solid for the Democratic party because that party sympathized with it throughout the War of the Rebellion—and until that solid South ceases standing toward the North with unbroken ranks, until there

[1] Hon. Levi P. Morton, former Governor of New York and former Minister to France.

is some disposition to permit the colored man to vote and equalize the ballot with the representation, the lesson of the war will not have been taught or its fruits gathered.

We have had enough of Democratic rule. We can excuse the appointment to foreign missions, of the Rebel brigadiers, who had to wait to get their disabilities removed before they could serve, for these are the people who controlled the Democratic politics. We are not surprised at the bastard Civil Service of the Administration which has already found excuse to replace with Democrats more than ninety per cent. of the public office-holders, for nobody believed in Democratic pretentions respecting Civil Service. These things we can tolerate. But there are others less bearable. There has never been a National Administration, except that of James Buchanan, where patriotism and patriotic services have been openly and wantonly treated with contempt and obloquy except this.

Four years ago they told us that there were no issues before the people, but that if they were let into power they would reform things generally, and unearth the gigantic frauds which the Republican party had been committing. Enough men in the North were found to give them an apparent majority, and in four years, though they have practically turned all the Republicans out of office, not a single fraud or a single defalcation has been discovered. So this year, having no further reason to advance for his continuance in office, President Cleveland gave us a direct issue, Free Trade or Protection. Yet the Convention at St. Louis took out as much of Mr. Cleveland's message as the leaders thought might bring them disaster in New York, and attempted to leave the platform and purposes of the party where they may be construed as the interests of each section may seem to require.

The platform of the Chicago Convention, however, declares the principles of the Republican party in words which leave no mind in doubt. The party is for American industries and American labor, and upon that doctrine it invites the support of those who labor and those who employ labor. In the West there is no question about the result, and we believe that the State of New York, with its vast and varied interests, will not lend a doubtful support. In other States, however, we do not fear unfavorable results. The Republican party has never been more united than now. Defeat has but served to weed out the camp-followers and the unworthy, and we march in these days of temporary Democratic triumph with the same unfaltering trust

in the good judgment of the people of the North as in the days of our victory.

Each four years brings to the front new voters who for the first time cast their ballots. The safety of this nation and the permanency of its institutions must ever rest in the courage of young hearts and the vigor of a noble manhood. You remember that among the ancients the Temple of Virtue was placed before the Temple of Fame, indicating that the way to the latter must be through the former. What was true of individuals is true of political parties. While through vagary and caprice the Democratic party won an apparent triumph four years ago, we may be certain that it can never win permanent success. Its foundations are rotten; its fabric is built upon hostility to the Union, Repudiation, and Free Trade, and cannot last.

NOMINATING BLAINE

AT the Minneapolis Convention, nominating James G. Blaine for the Presidency, June 10, 1892:

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The Republicans of the West sometimes differ with the Republicans of the East as to what is wanted. On this occasion there is remarkable unanimity between genuine Republicans of the West and genuine Republicans of the East as to who is needed, and his name is Blaine!

It is to us a matter of comparative indifference who shall lead the Democratic hosts, but we trust they will once more renominate their prophet of tariff reform, in order that we may demonstrate how short a life have slander and calumny, that a chastened country may repair the wrong of 1884, and stamp with the seal of final disapproval a policy which could lead only to impoverishment at home and which brought only contempt and dishonor abroad.

There is practical agreement among the delegates at this Convention, certainly among the representatives of the Republican States, as to who our leader should be, and its expression would find unanimous voice were there not a mistaken feeling among certain of our associates that the bestowal of office is a personal gift. The welfare of our beloved party, Mr. Chairman, is of infinitely greater importance than the vindication or nomination of any man within its ranks, and when the roll of States is called, I believe it will be remembered that the obligations of office are repaid solely by faithful performance of its duties, and that manhood and independence are never bartered among good men for the emoluments and honors of public station.

Our candidate, Mr. Chairman, has never been President of the United States; but he will be. If he has not yet occupied that office, he has, by his devotion to the party, made Republi-

can Presidents possible, and he has enriched and guided two administrations with his sagacity and statesmanship. We are honored and respected abroad; we owe it to his statecraft. We are gathering the republics of all America together in bonds of closest friendship; it is because he devised the plan and shaped the policy. We are protecting our own people on the farm and in the workshop, and by wise concessions are inducing the nations of the world to open their gates to our products. His far-seeing and discriminating vision saw the possibilities of Reciprocity and induced us to foster it. There is no public measure since the days of Reconstruction which has tended to the advancement of our country with which he is not identified, and when the history of this generation of our Republic shall be written his name will stand foremost among its statesmen. No official title or station can add to or detract from the lustre of his fame, but we may at least let history record that such as we had to give we gave with loyal and loving hearts.

The best gifts in this world are not for those who seek them. Our votes are to be cast for one who is almost every Republican's candidate except his own. For my own part I rejoice that the opportunity is given me of casting my vote for a nominee who seeks nothing for himself but everything for his country. And the same devotion to the Nation's welfare which has guided him in his public life for nearly a generation insures his acceptance of any duty which this Convention may impose upon him.

For many months there has been apprehension in the public mind respecting his health and strength. It is gratifying to be able to state that the fears which have moved us are groundless. For our country's sake and his own we could wish that he were again the young and ardent leader who has guided his party through countless battles and that his youth could be renewed like the eagle's. Experience, however, Mr. Chairman, comes only with ripening years. The same unconquerable will and lofty patriotism still dominate his being, and though time has tinged his hair with white, and the years of struggle in his country's service have left their impress, he still stands for us who love him the embodiment of all that is brightest and best in American statesmanship, and, mellowed and broadened by the creeping hours of time, we thank God that he is still amply able and equipped to give to the people of these States an administration which shall protect our own citizens, and, look-

ing beyond the confines of our borders, embrace the well-being of all America.

And so, Mr. Chairman, we turn in the hour when victory is at hand to the intrepid leader who shaped for his party the policy which has lifted it above the danger of further defeat.

To those of us who belong to the younger element of the party, who are content to follow and not ambitious to lead, who ask only to bear their share of the burden and heat of the day, he stands as our ideal, our inspiration. His name is engraved in all our hearts in loving letters that cannot fade. Brave, true-hearted, and great, there is no loyal Republican who will not follow where he leads; and with loving faith and trust that a kind Providence may long spare him to a people whose grateful love he has earned and whose affectionate devotion he possesses, we pledge our unfaltering and loyal support to James G. Blaine.

AS PRESIDING OFFICER AT PHILADELPHIA

ADDRESS as Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, June 19, 1900:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Since the first party convention in these United States, there was never one gathered together under such hopeful and auspicious circumstances as those which surround us to-day. United, proud of the achievements of the past four years, our country prosperous and happy, with nothing to regret and naught to make us ashamed, with a record spotless and clean, the Republican party stands facing the dawn, confident that the ticket it shall present will command public approval, and that in the declaration of its principles and its purposes, it will voice the aspirations and hopes of the vast majority of American freemen.

We need "no omen but our country's cause"; yet there is significance in the fact that the Convention is assembled in this historic and beautiful city, where we first assumed Territorial responsibilities, when our fathers, a century and a quarter ago, promulgated the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The spirit of justice and liberty that animated them found voice three quarters of a century later in this same City of Brotherly Love, when Fremont led the forlorn hope of united patriots who laid here the foundations of our party and put human freedom as its corner-stone. It compelled our ears to listen to the cry of suffering across the shallow waters of the gulf two years ago. While we observe the law of nations and maintain that neutrality which we owe to a great and friendly Government, the same spirit lives to-day in the genuine feeling of sympathy we cherish for the brave men now fighting for their homes in the veldts of South Africa. It prompts us in our determination to give to the dusky races of the Philippines

the blessings of good government and republican institutions, and finds voice in our indignant protest against the violent suppression of the rights of the colored man in the South. That spirit will survive in the breasts of patriotic men as long as the nation endures; and the events of the past have taught us that it can find its fair and free and full expression only in the principles and policy of the Republican party.

The first and pleasant duty of this great Convention, as well as its instinctive impulse, is to send a message of affectionate greeting to our leader and our country's President, William McKinley. In all that pertains to our welfare in times of peace, his genius has directed us. He has shown an unerring mastery of the economic problems which confront us, and has guided us out of the slough of financial disaster, impaired credit, and commercial stagnation, up to the high and safe ground of national prosperity and financial stability. Through the delicate and trying events of the late war he stood firm, courageous, and conservative, and under his leadership we have emerged triumphant, our national honor untarnished, our credit unassailed, and the equal devotion of every section of our common country to the welfare of the Republic cemented forever. Never in the memory of this generation has there stood at the head of the Government a truer patriot, a wiser or more courageous leader, or a better example of the highest type of American manhood. The victories of peace and the victories of war are alike inscribed upon his banner. Those of us whose pleasure and whose duty have called us from time to time into his presence, know how freely he has spent and been spent in his country's service; but the same vigorous manhood and clear and patriotic vision animate him as of old, and give us confidence and trust for the future of our Republic, because his hand will guide us and his genius direct.

Four years ago the Republican party at St. Louis named a ticket which commanded the confidence and support of the American people. It bore the names of two eminent Americans, each endeared by years of loyal service to his country and his party. No whisper of personal attack intruded upon the national issues which determined the contest. There was a double safeguard for the country's welfare. Every true American knew that if in the dispensation of Providence our leader should be called from his high place, there stood beside him a statesman devoted and staunch, in whose hands the vast and weighty affairs of our country could be well and safely entrusted.

Had Garret Augustus Hobart been spared to us until to-day, the work of this Convention would have been limited to a cordial and unanimous indorsement of the leaders of '96. *Diis aliter visum*—and when, a few months ago, our dear Vice-President left this sphere of usefulness for another, he was accompanied with the tears and sorrow of every lover of his country. He distinctly lifted up the high office of Vice-President to a nobler plane and to greater dignity and importance. He was always the trusted friend and adviser of our President, sage in counsel, and wise in judgment; while to those of us whose great privilege it was for three years to see him daily in the Senate of the United States, and to come under the influence of his calm and kindly presence, and to grow nearer to him and more endeared in friendship as the months rolled around, his loss is personal and deep. He is no longer with us in the body, but his influence still permeates the Senate and will for all time make better and kindlier the sons of men, and he lives in the hearts he left behind.

"There is
One great society alone on earth—
The noble living and the noble dead."

So many events of great portent have been crammed into the past months that we are apt to judge and measure the work of this Administration chiefly by the occurrences since the outbreak of the Spanish War. It is worth while for us to recall earlier days.

When Mr. McKinley became President he took the reins of government after four years of Democratic administration. For the first time in more than a generation Democracy had full sway, with both Houses of Congress in party accord with the Executive. No summary of the unmerciful disasters of those four years can convey an idea of a tithe of the ruin they wrought.

In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's Administration we had paid $260,000,000 of the national debt; he added $230,000,000 to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic

conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it. In four years the country witnessed some 60,000 commercial failures, with liabilities aggregating more than $900,000,000. One hundred and seventy-seven railroads, with a mileage of 45,000 miles, or twice the circle of the globe, and with securities amounting to nearly $3,000,000,000, were unable to meet their interest charges and passed into the hands of receivers. More than one hundred and seventy national banks closed their doors, with liabilities reaching $70,000,000; wool and all farm products which tariffs could affect, lost tens of millions in value; farm mortgages were foreclosed by thousands throughout the great West; our agricultural exports shrank in value; the balance of trade which had been in our favor turned ruinously against us; the National Treasury was depleted of its gold reserve; our Government bonds were sold to syndicates at far below their market value before or since, and our steadily declining revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of conducting the Government. If capital alone had suffered, the loss would have been great, but not irremediable. Unfortunately those who rely upon their daily labor for their sustenance, and their families dependent upon them, constituting the great mass of the American people, were made to feel heaviest the burden of disaster. Nearly one third of the laboring population of the United States were thrown out of employment, and men by thousands, able and willing to labor, walked the highways of the land clamoring for work or food.

Four years of commercial misfortune enabled our industries to meet, in a measure, these changed and depressed conditions, but when President McKinley was inaugurated the country was in a state more deplorable than had existed for a generation.

Facing these difficulties, the President immediately upon his inauguration convened Congress in extra session, and in a message of force and lucidity summarized the legislation essential to our national prosperity. The industrial history of the United States for the past four years is the tribute to the wisdom of his judgment. It is quickly epitomized.

The tariff measure under which we are now conducting business was preceded by an unusual volume of importations based upon common knowledge that certain duties were to be raised;

the bill met the popular demand that duties on many of the necessaries of life should be lowered and not raised; advances in invention and new trade conditions made it unnecessary and unwise to revert to the higher tariff provisions of the law of 1890; the increases in the revenue provisions were slight. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, tending to reduce income, the revenues from the Dingley Bill marched steadily upward, until soon our normal income exceeded our normal expenditure, and we passed from a condition of threatened insolvency to one of national solvency.

This tells but a small fraction of the story. Under the wise provisions of our tariff laws and the encouragement afforded to capital by a renewal of public confidence, trade commenced to revive. The looms were no longer silent and the mills deserted; railway earnings increased, merchants and banks resumed business; labor found employment at fair wages; our exports increased, and the sunshine of hope again illumined the land. The figures that illustrate the growing prosperity of the four years of Republican administration well-nigh stagger belief. There is not an idle mill in the country to-day. The mortgages on Western farms have been paid by the tens of thousands, and our farmers are contented and prosperous. Our exports have reached enormous figures; for the last twelve months our exports of merchandise will exceed our imports by five hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Our manufactured articles are finding a market all over the world and in constantly increasing volume. We are rapidly taking our place as one of the great creditor nations of the world. Above and beyond all, there is no man who labors with his hands, in all our broad domain, who cannot find work, and the scale of wages was never in our history so high as now.

Passing over, for the moment, the events associated with the war, let me refer briefly to other legislation of the past four years.

We passed a National Bankrupt Act, a measure rendered essential by four years of Democratic rule, and under its beneficent provisions, thousands of honest men who were engulfed in disaster because of the blight of the Democratic policy are again enable to transact business and share the blessings of Republican prosperity.

For half a century the Hawaiian Islands, a menace to the long line of coast which skirts our Pacific slope, have been knocking for admission as part of our territory, and during

that period the publicly expressed opinion of both political parties favored their annexation. Four times have they been occupied by European Powers, and so often have we compelled their abandonment because it was essential that they should never be occupied by any foreign Power. Finally, after years of misgovernment by native rulers, the gallant descendants of American merchants and missionaries made proffer again of these valuable possessions to this country, asking only to come under our flag and dominion. A Democratic President repudiated the offer and sought to assist in restoring the former corrupt and oppressive ruler. It was left for this Administration to make them a part of American territory. They are on the way to our islands in the Southern seas; every instinct of self-protection should have prompted our quick acceptance of their sovereignty, and yet they were acquired in spite of the bitter opposition of almost every Democrat in Congress.

During the last Administration an offer of settlement was made to the Pacific railroads which would have brought us $42,000,000 out of the $70,000,000 due us in principal and interest. President McKinley, refusing to consider as binding the former offer, and acting within the authority of Congress, collected every dollar of both principal and interest due from the Union Pacific company and the principal of the debt due from the Kansas Pacific. We saved more than $20,000,000 over the offer of settlement made by Mr. Cleveland, and have collected all of the principal and most of the interest due us. Thus was this transaction closed, and has since been followed by a settlement of the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad, calling for every dollar of principal and interest of the debt, amounting to $58,000,000. More than thirty-five years ago a Republican Administration lent the credit of the country to the building of the great iron band that was to link together the East and the West—lent it not in times of peace, but when our country was in the throes of Civil War. The area to be penetrated was then unsettled and unknown. It is now a great empire, rich, prosperous, and happy, and the money of the people which made the highway possible has been returned to them in overflowing measure.

Whenever a Republican Administration is in power there is constant talk of trusts. The reason is not far to seek. Aggregations and combinations of capital find their only encouragement in prosperous days and widening commerce. Democratic administration in this country has universally meant industrial

stagnation and commercial depression, when capital seeks a hiding place instead of investment. The Republican party has always maintained that any combination having for its purpose the cornering of a market or the raising or controlling of the price of the necessaries of life was unlawful and should be punished, and a commission appointed by the President under act of Congress has made careful investigation and will soon present a full report of the best method of dealing with this intricate question. We shall meet it in some efficient way, and, as a party, shall have the courage to protect every class of our citizens. There was never a better time to deal with it than now, when there is not in this broad land a man willing to work who does not find employment at fair wages, and when the clamor of the agitator who seeks confiscation and not regulation, falls on dead ears and finds no response from the artisans in our busy workshops.

The campaign four years ago was fought on the currency question. The Populistic Democracy insisted that the United States alone should embark on the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting the concurrence of any other nation. The Republican party insisted that the question of bimetallism was international, and that until it should be settled under agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, gold should continue to be the standard of value in these United States. Upon that issue we triumphed. In accordance with the pledge of the party an honest effort was made to reach some international solution of the question. The effort failed of accomplishment. The mints of the countries of Europe were open for the coinage of gold alone. The vast discoveries of Alaska, South Africa, and our own country have furnished a steadily increasing volume of gold, and, with the recent European action, have demonstrated that the question is one calling for international action by all the great countries of the world, and, if ever entered into, must be by such concurrent action of the leading commercial nations as shall secure permanence of relative value to the two metals. Meanwhile, we follow the path of safety. As we grow year by year more firmly established as a creditor nation, the question concerns us less and other countries more. No impairment of national credit can be contemplated by an honorable nation. We have made advances enough; this country can better afford than any other to enter upon the contest for commercial supremacy with gold as its standard, and for us the time has come to give fair

notice to the world that we, too, make gold our standard and redeem our obligations in that metal. For twelve years the platforms of the party have declared in favor of the use of gold and silver as money. The logic of recent events, together with the attempt of the Democracy to drag down the question from its international character, to associate it with every vagary of Populism and Socialism, and to drive this country to an alliance with Mexico and China, as an exclusively silver-using country, has impelled our people to this settlement of this problem, and the recent action of Congress has eliminated the danger which its further agitation menaced.

The provisions of the act secure to the people a needed increase in the volume of the currency, prevent the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury, and encourage a more extended use of our bonds by the national banks of the country. But, above all, the success attending its passage has demonstrated that our own people and the nations of Europe have faith in the permanence of our institutions and our financial integrity. Our debt is funded at two per cent. per annum, and millions of our interest charge saved annually. The world has never witnessed so triumphant a financial success as has followed the passage of the Currency Law, and our two per cent. bonds, held the world over, already command a substantial premium. Through the policy of the Republican party and the wisdom of a Republican administration, we have not only made stable and permanent our financial credit, at home and abroad, and are utilizing more silver as money than ever before in our history; but we have left the Populistic Democracy a dead issue they can never again galvanize into life, and compelled them to seek to create new issues growing out of a war which they were most eager to precipitate.

May I, a Western man, add another word? The passage of this bill, which received the vote of every Western Republican in Congress, marked the termination, forever final, of any sort of difference between Republicans of the East and of the West, growing out of currency problems. Even if the stern logic of events had not convinced us, our deep and abiding loyalty to the principles of the party, our belief that the judgment of its majority should govern, would lead us to abandon further contention. And the thousands of Republicans in the West who left us four years ago are returning home. The men of the far West are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. The sun that shines on you blesses them also, and the shadow before your

door darkens their homes as well. They are naturally expansionists in the Western plains and mountains, and when they see a great political party attacking the integrity of the nation, and lending encouragement to insurrectionists who are shooting down our soldiers and resisting the authority of the Government of the United States, all other questions fade and are forgotten, and they find themselves standing shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the Republican party, keeping step, always, "to the music of the Union."

There is more to follow this summary of a few of the leading measures passed by a Republican Congress and approved by a Republican President. Before the expiration of Mr. McKinley's first term, we shall have passed a law relieving certain articles from a portion at least of the burdens they now carry because of the War Revenue Act, and meanwhile we have, out of surplus revenues, already paid and called in for cancellation $43,000,000 of outstanding bonds. The coming winter will see enacted into law legislation which shall revivify and upbuild our merchant marine, and enable us to compete on fair terms with the subsidized ships of foreign nations which now so largely monopolize the carriage of American goods. And above all, we shall, having then before us the report of the able commission now ascertaining the most favorable route, pass a law under which we shall build and own and operate as property of the United States, under exclusive American dominion and control, a ship canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific. Through it in time of peace the commerce of the world shall pass. If we shall be unhappily engaged in war, the canal will carry our warships and will exclude those of the enemy, and under conditions which shall violate no treaty stipulations.

This is the brief account of our stewardship for four years. During a portion of that period we were involved in a war which for a time paralyzed business and commerce and would have taxed heavily the resources and credit of any other country than ours, and for the past year or more we have been employing an army of some 50,000 men in suppressing an insurrection against our authority 8000 miles away. No industry has felt the strain of these extraordinary expenses, nor have they affected the general sum of our prosperity. More than that, the conditions resulting from the legislation of the past four years have obliterated every issue that was raised during the last campaign. The Democracy having, therefore, to find some

rallying cry, seek it in the results of our late war with Spain, and upon that question, as upon all others, we stand ready to meet them in the open.

During the weeks and months preceding the outbreak of hostilities with Spain, the President of the United States, who knew by personal experience on many a battle-field something of the horrors of war, and who realized the expense and suffering which war entailed, stood firmly upon the ground that a peaceful solution could be found. And when that awful occurrence took place in the harbor of Havana, and a hot frenzy of indignation swept over our people, and a conflict seemed inevitable, he faced popular clamor and heated counsels, and still believed that the wrongs of Cuba could be remedied and redressed without an appeal to the arbitrament of war.

The folly of Spain and the indignation of the American people forbade a peaceful solution. Then the President, seconded by a Republican Congress, before a gun was fired, declared to the world the lofty and unselfish motives that alone actuated the nation. No man now, or in the centuries to come, when History, which alone "triumphs over time," recounts the marvellous story of the war which changed the map of the world, shall ever truthfully say that this Republic was animated by any but the noblest purposes. Recorded time tells of no such war, for it was fought, with bloody sacrifice, by a great and free Republic, for the freedom of another race, while its own liberties were unassailed.

This is not the time or the occasion to dwell upon the incidents of the war, crowded with successive victories and illuminated with countless examples of individual bravery and gallant conduct. Its living heroes are honored by a generous country; its dead have ennobled the race, and will live forever in the hearts of a grateful people. Throughout all its anxious days the President, Commander-in-Chief of our armies and our navies, planned and directed with unerring hand. His wise diplomacy saved us from threatened international complications. From the commencement of hostilities until their close the conduct of the war was unassailable, and the paltry criticisms of two years ago are already buried in the limbo of oblivion.

In August, 1898, a preliminary protocol was executed at Washington, followed by the sessions of the Peace Commissioners of the United States and Spain, in Paris, commencing in October of that year. Public interest in this country concerning these negotiations was intense.

Until our soldiers and sailors had landed at Manila we had

known little of the conditions of the people of the Philippines. We soon ascertained that the cruelties and oppressions existing in Cuba were mild compared with the treatment to which 8,000,000 of people in those islands were subjected. We realized that if we relinquished the archipelago to Spain we consigned its inhabitants again to a condition worse than slavery, worse than barbarism. We had put our hands to the plough, and every instinct of honor and humanity forbade us to turn back. A universal demand arose from all over the country that we should retain our hold upon these islands, afford their people the protection of our laws, lift them out of their unfortunate condition, and fit them, if possible, for self-government. Any agreement by our Commissioners to give back the Philippines to Spain, reserving for ourselves an island or a coaling station, would have aroused a universal national indignation, and would never have been ratified by the representatives of the people.

No man saw this so clearly as did the President. In his advices to the Commissioners he told them it was imperative that we should be governed only by motives that should exalt the nation—that territorial expansion was our least concern; but that, whatever else was done, the people of the Philippines must be liberated from Spanish domination, and he reached this view solely through considerations of duty and humanity. The American Commissioners, men of differing political faiths, reached a unanimous conclusion. The Treaty of Paris was ratified by the vote of two thirds of the Senate, and the territory we acquired under it became lawful and legal possessions of the United States. The responsibility for the war rested upon us all; the responsibility for the treaty rests chiefly upon the Republican party, and that party avows the wisdom of the treaty and declares it to be the policy of the party to adhere to its terms and to accept the responsibilities it imposed.

We assumed dominion of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines for reasons differing as to each of them.

We took to ourselves the little island of Porto Rico because it lay under the shadow of our own shores, and because its continued occupancy by Spain or by any foreign Government would be a constant menace to the States and to that great interoceanic waterway which we shall build and own and operate as an American canal. We found it impoverished by years of colonial misgovernment and without any system of revenue laws. Soon after the peace its people were further stricken by flood and famine. We assumed toward them every obligation which

sympathy and friendship could prompt. We contributed as a nation large sums of money to ameliorate their condition and to enable them to plant and garner their crops. Then we said to them: "We shall give you a just and equitable government, with power to manage your home affairs. Until you shall devise proper and efficient methods of revenue and taxation, your needed funds shall be raised as follows: You shall pay upon your imports fifteen per cent. of the present tariff rate governing importations into the United States, which means an average duty of about seven per cent. All the necessaries of life and building materials for the structures you need shall be free. On the 1st day of March, 1902, all these duties shall cease in any event, and shall cease sooner if before that time you can arrange for the needed revenues of the island." The recommendations of the President were fully and satisfactorily complied with; the people of the island are content, the vast mass of the American people approve, and we have avoided precedents that might vex us when we come to deal with the problems that finally await us in the establishment of our permanent relations toward the people of the Philippine Islands.

There has been much discussion during the past few months in respect to the extent of the power of this country to deal with Porto Rico and our other possessions, and it has been frequently contended by the Democracy that as soon as we became the owners of any of these islands the Constitution of the United States at once extended over them, or, in the oratorical but misleading phrase, "The Constitution follows the flag." The argument is specious, but it will not bear investigation. The same question was raised in 1803, at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, and the doctrine was then established by Congress that we could acquire foreign soil by purchase; that Congress had the right to establish there such government as it saw fit, and that the Constitution did not of its own force extend over such territory. The doctrine was never questioned until in Calhoun's time it was sought to be denied in the effort to extend human slavery into the Territories.

The Supreme Court of the United States has more than once determined the question, and the contention concerning it now by our opponents is not because anybody believes that the laws we have enacted for the government of the island are unjust, but in order to embarrass the Administration in dealing effectively with our new possessions. The flag went to Mexico in 1848; the Constitution did not. The flag went to Cuba and was

carried into Santiago, and is there yet. But our Constitution not only is not there, but we are busy encouraging Cuba to prepare a constitution of her own. When any portion of our territory becomes a sovereign State, then is our Constitution its corner-stone. In the territory of the United States not included within State boundaries Congress alone determines the extent to which the provisions of the Constitution extend.

The circumstances associated with our possession of Cuba are new and unparalleled in the history of conquests. The cruelties practised upon its people induced the war. Before we commenced hostile proceedings, however, and that the world might know that our hands were clean and that we were not animated by lust for territory, we solemnly disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island except for its pacification, and asserted our determination, when that was accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

To this declaration we still rigorously adhere. When we took possession at the close of the war we found the conditions existing in Cuba to be deplorable. Under the conservative and wise management of Generals Brooke and Wood vast improvements have been effected, and we have given the people the first good government they have ever known. We found its cities beds of pestilence. We have stamped out yellow fever and made Havana as healthy a city as exists at that latitude. We took its starving "reconcentrados" who had survived the war, and its other poverty-stricken people, and fed and clothed them. We organized a public-school system, and have everywhere established law and order. This had first to be done. Then followed a compliance of the terms of the treaty which gave the Spanish inhabitants until April 11th to determine whether or not they would register as citizens or preserve their allegiance to Spain. Meanwhile a careful census of the island was made. Then came the fixing of the qualifications for the right of suffrage, which were fairly bestowed. The island was divided into municipalities and the registration provided for. And on yesterday, the 18th of June, municipal elections were held all through the island, as the first and preliminary step toward the establishment of a national government and the adoption of a constitution.

And in this connection it is fitting to say that the peculations and frauds committed in Cuba by subordinate officials have made every American blush with shame, and until the last of

the guilty men is arrested and convicted and sentenced that shame will know no abatement. It is no more to be charged to the party than would a theft by a trusted employee be charged against the character of the merchant who employed him. The party that shields and protects dishonest officials forfeits public confidence, not the party that exposes and punishes them. The Republican party has been rarely the victim of misplaced confidence in its officials. In this instance the appointments were made with the greatest care, many of them from the classified service. Whenever fraud has been discovered the guilty ones have been pursued unsparingly and with the greatest publicity. So has it been with these thieving post-office officials —so has it been always. In the vast aggregate of business transacted by the Government, the dishonest man is rare and his detection certain. The great humiliation is that the thefts were from the people of an island toward whom we sustain a fiduciary relation and whose confidence we ask. That this Government makes good the loss is not enough, and perhaps the lesson has not been in vain if it shall serve to stimulate us to even greater care in dealing with these people for whom we have poured out our blood and treasure, and whom we hope some day to welcome on terms of closest friendship as citizens of a sister republic.

We are dealing with Cuba in a spirit not only of fairness, but of generosity and of absolute unselfishness, and whenever the inhabitants of that island evince and declare their ability to take over its government and control, that day they shall receive it; and until then we shall continue to administer its affairs under a rule salutary and satisfactory to all good citizens in Cuba, and creditable to the Administration at Washington, under whose orders the government is conducted.

Had there been no war with Spain, this Republic, inclined by principle and instinct and tradition to peaceful ways, would have continued the development of our national resources and character within its existing borders, content in the future, as throughout the century just ending, with that path of national duty. We are not a warlike or a quarrelsome people. We have never coveted the possessions of foreign principalities, and land lust is unknown among us. We would fight to the death to protect that which is rightfully ours, to avenge a wrong sought to be perpetrated upon us, and to guard this hemisphere from any attempt by foreign powers to further extend their rule over its soil. This has been our creed, and we have looked forward with hope and confidence to the time when the United

States, lying between the two oceans, should lead among the nations of the earth, not by right of the sword, but because the character and high intelligence of our people, and the marvellous resources of our country, would enable us, in the peaceful rivalry of commerce, to dominate eventually the markets of the world. To that end we had, for more than a hundred years, held ourselves aloof from foreign complications, and sought to make ourselves strong from within, with no thought of colonial conquest.

The future of nations, however, like the future of man, is hid from mortal vision, and no more than man may a nation choose its own duties. When this war ended and we faced our victory in all its completeness, we found eight million people living upon uncounted islands delivered into our hands. Abandonment of them would be confession that while the oppression by Spain of a million and a half of Cubans demanded our armed interference, greater barbarity and cruelty to millions of Filipinos, less able to protect themselves, was a subject of no concern to us. No civilized nation in the world, no Christian nation, could have turned these people back to Spain. Our Commissioners, when they insisted upon our retention of the Philippines, voiced the sentiments and the wishes of the American people, and this nation has assumed, with open eyes and with full realization of the difficulties which may be encountered, the grave responsibilities imposed upon us by the Treaty of Paris.

We are told that the islands are rich in all the products of the tropics, in mineral wealth, and in the possibilities of their future development. So much the better. But if they were as barren as the Libyan desert, we would have taken them just the same.

We have not been there long, but long enough to reach two conclusions. One is that the first thing we intend to do is to suppress the Tagal insurrection and to establish law and order throughout the archipelago. That is the first thing we shall do. And the last, the very last thing we intend doing, is to consider, even for a moment, the question of giving up or abandoning those islands.

We are actually owners of the Philippines by an undisputed and indubitable title. We are there as the necessary and logical outcome of our victory over Spain. There are upward of a thousand islands sprinkled upon the Southern sea, peopled by more than eighty tribes of different race and language, and having absolutely nothing in common with each other. Most of

these tribes welcome our coming and are grateful for our protection. The Tagal tribe, hostile not only to us, but to most of the native tribes, are in insurrection against our authority. They have neither a government nor the capacity to conduct one, and are waging a predatory guerilla warfare, which would be turned against the other native tribes if we let them alone.

What would the Democracy have us do? Give them up to rapine and bloodshed, and leave the islands as flotsam and jetsam on the face of the waters? There are parallels in our own history. For $5,000,000 and other valuable considerations, we purchased Florida from Spain in 1821, when it had four thousand white settlers. The Seminoles, natives of the soil, brave, resolute, having far greater intelligence and character than the Tagals, disputed our possession. We sent Andrew Jackson down to fight them, and it took us twenty-one years to subdue them and send what was left of them west of the Mississippi. If the "anti-everythings" had lived then, they would, I suppose, have urged us to turn over Florida to Osceola, the Aguinaldo of the Seminoles. Would you, after the war with Mexico and the Gadsden Purchase, have given the great area south and west of the Arkansas to the red Apache? Not so did our fathers construe their duty, and as they built, so shall we, their sons.

The insurrection against our legitimate authority, which, for the time, impedes our efforts to establish a government for the Filipinos, involves us in a sacrifice of lives and of treasure. The difficulties we encounter in the island of Luzon are many, but the chief inspiration and encouragement of the Tagal insurrection come from the Democratic headquarters in the United States. Partisanship has proved stronger than patriotism, even while our soldiers are being murdered by marauding bandits, and if it were not for the hope held out to Aguinaldo by American sympathizers, the insurrection in the Philippines would long ago have ended.

The obstacles to the establishment of a civil government in the islands are many, but we shall overcome them. Mistakes will undoubtedly be made, but we shall remedy them. We shall in time extend over that archipelago the ægis of our protection and of free government, and we shall gradually, but surely, lift these alien and savage races into the light of civilization and Christianity. Meanwhile, American enterprise and ingenuity and push may be depended upon to develop the resources of the islands, and make them an added source of wealth to our country.

The wise statesmanship of the President and our able Secretary of State has already brought from the countries of Europe a recognition of our right to share in the vast commercial advantages which will follow the opening of the Chinese Empire to foreign trade; the Nicaragua Canal will soon be constructed; Hawaii, with its valuable harbor, is ours; we possess the best of the Samoan islands, with a magnificent roadway; the Philippines are almost at the door of China, and if counsels of fear do not prevail, this generation will see the American nation girdling half the globe with its flag, extending its foreign commerce to the uttermost parts of the earth, and taking its place among the great world nations, a power for good, for peace, and for righteousness.

Never since 1864, when the voters of the country were called upon to determine whether the efforts of Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union should be continued, or whether they should be abandoned and other measures attempted, have questions so vital been presented to the American people for settlement. Their decision must determine the maintenance or the degradation both of our national credit and our national honor. A Democratic President could paralyze the operation of the new currency law as effectively as if it were wiped from our statute books. A Democratic victory would infuse new life into the Tagal insurrection, cost us the lives of thousands of our gallant army in the Philippines, impair or destroy our prestige, if not our power, in the islands, make us a by-word among the other great nations of the world, and obliterate our influence in the settlement of the vital questions certain to arise when China shall be opened to foreign commerce.

There is little room for fear. The farmer and the artisan, in their day of prosperity, still remember the impoverishment and blight of Democracy, and the Chicago platform has no allurements for them.

Our national honor is equally secure.

The American people are neither poltroons nor pessimists, and they will not signalize the dawn of the new century by the surrender of either convictions or territory. Every soldier back from the islands—and they are in almost every hamlet in the land—returns an advocate of their retention. Our dead are buried along the sands of Luzon, and on its soil no foreign flag shall ever salute the dawn.

Whatever may be in store for us in the new and unbeaten track upon which we are entering, we shall not be found "with

the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin." Our way is new; but it is not dark. In the readjustment of world-conditions, where we must take our place with the other great nations of the earth, we shall move with caution, but not with fear. We seek only to lift up men to better things, to bless and not to destroy. The fathers of the Republic accepted with courage such responsibilities as devolved upon them. The same heavens bend over us, and the same power that shielded them will guard and protect us, for what we seek is to build still more firmly, always upon foundations of probity and of virtue, the glorious edifice of the Republic.

We stand at the dawn of the new century. Before it shall have reached its meridian the youngest here will have passed beyond this life or beyond the sphere of usefulness. New recruits will step into the ranks as we fall out. This very year thousands of young men will for the first time exercise the right of citizenship and cast their ballots at the national election. The safety of this Republic must ever rest in "the courage of young hearts and the vigor of a noble manhood." Youth is buoyant and hopeful. No snarling criticism, or gospel of a little America, or prophecy of despair, will find response from hearts that beat full and strong with courage and with faith, and whose creed it is that

> "God 's in his heaven,—
> All 's right with the world."

Whatever else in the past has suffered change or decay, the Republican party, which for forty years has been identified with everything ennobling and uplifting in our history, was never so vital, so virile, and so vigorous as to-day. And the heritage we shall transmit to the new century, to the coming generation and to their children, and to their children's children, shall be a record clean and untarnished, an unquenchable faith in free institutions, an unalterable belief in the patriotism of the people, and an undying love of liberty and of country.

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOTIFICATION

IN notification of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, Oyster Bay, New York, July 12, 1900:

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: The pleasant duty has devolved upon this committee, appointed by the National Republican Convention, and representing every State in the Union, to make known to you officially the action of the Convention and to hand to you a copy of the platform it adopted, which embodies the principles of the party. The representatives of the Republican party, in convention assembled, unanimously and spontaneously selected you as the candidate of the party at the next election for the high and dignified office of Vice-President of the United States.

You were so selected through no wish of your own, but because the Convention believed that you, among all the Republicans in the land, were best fitted and adapted to be the associate of our President in the important and stirring campaign upon which we are entering. The Convention realized that you were needed in the great Empire State, whose Executive you now are, and whose people would delight to still further honor you; but it was believed that your path of duty lay for the future in a field of national usefulness.

You are still a young man, as years are counted; but the country knows more of you than of most of its citizens.

You were identified, and will ever be associated with those efforts toward reform in the Civil Service which command the approval of intelligent men of all political parties. Your stirring love of adventure has made you a more familiar figure in Western camps and on Western plains than on the avenues of your native city. Your sterling Americanism has led you to the mastery of our earlier history and you have told us of the winning of the West with a charm and a spirit that have made

us all better lovers of our country. Your tales of Western hunting and adventure have filled the breast of every lad in the land with envy and emulation, and whatever doubts may have existed in the past, now that you are our candidate, they will be believed to be true by every good Republican.

There is no man whose privilege it was to know you and to associate with you while you were the Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley's appointment, who is not eager to testify to the great ability and fidelity which characterized your incumbency of that office. Of your service to our country during the late war with Spain it is not necessary for me to speak.

Your name will ever be identified with the heroic achievements of our Army, and your warmest friends and most devoted admirers are the gallant band of Rough Riders whom you led to victory.

This bright and glorious record, however, did not lead that great Convention at Philadelphia to insist upon you as its candidate, although it fills with pride the heart of every true American.

The Republican party has chosen you because, from your earliest manhood until to-day, in whatever post you have been called upon to fill, and notably during your two years of splendid service as Chief Executive of the State of New York, you have everywhere and at all times stood for that which was clean and uplifting and against everything that was sordid and base.

You have shown the people of this country that a political career and good citizenship could go hand in hand, and that devotion to public welfare was consistent with party membership and party organization.

There is not a young man in these United States who has not found in your life and influence an incentive to better things and higher ideals.

With President McKinley you will lead our ticket to victory, for you have both been tested, and in your honor, your patriotism, and your civic virtues the American people have pride and confidence.

NON-POLITICAL SPEECHES IN COLORADO

BEFORE THE LADIES' RELIEF SOCIETY

At Denver, December 1, 1884:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: If the ladies whose names are identified with the splendid charity which has called us together to-night could be heard in its behalf, the simple story of their work would speak more eloquently in the interests of the Ladies' Relief Society, and touch your hearts more deeply than the words of any man, however friendly to the cause of charity. If they are not to be heard, the honor of speaking, for it is an honor to speak on behalf of so noble an institution, belongs to the clergy of Denver, Jewish and Christian, and of every creed. Wherever suffering is to be relieved, or words of encouragement or cheer are to be spoken, the clergymen of Denver are ever to be found working with self-sacrifice and abnegation by the side of the officers of the Society, and they are better fitted than any other men to present the organization to your generous consideration. Perhaps, however, these gentlemen, much of whose work must necessarily be above this earth as well as upon it, and whom the Chinese sailors appropriately designate as "Sky Pilots," feel that when suffering and poverty lie on every side of us, and cry aloud for help, it is the duty of every good citizen, of whatever calling or profession, to lend a hand.

In no way could the friends of the Ladies' Relief Society have so fully conveyed the impression to the public that this gathering was to be non-sectarian and free from religious tendency or bias, than by announcing my friend Mr. Patterson and myself as two of the speakers of the evening. So far as I am concerned, I fear that little else has been accomplished by

the use of my name. Nevertheless, the committee of this Society desired me to say a few words, and I had no right to refuse. As Sancho Panza says: "Every one is as God has made him, and oftentimes a great deal worse." Sinners as well as saints can fortunately render some help in relieving poverty and distress; and no word will be spoken in vain, by whomsoever uttered, if it shall serve to call public attention and bring practical aid to the self-sacrificing guild of ladies whose benevolence brings solace and comfort to the bedside of the sick and the suffering of Denver, and who, so far, have never been obliged to turn aside from a deserving call.

The world is growing better every year. The old narrowness is giving way to a broader and brighter civilization. The growth of the best religious thought has widened, and every year is further widening the sphere of human effort and enlarging the field of Christian usefulness. The development and discoveries of science open to us new and great possibilities. The progress of invention has lightened labor and given us new industries. Universal education has given men food for thought and the capacity to think and act intelligently. And, more than all, the influence of the good and gentle lives in the generations past bears its fruit in this, and the world is growing better and more tolerant.

It is true that the Millennium is still a few years in front of us. There are great vices that have not yet been wiped out. Municipalities are badly governed, Common Councils are corrupt, the thieves and swindlers are permitted, under countenance of official misrule, to rob and steal. The true end of government, which should be to afford equal and full protection to the governed, is lost sight of in the hungry chase for office and the lust of greed. In this city alone more money, ten hundred times over, is stolen each year from men with wives and children depending upon them by the gambling dens and gin-mills than would support the splendid charity which has summoned us together, and enable it to reach and help every case of need and destitution.

It is none the less true that the world is growing better; and the fact that these evils shock us, the fact that the public conscience is aroused to the knowledge and the horror of them, are themselves proof that we are reaching forward to better things. Practices which a generation ago were tolerated are now stamped with the seal of public disapprobation. And the good work will go on, until some day the men who debauch private

and public morals, and the men who earn their bread by the sweat of some other man's brow, will be ground between the upper and nether millstones of public opinion.

If the blessings which we enjoy are great, the responsibilities of this generation are also great. We are the "heirs of all the ages." We live under a free government. Nations never stand still; they retrograde or they advance. And the debt we owe the founders of this nation will never be paid, until we have secured, to those who are to come after us, not only the blessings which flow from a free government, but also the fruits of the civilization which we enjoy—a civilization representing and embodying the teachings of the Christian religion, and enriched by the discoveries of science.

With the growth in civilization come also toleration and a broadened and wider beneficence. All over the world, wherever thought is independent, the successful ones are lifting up and lending a hand to those less favored. Organized charity is as much an institution as are boards of education or churches. And yet, in Colorado, until a few years ago, when some noble and disinterested women, without question of religion or sect, put their hands to the plough, no systematic work had been done. Their Society and its needs have grown with the city's growth; and if its work is to be commensurate with the demands made upon it, the active support and aid of every good citizen are needed.

The reasons why public attention and sympathy have not before this been fully aroused to the importance of the mission are not difficult to find.

Denver is still young in years. The oldest child born within her limits is hardly yet of age, and we are still a city of strangers. Our population, until the past very few years, has been largely temporary and fluctuating. Our people have hardly had time to think of anybody's necessities but their own. Nor is this all. We are a busy people. We live on what must ever be the frontier of the East. Nobody ever comes to Colorado expecting to live and die here, unless he believes his health will not permit him to live anywhere else. We are eager, rushing, and busy. In the strife for wealth and place, we jostle and crowd each other. The amenities of life are little thought of. There is ever the same eager and pushing struggle. The mineral resources of the State offer unlimited prospects of sudden wealth. Ninety per cent. of the men in this audience have money invested in mines which they hope will some day make them rich. Every-

body looks forward to the time when he will go back to the old home wealthy and honored. Many of us find that the years gather more rapidly than the fortunes; but most of us live as if the race were "to the swift." Such a community is not wanting in liberality, but it lacks the leisure to investigate; it has no time to listen to the story of suffering and poverty. If we give, we give blindly and indiscriminately, which is bad enough, or we refer applicants to the local county or municipal officials, which is worse.

We have a Board of County Commissioners which hears and passes upon applications for charitable relief. Frequently the easy way and the cheap way is to buy a railroad ticket out of the State for the person seeking aid, and he is unloaded upon some other equally charitable board of officials. We have also a County Hospital and a County Poorhouse. The one affords the unfortunate inmate a near and intimate view of disease and death, while the other makes death even in a County Hospital seem desirable.

These institutions are honestly governed, and I do not for a moment underrate the good they seek to accomplish. The great mass of the suffering and the poor, however, can never be reached by official charities. Starvation must have come very close to most men and most mothers before refuge is sought in official institutions. The shiftless and idle poor have no pride to hide, but men and women who have lives worth the saving endure until all hope is gone rather than become a public charge.

The Ladies' Relief Society was organized to meet the wants of the deserving poor; to furnish the unemployed with work; to aid, with the necessaries of life, those whose means are insufficient to wholly procure them; to give fuel and raiment as well as food to those who would otherwise suffer for lack of them; to seek out and visit the poor at their own homes, and to make them feel that they bring them, not alms, but human sympathy and friendship. We have heard to-night the cold statistics of their labors. But the real story of their work—of the suffering relieved, of the homes made bright, of the little ones whose lives have been saved by their gentle ministrations, of the words of cheer which have made the path easier, of the beds of languishing and pain brightened by their presence, and of the last solemn offices to the dead,—of these things the story is known alone to the women whose lives are crowned by the blessings of the poor and the lowly.

This is the charity which appeals to us to-night for help.

What its method of securing subscriptions may be I do not know. The willing hand can find a way to contribute. The plan of the Society and its system of doing good are not new; they have been tried here successfully. In the larger cities of the East the same methods have been pursued for many years and are found to work admirably. Indiscriminate giving is often a positive evil. A contribution to the Ladies' Relief Society is certain to reach and to aid some deserving family. There are claims, deserving claims, made upon the Society here to an extent unknown at the East. Colorado is a sanitarium for persons afflicted with pulmonary troubles. In addition to the ordinary poverty which is inseparable from all large towns, there are scores of families who were able to live decently by their labors at the East, who have sought Colorado in hope of saving some member of the household, often the head of it. Without resources, often without strength for labor, these people, for a time at least, must have help, or they cannot live.

One of the best features of this charity is that it is non-sectarian. I understand this to mean, not that it leaves all the sects out, but that it takes them all in and everybody else too. We all stand on an equal footing, and a common duty rests alike upon us all, and any man who has more than enough for his own needs has not the right to evade this duty. The question of reward if we do, or punishment if we do not, has nothing whatever to do with it. The oft-quoted sentence in the good book—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days"—is the statement of a fact, and not an argument in favor of charity. The man who casts his bread upon the waters *because* after many days he shall find it, casts his bread with a string tied to it.

It is for us to give because we have been given to; because those who are to come after us will be the better for every good deed of ours; and, above all, because the manhood which is in us will be content only with reaching forward toward the highest and the best of life. God made us strong that we might lift up the weak. We are all of one image, and the blood of a common humanity pulses in our veins.

> "Be noble! and the nobleness that lies
> In other men, sleeping, but never dead,
> Will rise in majesty to meet thine own."

LAYING THE JEWISH HOSPITAL CORNER-STONE

Denver, October 9, 1892:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When my friends, the committee having these ceremonies in charge, invited me to participate in them, and assured me they would be content with such few words as it might occur to me to say, I did not imagine I should be designated as one who was to deliver an "Oration."

An oration is a sort of academic declamation or elaborate address. You will be relieved of the necessity of listening to more than a few words from me, but they are words which I am glad to say, and the occasion is one at which I am gratified to be present. At this period of political strife and faction, we meet under this October sky with only love for all mankind.

The commerce of benevolence which is to be here founded, is limited by no geographial boundaries and involves the payment of no import or excise duties, while the protection to be found under the roof of this structure will be adequate and full. And, forgetting for the moment the turmoil of party, we may remember the saying of old Euripides, that "silver and gold are not the only coin—virtue, too, passes current all over the world."

I trust I may be pardoned if I also refer to the pleasure I share with you, in listening to the words of greeting and of cheer which we have heard from the broad-minded and large-hearted clergyman who has just addressed you.[1] Whether at Washington or among his own people his words would carry weight and bring help. We who might have served with him would have been the gainers by his counsel and his friendship had he accepted the recent honor which was tendered him; but whatever individual disappointments there may have been, there

[1] Rev. Myron W. Reed, once a Democratic candidate for Congress.

is no friend of Colorado who would not have suffered regret at even his temporary absence from the pulpit which he adorns.

The hospital, the corner-stone of which we lay to-day, is to be erected by the Jewish Hospital Association, an association of citizens of Colorado of Jewish faith. The contracts have been let to put it under roof and the money for so much of the work has been raised entirely among members of that faith. The hospital will be absolutely non-sectarian. It is to be hoped that an opportunity will be given the general public to assist in the final completion of the structure. There was never a more adroit suggestion than the saying that "charity shall cover the multitude of sins," and I trust this Association will not discourage the offerings of sinners as well as saints.

It goes without saying, that there is great need for such an institution as this is to be, devoted especially to the amelioration and care of invalids who seek in our pure air and high altitude relief from threatened consumption. The Almighty has given us a commonwealth, the resources of which are unequalled the world over, and He has placed it high above the sea and the moisture, where the skies are usually blue and the air clear and fresh and health-giving. Two sorts of people come each year and add to our population: The eager seeker for fortune, who trusts that the treasures of the hills may be speedily opened to him, or that he may be the gainer from the prosperity of his neighbor; and the victim of other climates who looks for relief in ours. Both usually find the object of their quest, and there is no more fitting duty than that some tithe of the material prosperity of the one should be paid as tribute to the needs of the other.

We are an eager people. I remember when nobody dreamed of buying a lot in a cemetery here because the fortune was soon to be made and was to be taken back to the old home, and we pushed and jostled each other in the feverish search for wealth. The race is not always to the swift, however, nor the battle to the strong. The cemeteries are filling up too fast, permanent homes are being built, our Penates are set up on Colorado hearths, and we begin to realize that our lives are being lived out, here, and that if we seek for good to do we may find it at our door. For us who are apparently beyond the need of material aid, there is no more splendid incentive than such a charitable enterprise as this; for, after all, my friends, the indispensable requisite for happiness is self-sacrifice, and "the fountain of pity is the only source of pure and unfailing life."

Almost every hospital that has been established since history began has been founded either by the state or by some religious denomination. It is a glorious tribute to every religious sect that has ever existed that it has invariably taught benevolence and charity and has followed its faith with works. There is one difference, however, respecting the Jewish race which intensifies the disinterestedness of its non-sectarian charities: The Jews have never been propagandists, and have never sought converts, and to that fact is largely due the preservation of the race. They have engaged in bloody wars, wars both of retaliation and self-defence; but from the ancient times when Joshua declined to force the nations he subdued to adopt the Mosaic ritual, until now, no man has ever been brought either by persuasion or by force to the worship of the Jewish religion. They cherish their faith; you are welcome to yours.

It is fitting that this charity should take the form of a hospital, for from the earliest times the Jews furnished the physicians of the world. In the tenth century there was no court in Europe where they were not the official physicians. For hundreds of years they held their prestige; and their discoveries, their learning, and their independent thought probably did more to tear down the walls of superstition in the Middle Ages and make way for the Reformation than any other influence. And in view of some recent strictures respecting the Jewish race in general, brought forth by the anti-Semitic movement in Europe, I must be pardoned if I refer for a moment to the earlier history of the race whose cruel wrongs and protracted suffering no humane heart can trace without emotion. Long before the Christian era, the Jews had emigrated into every portion of the known world, and were everywhere welcomed. Alexander the Great had planted a colony of them in Alexandria, and Cæsar counted them among his most brave and loyal subjects.

For one thousand years they flourished in spite of sporadic persecution, until, at the close of the tenth century they were the advisers of every court, learned in all the professions, and influential in every business of the age. They were confined to no particular department of industry, but were farmers, artisans, merchants, physicians, and lawyers; and, by the way, were the first to apply hydraulics to irrigation. It is often said that they were the usurers and money-lenders of the world. Do you know why? They were compelled to put their wealth into money because Christian intolerance forbade them by law from practising any profession, from owning land, and from following

any calling except the most menial, and finally drove away from the haunts of men those who were not butchered as an example to the rest—a persecution instituted solely because they clung to their faith in one God, whose commandments they believed they had received directly from His hands, amid the smoke and clouds of Sinai.

To-day, under enlightened government, the same vital force appears, and there is no profession or business in which they are not successful competitors. Better than all, we recall the fact that in later times Jews, the world over, are distinguished for their patriotism, their devoted attachment to the land of their birth, to progress and to liberal institutions. This country holds no more patriotic citizens, and the records of our great war show that large numbers of them sealed with their lives their devotion to the flag.

The wisdom of the founders of this institution in all matters pertaining to its welfare is not to be questioned, for they are acting with the most disinterested public spirit, and the suggestion I make is applicable to all denominational institutions; but I must confess that if it were left to me, I should not designate it as the Jewish Hospital. I do not care for titles in such a connection. We have all over the land Presbyterian hospitals, Catholic hospitals, Episcopal hospitals, and the like, and their names seem like limitations. Jew and Gentile, Christian and sinner, each feels the same pain, and knows the like suffering. To each the same shelter is welcome; and the touch of a gentle hand and the cover of a kindly roof bring to all alike the gratitude of a full heart. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that charity to one's fellow-man is too noble and fine a thing to be labelled.

The institution of which we to-day lay the foundation, will last as long as the Government shall endure. Its beginnings we may live to see, and may witness some of the benefits it may bestow; but the long future of the years, and, I trust, the centuries, we may only foreshadow. The world is growing better every year, and this work will find, as its founders pass away, new friends and new benefactors. Unfortunately, poverty and sickness and suffering will likewise abound, and we must trust that, under Providence, the kind hearts and helping hands will keep growth with the needs of the hospital.

In the work which you have undertaken the heartiest Godspeed will go with you from every good man and woman, who will welcome this additional channel for beneficence. Great as

is the fruit we look for, perhaps the greatest good will come from the presence of an additional claim upon the sympathy and support of those who have been blessed with abundance. There is no man who is not both better and happier when he has lent a hand. Our best wishes go with you.

"In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity."

RECEPTION BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

AT a non-partisan reception by the Chamber of Commerce on return to Denver, September 1, 1894:

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: If the very kind things which the distinguished Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, my friend Judge Yeaman, and the equally kind things which my friend Mr. Coe have said of me were true, I should be at no loss to explain this magnificent ovation. As it is, the reasons for it are not far to seek. There have been for us all for many months now dark and troublous days. We have seen the material interests of our splendid State, built up after years of toil, largely destroyed by national legislation. We have seen great interests sacrificed and all values in the State unsettled. We have passed through the throes of agitation and disturbance which necessarily accompany such a condition of affairs, until each day has ushered in some fresh disaster, and each night has seemed unrelieved by hope.

The inevitable tendency of such a condition of affairs is to bring men closer to each other—and common interest, and common concern, and common loyalty to our commonwealth have served largely to obliterate party lines and traditions; have almost completely destroyed the traces of old differences and party disputes, and have led all good citizens to stand together shoulder to shoulder for the interests of Colorado, and to me as one of your representatives has been extended that splendid fellowship which embraces every citizen who values the future of the State.

Another reason, Mr. President, for this great compliment which you have paid to me is to be found in the unvarying kindness of the Colorado heart, which extends wherever there has been a chance for its exercise. No man in public life

ever served so appreciative a constituency. It has been my great good-fortune for more than a quarter of a century to have received far more than my share of your trust and your kindness. Almost ever since the year I first became of age I have met only kindness, and trust, and generosity at the hands of the people of Colorado; and if at the close of my present term of office in the Senate of the United States I should retire to private life and to the pleasure it affords, I should still owe to you a debt of gratitude I can never pay, a debt far greater than any desert of mine.

I can never, Mr. President, in words that seem to me fitting and proper, express my appreciation and gratitude for the honor which you have conferred upon me.

No applause is so dear and sweet as that which comes from one's associates and friends; no confidence is so precious as that which follows long acquaintance; no hand-clasp is so true and grateful as that of the old neighbor and the tried friend. It all moves me to-night with added emotion, because of my enforced absence from the State during these long months from illness, and during which I was sometimes worrying so needlessly that out of sight might sometimes be out of mind. Our senses are perhaps blunted a little as the years pass over us, and the honors and the triumphs of yesterday seem little enough to-day; but for me, as long as reason shall hold its seat, I shall cherish the memory of this great honor you pay me to-night as the highest compliment that could be bestowed upon me.

I must say a word for our friends, the florists, who have so beautifully decorated this hall. The flowers grow nowhere so beautifully as in Colorado; and you know that no man ever loved flowers and was a bad man, and that perhaps accounts somewhat for the high character of our Denver Florists' Association.

Such services, Mr. President, as I have been able to render the State of Colorado have been easy to render; they have been made easy by the conditions which accompany them. Ever since I have held my seat in the United States Senate there has sat near me a beloved colleague who has been to me, as to the great Northwest, a tower of strength. When there has been work to do he has taken far more than his share of the burden; when there has been credit to be bestowed, he has stood aside and given it to others. With such an incentive, who could fail to do his best? You, Mr. President, and I share with every citizen of Colorado a feeling of pride that in the whole world

to-day there is no man so well advised upon the great question of bimetallism as Senator Teller, and no man whose opinions are so eagerly sought by students of finance both in this country and in Europe.

Another reason why my work in Washington has been made easy has been because I have had back of me, irrespective of party, a united constituency. In the long struggle of last year no morning ever dawned and no sunset came at night that we did not know that in the whole State of Colorado every good man and every good woman were following us with their hopes and their prayers. It is a pleasure to spend and be spent in the service of a united people whose very existence was menaced, but who faced disaster with courage, and who have never yet abandoned hope. Whoever shall carry the banner of Colorado in the great contest which is waging on behalf of the masses will always be cheered by the knowledge that there stand back of him a dauntless people who have been mistreated by national legislation as no other section has ever been, yet who gather their own resources about them and under the forms of law and under the sanction of law alone propose to fight it out to the end knowing no change or shadow of turning.

There is no question as to the final result; it may be postponed, for capital is stubborn, powerful, and difficult to dislodge; but the great suffering which prevails all over the world, and which is growing every year as the prices of commodities fall and the value of gold appreciates, is burning conviction into the hardest hearts. Some day—I solemnly believe, Mr. President, it will be in your day and mine—silver will be restored to its old place as a standard of value, and those sections of our country which have degraded a noble industry and have punished a great people for producing one of the precious metals of the earth, which in time of peace ought to be a source of great wealth, and in time of war ought to be a vast element of strength, and in all times would be an equalizer between the debtor and the creditor and a needed factor for our commerce with the other nations of the earth—will be wondering at their folly and be quick to atone for it.

On an occasion such as this, Mr. President, it is not fitting or proper that I should enter in even the slightest degree upon the domain of politics. I have no temptation to obtrude political views at such a time as this. The honorable and influential body over which you preside is composed of men of all shades of political opinion and members of every po-

litical party; but you will all, I know, agree with me that it is a matter of felicitation that in the State of Colorado forever hereafter woman is to have her share of the responsibility of government. To them must always be entrusted especially the sanctity of home and its stability; and their participation in government must necessarily bring into politics and into political management a far greater regard for pure methods and for upright conduct.

Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, I cannot conclude the few words I have to say on this occasion without reminding you and myself of the grave duty which rests upon us and upon all good citizens in these critical times, and in the elections which are soon to take place. Our State, with its vast resources and marvellous possibilities, is still very young. You, Mr. President,[1] were present at its very birth; you knew its mother, the old Territory of Jefferson; around you and before me I see your brother pioneers growing gray in the service of their State. Upon the foundation which you laid the edifice of State prosperity has been built from year to year by the new men who have cast their fortunes in Colorado. Our splendid destiny is still unfulfilled.

Whether or not Colorado will take its place in the sisterhood of States at the high station where its resources and its possibilities should place it depends upon us in a greater degree than ever before in the history of our country. We need foreign capital to help us in our development, and we must have it, not for a year or for a decade, but in permanence. To obtain it we must win the confidence of those who own it, and we must secure its safety by the protection and the enforcement of our laws. We need also thousands of good citizens to cast their lot with ours. We shall get them if we throw around them the protection, the absolute protection of law which our Constitution guarantees them; and we shall not get them otherwise. We cannot trifle with free institutions. The sacred fires of patriotism burn and are yet kept burning only by the devotion of every good citizen, who must be prepared to lay down even his life if necessary to secure not only his freedom, but the equal freedom of his neighbor, always subject to obedience to the law. We must have as guardians of our law and our liberties, men, earnest, thoughtful, patriotic men.

In the face of the great problems with which we are con-

[1] William N. Byers, founder of the *Rocky Mountain News*.

fronted, we need for pilots noble souls, not mountebanks. We need men who love this blessed Republic as the one hope of civilization—not Socialists and not Anarchists.

How dim, ladies and gentlemen, do party lines become when the integrity of our Government is threatened, and how paltry are individual ambitions!

Mr. President, we are masters of ourselves; we are captains of our souls, and if in these days of ferment we play the part of the poltroon, or fail to stand erect for our flag and for the law, we are unworthy of the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, I again thank you from the depths of a grateful heart for this splendid ovation and the compliment which you have paid me.

COLORADO COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

At Colorado Springs, June 2, 1886:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: A late English traveller who visited this country wrote home that the farther west he travelled the more convinced he was that the wise men came from the East. And we hear occasionally from the larger colleges of New England that these smaller institutions of the West have no reason for being. For my part, I am inclined to agree with John Milton, who thought there should be found a spacious house and ground about it, as many as might be needful, in every city throughout the land, big enough to lodge an hundred and fifty persons, which should be at once both a school and university; and he was of opinion that such institutions would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere, and fit a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war. But whatever weight there might ever at any time be, in arguments respecting the usefulness of such colleges in general, there can be none as to this in particular. It is here, and here to stay, and has already given ample token of its necessity and its vitality.

When any institution of learning has come up successfully out of the great tribulation which has encompassed Colorado College, there are sign and proof that it has not only a kind Providence and Christian friends to watch over it, but that there are within itself elements of strength which entitle it to life and permanence. Of the detail of its struggles we are here to-night to learn, and I only speak of them generally. I know, however, that not alone in the East, but here in Colorado, where we rush and drive in our haste for riches, building for the day and ever seeking some royal and speedy road to wealth, there

are yet many men who have found the time and the heart to lend a hand. Much more remains to be done. The college, to its credit, and to its self-respect, receives no State aid, and levies no involuntary tribute upon every taxpayer. It relies wholly upon voluntary and willing help, and as its needs become more generally known, and its capacity for usefulness widens, there will be found in Colorado other friends who will rally generously to its support.

The location of the college adds much to its value. The robust and the strong, among men, are rarely the thinkers; intellectual fires burn brightest where there are fewest physical distractions, and many a student in Eastern universities, with the rigors of an Eastern climate, finds an early and untimely grave or ruined health, who, if his strength were spared, would have had something to say in his generation for the bettering of mankind and the uplifting of humanity. Our health-giving plains open to such men and women the possibility of educating the mind without destroying the body.

Scott and Burns found their inspiration among the hills and glens of Scotland; Wordsworth and Coleridge sought the Lake country, with its rugged scenery, for their communings, and the sweetest notes of Shelley were uttered from under the shadow of the Alps. If environment has aught to do with work or its effectiveness, then surely is inspiration to be found under the lee of these eternal mountains, in one of whose sheltered clefts was put to rest the other day the stilled heart and silent voice of their laureate, whose passionate words in behalf of an outraged race will be remembered as long as the language endures.[1]

But mainly, for the preservation of this institution in the past, and for hope in its future, we must turn to the college faculty; to the acting president and to his able associates, who for years have struggled, at times almost without hope, upon insufficient salaries and against the most depressing circumstances, to maintain the life of the university and preserve its high standard. Few of us, I think, know the depth of the self-sacrifice of these gentlemen, who declined to turn aside to other fields from the institution with which they had cast their lots, although their talents are appreciated wherever learning is respected, preferring to stand or fall with its fortunes. "*Nitor in adversum*" is the motto for such as they; and men

[1] Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson ("H. H.").

who patiently, and without looking back, thus put their hands to the work before them with steadfast belief in the future, must be men whose faith is grounded in the "eternal verities." Their work, however, has not been in vain; some of its fruit is apparent to-night. And as no right thought or honest act fails somehow and at some time to tell for good, so, sooner or later, and when the field is ripe, will the full harvest come. All these months, the plains yonder were dull and gray, and apparently lifeless, but the work was quietly going on beneath. The transformation came almost in a night, and lo! the other May morning they were bright with flowers.

Recognizing, then, the right to existence, and the permanency of Colorado College, there are some few suggestions which may with propriety be made respecting the college *curriculum*; suggestions which are neither new nor original, but which are pertinent because the discoveries and developments of late years press them constantly upon the attention of every friend of education.

The State fixes twenty-one as the age when its sons shall be endowed with full political privileges and assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. This age has been the one fixed for centuries, as that when a young man should be permitted to determine for himself his line of action; and I am not of those who believe that the boy of eighteen who enters college should during the first two years of his course be permitted to determine for himself what studies he should pursue. If the duty, then, of choosing is upon the teacher, so much the greater is the responsibility of the teacher.

The ordinary college course extends over four years, requiring nearly the same time for its preparation. Much of this in most of our colleges is spent in the study of Greek and Latin, logic, history, and kindred studies. Changes have from time to time been made, but the groundwork has remained the same, and it is, I think, safe to say that during three years of preparatory training, and the first two years of a college course, one-half the student's time is taken up in the study of the dead languages and the history of the people who spoke them. Newer institutions copied from the earlier New England colleges, and they in turn adopted the *curriculum* of the English universities. That it was wasted time so spent by those who have, in the generations before us, drunk at the pure fount of a classical education, nobody will admit who loves the stately literature of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, made possible only by the study

of the ancient classics; and to-day no pleasure is keener to the lover of letters than the reading and study endeared to him by this sort of training. More than this, as one of the ends of education is discipline of the mind, it must be said that a classical training has been of great aid to many a student in the memorizing of necessary data in other branches of learning, and in enabling him to patiently master other sciences. But when you have said these things you have practically stated your argument in favor of the time thus spent.

The fact is that when a classical training was established as the basis of a collegiate education, the conditions of things and people were vastly different. All the great discoveries of science were not even dreamed of. Machinery, even the simplest, had not been invented. Agriculture was in its most primitive condition, and the peasants knew nothing of either draining or fertilizing their farms, or of rotation of crops, and garnered their scant harvests as they had sown them, by hand. There was no knowledge of the heavens with their circling worlds; the impressive and beautiful discoveries of geology had not yet dawned upon them; superstition and ignorance swayed their minds. The great mass of people then, as always, were born to labor, and as soon as a boy was able to work he was apprenticed to some honest industry. If he showed unusual brightness he was taught to read, and if the fire burnt strong enough within him he became a student. But, as there was no science in those days to help men to live better and fuller lives, and no scientific truths to be taught, the colleges were of no service to the mass of mankind, and, having nothing to add to the wealth of the world, they were taught that the garb of a student was the symbol of poverty. Even the nobles who became students shared the common lot, and Mr. Froude tells us that when the magnificent Earl of Essex, in Queen Elizabeth's time, entered at Cambridge his guardians furnished him with a deal table, a truckle bed, half a dozen chairs, and a wash hand basin. The laws of mendicancy were suspended in their favor, and so they went wandering through Europe disputing, writing learned disquisitions, and begging their way.

All this was well enough after its fashion, and so have been the modifications that have come with growing civilization; but gradually, yet surely, the whole face of things has changed, and that which had value because there was nothing better, must go to the wall, because something having infinitely more worth claims its place.

We will all agree I think that the object of education should be to prepare men for the highest and best and completest life. In this Republic, we teach all our youth to read and write, and give them a fair rudimentary education. With this, the vast proportion must be content, for there are harvests to be garnered and work to do. The value and service of this education to each pupil depend on the knowledge by the teacher of such useful facts to be instilled into the scholar's mind as will enable him to start in life with intelligent use of his faculties. The colleges must furnish the teachers, and as is the intelligence of the teacher, so will be the usefulness of the pupil. In every trade and business of life, however menial, there is needed a knowledge of physiology or biology, or physics or chemistry or mathematics, or of two or more of these sciences. No teacher can know them all, or can even know well more than one of them. It is too much to ask, then, that our colleges devote their years to imparting a knowledge of those facts, the proper application of which will sustain and preserve human life, and make it better worth living. Lord Brougham said that he hoped the day would come when every man in England would read Bacon, and Cobbett responded that he would be content if the time should come when every man in England would *eat* bacon.

If the pursuit of these studies takes from us certain of the pleasures men of culture look for in the study of the history and languages of centuries ago, the new fields which science opens to us will bring even higher and greater enjoyment. They open to us possibilities never before even dreamed of, and foreshadow to us limitations in human thought beyond which it is idle to seek to penetrate. Nor are these studies and their development in the faintest degree hostile to the truest religious belief. Science teaches us that all high thought and noble action tell for good, not only in this life but infinitely beyond it, and its discoveries only serve to bring more clearly to our minds and understanding the inscrutable majesty and beneficence of that Supreme Power before which we bow our heads in adoration; and who, that has read the story of Him of Nazareth, and how He went about doing good, can fail to find the seal of His sanction and approval in every pursuit looking to the amelioration of mankind?

A few words to the students of the college: Remember, always, that in the struggle of life action is the teacher. Your professors will show you the paths where truth is to be found; but you alone must find it. There has never been a time in

the history of this Republic when she stood in greater need of a generation of educated, manly, honest men. Grave problems have arisen, and are now arising, which no man yet can solve.

The great, the overshadowing question, is that of Socialism, associated and interweaved with what is known as the Labor Question. To you, if you are worthy, will be entrusted an honorable share in the solution of these difficulties. Let me beg of you to form no definite theories upon them until you not only have satisfied your minds regarding them, but have also come face to face and hand to hand with your fellowman in the every-day work of life. There is no more dangerous Socialist than the Socialist of the study. In fact, I think we all in theory love to plan an ideal community, where every man has as much property as his neighbor, and the Golden Rule is always followed. Do we not forget, however, that until selfishness ceases to be the rule of life with the most of mankind such communities are hardly practicable? and would it not be better, for those who believe in the doctrines of Him who sought to lift up mankind, changing and softening the hearts of men, to follow His methods rather than to preach a gospel of discontent? And would it not be wise for those who believe in evolution to study a little the doctrine of the survival of the fittest before seeking to divide other people's property and to hold all men back on common ground? You will always notice that the man who clamors loudest for a division will have something coming to him when it is all distributed.

Most intelligent men believe in the right and the propriety of organizations of laboring men, and that thereby their condition and that of the whole country are benefited, and I think we all hope that out of the present agitation a better understanding will be arrived at between employer and employee. The whole subject is at this juncture somewhat clouded, and the murkiness is intensified by the fact that the laboring man has a vote, and that politicians of both parties and, I regret to say, a few demagogues of the pulpit, are clambering over each other and over the laboring man too, in their efforts to convince him that they are the only Moseses who can bring him to the promised land. After a time, however, the atmosphere will clear a little, and I think that then, perhaps, somewhere, possibly with bated breath and before a timid audience, somebody will venture to suggest that the true interests of labor lie in the conservation of capital; that even a man who has by superior industry and intelligence been able to amass a cer-

tain amount of capital, is entitled to some little protection, under the broad canopy of this Republic; that if one hundred men are at work together in the shop, ninety-nine of them may quit if they want to, but that, if it takes the whole armies of this nation, the hundredth man should be secured in his right to labor if he so wishes. Fair men and brave men demand liberty; human institutions can bestow it. Superiority, pre-eminence, come through industry, skill, intelligence, heredity, and talent, and not otherwise. Equality, as agitators define it, cannot be conferred by legislation, and the men who clamor for it are the cowards and the laggards.

These questions, I say, you will some day be called upon to consider, and I know you will pardon me if I urge you to live up to your honest convictions in these as in all things, and not to permit the chimera of political expediency to induce you to keep silence when it is your duty to speak, or to close your ears to the voice of truth.

Remember always that you live under a free Republic, where the right of suffrage has, wisely or unwisely, been entrusted to all its citizens alike, without either educational or property qualification. If this nation is to live, it will be because intelligence is widely diffused among the people, and because men of education shrink not from bearing their share in controlling its destinies. Your fathers fought to establish and to perpetuate free institutions; because of them, liberty and the opportunities for education and culture, which you now enjoy, are made possible to you. Do not forget that you are to hold this glorious heritage as a sacred trust, ever to be defended by the most exalted patriotism. And beyond and above even the sacred duties you owe our common country, to your own selves be true. Whatever there is in life worth having, can come to us only as we are faithful to our honest convictions. Investigate and penetrate and determine, and when the truth has once come to you, cherish it as you would the Ark of your Covenant.

> "Great truths are portions of the soul of man;
> Great souls are portions of eternity."

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in the ordinary conduct of affairs, the organization of impersonal bodies known as corporations is permitted; but because the law abhors perpetuities, a limit is placed on the duration of such charters. In the organization of educational institutions, however, no limit is placed

to their duration. Your charter permits you therefore to exist for all time, and by the generosity of its friends, this college seems safely launched upon its eternal voyage. I wonder if you who are familiar with the infancy of this university and shared in its earlier struggles, realize the magnitude of your work. We go: Time lives forever. He was young when the pyramids were built; he will be no older when the very names of the founders of the institution are forgotten. We live in his presence for a little, and pass away. He gathers up what we have left for the use of those who follow us, and the good work done by the friends of Colorado College will tell for the right as long as institutions endure. What, and how great its work, we can never fully know. Truths widen and advance; we stand but on the threshold.

"As angels in some brighter dreams
Call to the soul while man doth sleep,
So some great thoughts transcend our wonted themes,
And into glory peep."

RAILROAD LEGISLATION

ARGUMENT before Joint Railroad Committee of the Colorado Legislature on the Policy of Railroad Legislation, February 16, 1887:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: The railroad corporations of the State appreciate the fact that it is only through the courtesy of your honorable body that we are permitted to make a presentation of the railroad view concerning pending legislation. For this privilege accorded we feel grateful, and yet, perhaps, gentlemen, we come with some show of fairness before you. For you will remember, I hope, that the railroads of Colorado represent an actual investment of more that one hundred million of dollars; that the railroads pay more than twenty per cent. of the total taxes of the State; that upon all the railroads in Colorado are employed nearly ten thousand men, representing an actual support through and by means of the railroads of the State of more than fifty thousand of our population; and remembering this, I hope, gentlemen, animated, as you are, I know, by a desire to deal fairly between the people and the corporations, that you will recognize their right to be heard.

Unfortunately for us, the counsel, the attorneys for the corporations, are selected as the spokesmen for railroads. Possibly those who are laymen could with more effect present the railroad problem to your committee, and yet we are pushed forward to do this work. It is popular among unthinking men and among newspapers, who are anxious only to curry the favor of subscribers, sometimes forgetting that a monopoly which they so decry against is somewhat reflected in their own corporations, which control the absolute monopoly of the news and Associated Press despatches, to the exclusion of people who

might be willing to start newspapers which would print the news and present other legitimate information without representing the views of any disappointed faction, or of any part of a party, to stigmatize corporation lawyers as men to be held up to the derision of the people. But so far as I am concerned, I beg of you to believe, representing as I do some of the railroad corporations of the State, that it is yet possible, curious as it may seem, that a man may be an honorable and an honest man and yet represent railroad corporations. This question is not political or personal or partisan. It is one affecting the welfare of the State.

So far as the corporations are concerned, we say if we must have legislation, if it is finally to come, let it come now. We do not ask that if we are to have legislation that it should be postponed two years longer, or four years longer, until you may have more capital to tax, more railroads to govern. But we are here to ask you, before you pass upon these questions, to consider carefully whether or not it is desirable or necessary that such legislation should be had. As to the right of the Legislature to pass laws which shall regulate and govern and control the railroads, there can be no question. It is based, not as is popularly supposed upon the right of eminent domain. It is based not upon the fact that we as a State have given the railroads the right to lay their tracks across the farms of the people and across the public highways of the State. Not at all. The right of eminent domain is given the railroad corporations because it is recognized by the State that railroads bring benefits to the people. You give us the right of eminent domain, but couple with it the requirement that we pay every dollar that the land is worth. When you have given it to us, you tax that property as you tax the property of any other citizen of your State. And when the right of eminent domain is given to a railroad the State parts with nothing, and practical experience has demonstrated that a railway pays ten times as much for the land it takes upon which to lay its rails as any individual would be compelled to pay who bought the real estate of the owner.

The right to legislate is based solely and wholly upon the fact that the railroads serve the public. It is the only basis upon which the Supreme Court of the United States places it. You have the right to legislate and say that the man who buys with his own money a hack and a pair of horses shall charge so much and no more for transporting a passenger from the

railroad station to his residence. You have the right to say that the baker who makes bread shall charge so much per loaf for his bread and no more: that the butcher who sells meat and who likewise serves the public shall charge so much for his meat and no more. You have the right to say to a ditch-owner, who is a common carrier, that he shall charge so much for his water and no more.

You have the right to say to every person, every individual, and every corporation serving the public that each shall charge so much and no more for public services. And upon this right and this alone is the right based. The same power that gives you the right to say to an aggregation of $100,000,000 of capital vested in the cañons and defiles of Colorado that it shall charge so much per passenger and so much per ton for freight, gives you the same right to go to a man who owns a team of twenty jacks climbing over some of these mountain-tops, and say to him he shall charge so much for the ore which he brings down to the ore mills. It gives you the right to go beyond the railroads and say to every stage company and every man with an ore team, "You have the right to charge so much for the services you render and you shall charge no more." So much for the right.

Now the necessity, the desirability of legislation is an entirely different question. The right, gentlemen, we concede. Although private capital is invested in a public corporation, yet the State may take the management of it from the hands of the investor. The demand for legislation cannot be based upon the profits which corporations have made. We have twenty-five hundred miles of railroad construction in the State of Colorado, and not a single local railroad in the State of Colorado is paying to-day four per cent. upon the actual money which went into its construction. The Denver, Utah, and Pacific road, which I have the honor to represent, a little railroad built with Colorado capital from Denver to Longmont, is struggling along and paying its expenses and a little more.

The Denver and New Orleans Company has been an unfortunate enterprise from the start and has hardly paid its operating expenses. It has, we believe, and hope, a career of prosperity opening before it, but to this time it has not and does not pay its operating expenses. The Denver, South Park, and Pacific Railroad, built by Colorado men with Colorado capital, who placed every bond upon it that now stands against it, except the new line that has been built since they sold it; which

represents no watered stock and no watered bonds that Colorado men did not put into it, ran $320,000 short last year of paying its operating expenses; and the Colorado Central Railroad, which is held up as a great instrument of oppression in the State of Colorado, fell $32,000 short last year of paying interest upon its bonds.

The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, fathered by Colorado men and pressed forward to completion in every cañon and mountain pass and mining camp in the State where there was hope of revenue, brought its projectors and its investors to sad grief. It is now reorganized upon a basis which does not today represent the actual dollars that went into the construction of the road. It is earning the interest upon its bonds and nearly $300,000 in taxes which we pay the State every year. Its stockholders are not getting a penny, and before the road could be reorganized every owner of its securities was compelled to put his hand in his pocket and contribute to bring the road up out of the sea of bankruptcy to some sort of solid basis of prosperity. Then, gentlemen, it certainly is not because these railroads are making enormous profits that you feel called upon to put three men [1] to govern this $100,000,000 of capital; investors, who have had confidence in the growth of Colorado, and in the integrity of Colorado Legislatures, and who have put their money in, are taking great profits out. If you feel called upon to put three men [1] to govern this $100,000,000 of capital, whose only requirement must be that they never owned a dollar's worth of railroad stock, and do not know anything about a railroad, it certainly is not for these reasons.

What reasons exist then, gentlemen, why you desire to govern these railroads? What have the railroads done? I understand the position taken by certain sections of the State. I am glad to say they are few and isolated. It is not that the railroad has brought advantages to the section in which it is built, and because its rates are too high and should be brought down. These, then, I understand, gentlemen, are the reasons why you should legislate.

The bills that have been introduced into this body looking to railroad legislation number some eighteen, all looking to the regulation of the railroads. Before I pass to the consideration of these bills which look to the government of railroads, I want to call the attention of the committee to House Bill No. 5, which

[1] The number proposed for a Railroad Commission in a pending bill.

is the Connecting Line Bill introduced by Mr. Allison, of Douglas County. This bill, with few changes, is the same bill that was defeated at the last session. The bill has had added to it this year some few new sections. In addition it proves that any one railroad which may be constructed must be compelled to make not a physical, but an actual business connection with any other railroad with which it may come in contact either by crossing or by junction; that if a railroad which the other road desires to connect with may be in somewhat embarrassed circumstances, the first-named railroad may exact a reasonable bond to secure it against loss, and thereupon the one railroad must do business with the other, exchange bills of lading and coupon passenger tickets, and generally do business as if the two roads made one road. If the two railroads cannot agree upon what each shall receive, then the railroad commissioners shall have power not to fix proportions alone, but to say just what each road shall receive for transacting its share of the business, and that the two roads shall be operated as if one road. It is evident, gentlemen, that this bill so introduced and pressed is one which nobody can assume is of service to the general public. No shipper is benefited a dollar. His freight is not carried more expeditiously or more cheaply. He is not benefited in the faintest degree. There is not a shipper in Colorado, who ever asked to have the bill passed. The bill was unheard of until two years ago, when in a fight between two railroads one railroad sought to make the other connect with it and interchange business. Our Constitution provides that every railroad meeting another railroad shall have the right to cross, intersect, and connect with such other railroad.

In the litigation which took place between the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé company and the Denver and Rio Grande company, the Supreme Court of the United States held that this constitutional provision contemplated solely a physical and not a business connection, and that it simply meant that they should have the right to cross each other's tracks, connect with switches, and in other ways make themselves so united with each other that cars could be interchanged between them; whereupon the Denver and New Orleans appeared before a committee of this Legislature at its last session, asking that one railroad when requested should be compelled to make a business connection with another. The bill can affect but two railroads in the State. The Interstate Bill, which will become a law on March 31st, covers this identical ground or is intended to do so;

so that in this State there are only two roads affected, the Denver, Utah, and Pacific and the Denver and New Orleans company. The Denver, Utah, and Pacific does not desire the legislation and has no right to demand it. It has no moral or legal or equitable right to insist that a railroad that has already built its line from Denver to Longmont and also extends farther on to the north, shall be completed, having its freight and passenger trains ready to carry the freight and passengers farther on, to accept from another and lesser road freight and passenger traffic, and permit it to carry it over its line and then receive it at the other end.

I do not speak for the Denver and New Orleans road, but I have had conversations with many of its principal holders and owners and I know I represent the views of many of its stockholders, and I believe I represent the views of many of the owners of the Denver and New Orleans stock, when I say they think this bill is the last bill they should ever wish to see passed. The Denver and New Orleans is now reorganized, we hope here in Colorado, successfully. It is to be built from here to Texas. It is to connect with the Fort Worth and Denver company. It is to construct its middle division and, in connection with the road at present constructed, it is to form a through line to Galveston, Texas. It is already built from here to Pueblo. What could be more infamous than that a bill should be passed by this Legislature whereby the Denver and Rio Grande, the Denver and New Orleans having already got its track constructed between Denver and Pueblo, should have the right to take a shipment destined for Texas from here to Pueblo over its line, while the Denver and New Orleans sends its cars empty over its line, and then insist we should have the right to foist our goods on it for shipment farther to the South? It is not business, and not common honesty. No shipper is benefited. No rate is lowered. It was introduced two years ago to help in a litigation between two railroad companies, and now neither of them wants it. Yet you are asked to pass it, and we are asked to address ourselves to the merits of the measure.

I will suggest another thing to you. The Denver and Rio Grande has its road built from Denver to Pueblo, the most cheaply constructed, perhaps, of the whole line. That part of the line pays. We have our freight and passenger trains leaving a dozen times a day with freight and passengers. We have built a line over the Toltec Gorge to Durango that does not pay for wheel grease. Is it equity or decency that you should

say to us, having built this line and depending upon the line from Denver to Pueblo and its earning to make up for the losses on the unprofitable portion: "You must take from the Denver and New Orleans at Pueblo, freight which is shipped from Denver over the cheap and easy portion of country, and you must carry it at a pro rata rate over the difficult portion of that country, where nobody but an enthusiast would ever have constructed a railroad." It is not common honesty between individuals, much less between individuals and a corporation. I say to you further, gentlemen, there is not a railroad in the State of Colorado that has not expended from one to three millions of dollars in Denver for its terminal facilities. If you pass this bill you will permit any other railroad to build within five miles of Denver or Pueblo or any other terminal point, and you say to another railroad which has so expended its money: "You must connect with this little seven-by-nine road and when you get five miles from a town we confiscate so much of your terminal facilities and you give that road your business and your facilities." It is unjust, and the corporations are benefited by it and not the people. A railroad might be built from here to Pueblo. It might then go to Gunnison after the Continental Divide has been crossed, and build its road from Gunnison to Grand Junction, spending $10,000 a mile upon this portion of the road, when the Denver and Rio Grande will have averaged $60,000 a mile in the construction of the intermediate line, and it will then have a right to say: "We are coming here from Denver to Pueblo, from Gunnison to Grand Junction; you must do the heavy work and haul these trains and this freight over these mountain passes for us, although your freight trains go empty between Denver and Pueblo and between Gunnison and Grand Junction, and the railroad commissioners shall apportion the amount of freight that each shall receive."

Instead of being an encouragement to the investment of capital and the construction of railroads through these mountain gorges, it is simply an invitation to every little concern to make parallel lines, to use a portion of another railroad's line and rely upon the other railroad to do the heavy work and make it divide its profits. I do not think, gentlemen, I need dwell further upon this bill. It has been held in the courts that where one railroad company has its line constructed and another railroad company has a line running a portion of the distance, the first named line is not required to accept the shipment of the other. Such a decision is based upon com-

mon fairness and common justice, and you are not here, as I understand it, gentlemen, to settle fights between two rival railroads.

You are here, so far as in you lies, to represent the people and secure for them fair and equitable treatment, and the passage of this Connecting Line Bill can never for an instant affect the price of the shipment of a ton or the carriage of a passenger for a mile, and as I say, it is simply a bill to enable one small road to hold up another and force the other railroad to buy it out or divide profits with it. I need not dwell further on that bill. That is House Bill No. 5. The other bills introduced are varying in their character.

I have been informed, with how much truth I do not know, that the House committee has reported to the House with favorable recommendation a bill which limits express rates on railroads: As to that I have one word to say: There are four express companies in the United States which absolutely divide the territory longitudinally. The United States Express Company, the Adams Express, the American and the Wells-Fargo working jointly, and the Pacific Company. The Adams Company takes the territory to the south, the United States Express Company takes the north, and the American Wells-Fargo divides with the Pacific the territory in the interior. It occurred to the managers of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad some years ago, that an express business might be transacted by the corporation itself, whereupon it attempted to do its own business, and was met by injunctions in the Federal Court, followed by a decision of the Supreme Court reversing the decisions of the Circuit, and establishing that a railway company might, if it thought fit, transact its own business. However, the Legislature of Colorado, two years ago, believed that this was justice, and enacted a law that any railway company might transact its own express business, limiting its rates to one and one-half first-class freight rates. I have never heard it pretended that this rate was unfair. From the time that law was passed, the Denver and Rio Grande has transacted its own express business. It has been in a constant fight with the Wells-Fargo and the American and Pacific Express Companies. Each company is trying to choke off the express department of the railway company, to make a contract with it whereby it may do the express business upon our line of railroad. A bill has been recommended, as I am informed, by this House, in which you state that the rate on express matter shall be limited to

25 cents for the first 100 miles and so much for 200 miles, and so much for 300 miles, a rate devised by somebody undoubtedly who never shipped a parcel or ever was connected with an express company or the express department of a railroad. We have only to say to you, gentlemen, that the earnings of the railway company can be fairly and legitimately helped and the service to the public may be made better and more efficient and cheaper if the railway company be permitted, as it legitimately may, to transact its own express business. If, however, this bill is recommended and it shall become a law, we have only to say that we shall simply hand over the express department of the Denver and Rio Grande road to one of these foreign corporations, which will then transact the business of the company and will be independent of this Legislature or anybody else. We have yet to hear a complaint that has been made by an express shipper along the line of our road, since your honorable body made the law; and yet somebody in the Legislature seems to have considered it his duty, because perhaps things were running swimmingly and satisfactorily, to introduce a bill which should compel the railroad company to give up the legitimate control and transfer it to a foreign corporation and to stifle all competition.

I desire now to ask your attention for a few minutes to the principal bills introduced, viz.: a bill by Mr. Allison, No. 282, the bill introduced by Mr. Griswold, No. 303, and the bill introduced by fifteen Senators in the Senate, No. 204. The objects sought to be obtained by all these bills are somewhat as follows: First, a strong clause which shall forbid discrimination, which shall forbid rebates, which shall forbid the charging more for a short haul than for a long haul, and providing further that from one to three commissioners shall be appointed who shall have absolute power in one form or another to fix rates. Whether it be by the absolute and imperative action of the commission, whether it be through a court of record, however it may be, each of the bills in some form or another seeks to fix rates. This Legislature can have no such friend to help the passage of an anti-discrimination and an anti-rebate bill, with the severest penalties, as you will find in every railroad company in the State of Colorado. The custom is vicious, it is outrageous, it is unjust, it is dishonest, and there is not a railroad in Colorado which will not cheerfully and willingly and anxiously second any efforts of this Legislature to prohibit and prevent it. No railroad gains by it. No railroad company desires it.

Judge Cooley, one of the most distinguished jurists we have, formerly of the Supreme bench of Michigan, devoted a good deal of his life to the railway question, and drew many of the anti-discrimination clauses which appear in the legislation of the country. He has been for the past two months a receiver of the Wabash system, and he now reports himself in favor of an anti-rebate and anti-discrimination clause in railroad legislation, but has further declared himself to the effect that any person, any shipper, who shall ask, demand, or receive from a railroad company any rebate or any discrimination, shall himself be subject to the penalties which shall be inflicted upon a railroad company. If you will pass such a bill, gentlemen, we will help you to enforce it to the extent of our power.

One of the bills which has been introduced prohibits pooling. I do not know, gentlemen, whether you have ever considered the effects of a railroad pool or not. A railroad pool is established solely and only in order that there may not be rebates and discrimination. When railroads agree, there is no inducement for a railroad corporation to entice a shipper to send his goods over its line. It is only when railroads fight and when rates are broken that rebates are sought and granted, and the formation of a railroad pool is the only thing which preserves the maintenance of the rate, which prevents rebates, which prevents discrimination, and which permits a merchant carrying a stock of goods to continue to do business. In the furniture business of Denver, from 30 to 60 per cent. of the values are in freight. If you prohibit pooling and let each railroad charge what it may think fit, what assurance has a merchant who desires to carry his stock of $50,000 that a railroad war will not ruin him? A reduction of 25 per cent. knocks the value of his stock of goods down from 12½ to 20 per cent., and the formation of a pool is the one thing which preserves the shipper and prevents rebate. It is true that in the last year the Denver and Rio Grande company has directly or indirectly had to do with few rebates. One of them, concerning which the only complaint that I know that has been made for two years, has been made respecting the coal shipments, we will say, to Leadville. The Denver and Rio Grande is met at Leadville by a formidable competitor in the Union Pacific. The largest company trading with the Denver and Rio Grande is the Colorado Coal and Iron Company, which can load a car in five or ten minutes. It was the custom of that company to send an agent from fifty to seventy-five car-loads per day,

and that agent received the advantage of fifty cents per ton upon his coal. The railroad company more than received the benefit of it by the quick service of the cars and their speedy return. The stability of rates was insured, and the stability of prices. There was no claim that the rate of freight to the general public was an unreasonable one. But it was a discrimination. That rate the company has since abandoned at the request of shippers of coal with mines to open in the hope that men who ship one car-load a day may finally grow to shippers of twenty-five to fifty car-loads a day.

Another discrimination I would like to ask your counsel about. The rates from the mines at Cauan and below to Denver on coal are two dollars and a half or something of that sort—in that neighborhood. Nobody pretends that it is an excessive rate. The coal comes one hundred and seventy miles. The rate is not exorbitant. There is no complaint about it. We supply the smelters and the merchants and the manufacturers here. There is coal mined in Iowa which has been shipped to Nebraska, which is furnished all through Nebraska and Kansas. The people there dealing in coal say to us: "If you can get coal from Colorado, bring it to Kansas and Nebraska for a certain sum, you may compete with our merchants there, and a market can be established for Colorado coal." We have our agents, trains, engineers, cars, road, and track. While our rate to Denver is reasonable, yet, for a slight additional cost over the expense of the service, we can bring this product on and ship it east to Kansas and Nebraska. We do not receive anything like $2.50 per ton for the coal destined to these competing points. We receive the cost and a little more, enough to pay the agents, keep the trains busy, and the roads going. The result has been that within the last six months the Denver and Rio Grande company has shipped eight thousand car-loads into Nebraska and Kansas. The railroad company gets but a trifle over cost; the coal and iron company, having to bear its share of the competition, has made a trifle over the cost; the revenue of that coal has gone into the pockets of the laboring men who have produced it. There is a discrimination. Are you prepared to say you are ready to introduce and pass a bill which shall prohibit that sort of discrimination, where the people are not injured, but practically benefited? These are the only two cases of discrimination that I have known.

One Legislature is sometimes apt to forget what the other has done. We have a pretty good railroad law in force now.

There is a discrimination clause which can be readily enforced, with a procedure perfectly marked, and no complaint has been made under it in two years. I think I am stating the fact correctly, if not, my eminent friend Judge Morse, who knows all about railroads, will, I know, set me right. There have been in the last two years four complaints against the Denver and Rio Grande company. Three of them were only trifling. They pertained to sidetracks and coal roads. Three were decided against the company, and one in its favor. We met mutually in that spirit of fairness and equity with which a railroad dependent upon public good-will must always meet a recommendation coming from an authentic source, and the evils complained of were corrected. We have 1500 miles of railroad in Colorado, 500 miles of it not earning operating expenses.

As to some of it, we spend from $150,000 to $200,000 every winter to keep the track open. There is not a man connected with the Denver and Rio Grande company, from the president down, who has an interest in a town site, or a town lot, or a private investment along the line of the road. It depends for its success solely upon the prosperity and the welfare of the State, and we say to you, gentlemen, that unless the present law has proved a failure, it is unfair and inequitable that you cripple and harass the road, retard its prosperity, and destroy its usefulness for the mere sake of passing a law.

It is said that there are abuses in Clear Creek and Gilpin Counties. The representatives of the Union Pacific road are engaged in seeing whether or not reductions can be made. I want to tell you, gentlemen, although I do not represent that company, of a fact of which I was personally cognizant two years ago, when Mr. Kimball came out and met Colorado gentlemen, and was told that if he would reduce the rates from sixteen to twenty per cent. all demand for legislation would cease. The rates were reduced from sixteen to twenty per cent. two years ago, with the result that the earnings of the road have fallen off thousands of dollars with no corresponding increase, with the result that the trains have run more than 300,000 train miles more upon the railroad with no corresponding return, but, on the other hand, a falling off in gross revenue. But I say, whatever may be the rights or the wrongs of the railroad, if it be true that Gilpin and Clear Creek Counties are overcharged upon the business transacted over the lines of their railroad, that this does not constitute a fair reason why you should legislate concerning more than two thousand miles of

railroad where no complaint is made, and legislate in such a manner that you hamper and destroy the ability of that road to transact its business and build its needed extensions. The arguments which may be presented in favor of legislation can be made applicable, I know, but to the one section of country, and no complaint can be made elsewhere.

If legislation is had and a bill is passed, it simply means that the management and control of these railroads shall be handed over to one or three gentlemen who shall conduct and handle the concerns of the company, men who it is conceded are without knowledge of railroading and without the qualifications necessary for the transaction of the business. We ask, gentlemen, if we are to be compelled to see the affairs of our railroads in Colorado so turned over to the hands of the people. The questions which arise in the management of railroads are many. The bill introduced by Mr. Allison contemplates that rates shall be based upon the cost of the road and the revenue and the methods of conducting its business.

The Denver and Rio Grande company—and if I dwell particularly upon this company, I hope you will pardon me, as I am more familiar with that than with the other companies—has fifteen hundred miles of road. Five hundred miles are practically valueless to it, but the bonds are issued upon that portion of its road; the interest charges must be met on the Durango and Silverton line with the same unerring promptitude as upon the main line from Denver to Leadville. We are compelled to keep up the road in its entirety. What are you going to say? Are you going to say, "You shall charge so much for your freight and no more"? How are your commissioners to deal with it? What warrant have we for closing up the five hundred miles of useless road? It must be run; it must be managed, and, so far as it can be done, without oppressing other communities. As it is true with individuals all over the world, the solvent must pay the debts of the insolvent. Complaint comes from one member of your body at Silverton. We have a line of road from Durango to Silverton, costing $50,000 a mile to construct, which does not earn operating expenses; it does not earn enough to pay the conductor (who possibly pays himself), brakeman, fireman, engineer, and to pay for coal. What rate can you fix to make it pay? Fifty dollars a ton would not make it pay. Are your commissioners to say that you can charge $50 a ton on that part and $3 from Denver to Leadville? How are these questions to be passed on? When railroad men

recognize that the interests of the railroads are closely interwoven and identified with the prosperity of every town on the road, these questions can be safely left to the railroad companies themselves. How are commissioners going to meet these questions? The smelters at Leadville demand of the Denver and Rio Grande and the Union Pacific companies that they shall raise the rates on ores to the smelters at Pueblo. They waited on the president and traffic manager of the company in deputation and demanded that we should raise the freight on ore. The smelters along the valley say, "You must lower your rate on ore, and you must raise your rate on coke carried to Leadville to be used in the Leadville smelters." Three railroad commissioners are not half as able to meet these vexed questions and pass upon them as are intelligent and honest railroad officials.

The selfish question, gentlemen, is one I do not wish to intrude on your attention, for, as I said at the outset, if there is to be legislation it ought to come now; it ought to come in fairness to the Missouri Pacific, to the Rock Island, to the Burlington, to the Midland, to the Rio Grande with its extensions, to the Union Pacific with its extensions, and to the Utah and Pacific with its projected extensions, if you are to invite capital here and then to govern it at the hands of three commissioners, who must possess the qualification of knowing nothing about railroads.

I violate no confidence when I say what I stand ready to assert and prove: The Denver, Utah, and Pacific road has been on point of sale for some weeks to the Burlington company, which intended to build a branch line to Greeley and Boulder, finally making it a part of its through line to the Coast. But last week, the president of the company informed the vice-president of the Union Pacific, not with a view to publication, and with no idea that it would be used here, that the fact that the Interstate bill had passed and that it was understood that railroad bills were pending in the Legislature of Colorado which might seriously affect the revenue and capacities of railroads in Colorado, had led his board of directors to unanimously decide to build no road and to buy no road in Colorado at present. The wrongs of Clear Creek and Gilpin Counties, serious as they may be, are as but a drop in the bucket compared to the advantages which may be derived from the building of railroads. The president of the Denver and Rio Grande informed me the other day that that road is in the market for a large sum of money to build

the Rico and other extensions, and he thinks he will get it. If railroad legislation comes of the character indicated we never will get it. I was informed the other day, by the officials of the Midland, which is building its broad-gauge system over the mountains of this State, that if this legislation passed, all talk of the extension was waste and useless. If Colorado is to be built up, and not to be torn down, the railroads should be encouraged.

Figures are sometimes available. I want to call your attention to a few, and I will be very brief. I have here a statement of the earnings and the passenger and freight rates of the Denver and Rio Grande company since 1881. These figures show that in 1881 the passenger earnings of the company were $1,563,000, in 1882 $1,589,000, in 1883 $1,286,000 (that was the year of our bitter contest with the New Orleans), in 1884 $1,129,000, in 1885 $1,086,000, in 1886 $1,269,000. In 1881 we carried 28,000,000 passengers one mile; in 1882, 31,000,000; in 1883, 35,000,000; in 1884, 26,000,000; in 1885, 26,000,000; in 1886, 41,000,000. I want to call your attention to the rate per mile, and this was before these bills were introduced. In 1881 we received 5 and 56-100 cents per passenger per mile; in 1882, 5 and 12-100 cents per mile; in 1883, 3 and 61-100 cents per mile; in 1884, 4 and 33-100 cents per mile; in 1885, 4 and 16-100 cents per mile; in 1886, 3 and 7-100 cents per passenger per mile. There is a reduction made, not under pressure of legislation, but because as the towns along the line built up and we had something along the road besides telegraph poles and employees and their families, as fast as the business warranted it, the rates were decreased. If we had continued our rates as we might legitimately have done, there would have been no bankruptcy for the Denver and Rio Grande company. If we had charged in 1886 the same rate we charged in 1881 our earnings would have been increased $1,024,000. The difference in favor of the public in 1886 as against 1881 has been 44 per cent. in passenger rates, as against 1882 40 percent., 1883 15 per cent., 1884 29 per cent., and 1885 26 per cent. In other words, there has been a voluntary reduction year by year in the rates charged for the transportation of passengers. In the last year it amounted to 26 per cent., and a large and sweeping reduction for 1887 has recently been made. I submit, gentlemen, that that is about as much as railroad commissioners can do for us.

In freight the percentages are still greater. I will read only the summary, and will say that the freight statement

giving the tons carried one mile and rate per mile shows that the sum total carried in 1886, if carried at the same rate charged in 1881, would have given the company $1,967,000 in excess of what it earned in 1886, being a reduction in favor of the public of 1 and 2-100 cents per ton per mile at 28 per cent. In 1885, if we had been carrying at the same rate, the earnings would have increased $234,000, a difference in favor of the public of 5 per cent. in the last year. These figures, I think, show you—they must show any fair man—that the interests of the Denver and Rio Grande company and the other railroads in the State are identical with the welfare and prosperity of Colorado, and not different. We have the Cullom Bill providing for the Federal regulation of Interstate commerce, which many of us believe to be a most serious and a most dangerous experiment so far as the Western States are concerned. Further legislation simply hampers the effectual carrying out of that act. It prevents its full operation. Can we not afford to wait for two years and see whether or not the Cullom Bill brings relief? Ninety per cent. of all complaints that are made outside of Gilpin and Clear Creek are made against the Interstate roads. Can we not wait to see what wonders that bill will accomplish before we seek still further to drive capital out of Colorado?

We have our fertile valleys; we have our fields of waving grain; we have our coal, our iron, and our precious metals. Geographically we are more advantageously situated than any State in the Union. Whatever can bring us prosperity must come to us from artificial means. It cannot be by the waterways; it must be by the railroads, and I beg of you, gentlemen, that you do not destroy and cripple these enterprises by hostile legislation which neither the people nor good conscience demand.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

MEMORIAL DAY CELEBRATION

At Leadville, May 30, 1887:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The thoughtful men who set aside the last of the spring as the day to be annually devoted to decorating with flowers the graves of our soldiers, chose the season with rare wisdom. The resting-places of those whose deathless valor won them this recognition are no longer covered with the snows of winter and swept with icy blasts.

The symbols of the resurrection are here, and the recurring season fills the minds of men with hope of reunions where no name is missing from the roll, and of anniversaries where there are no dead to mourn.

And even here among the almost eternal snows, where Nature, so lavish of her wealth beneath the earth, seems niggardly of her favors above it, she yet, as this anniversary returns, sends out her tribute of anemones and daisies to deck the graves of our patriot dead.

And the day is fitly commemorated here. These hills and valleys, it is true, were not the scenes of bloodshed and civil strife. And although in the early days of the war the peaceful mining camps sent forth their quota of men, to fight not only the white man but the red, still their glory and their growth came long after the swords were turned into ploughshares. But many of the men whom the havoc of war had left with work to do and mouths to feed, some of them with homes desolated and fortunes ruined while they were at the front, have in the years since '65 turned to the mines and mining camps to win or retrieve their fortunes. Some of these veterans have found their graves here, and with most of them the rigors of the

prison and exposure on the field hastened the course of nature. These men we have to-day remembered, and have placed flowers and the colors which they loved at their head-stones, in loving recognition of their services to our common country, and in token of a nation's gratitude. And in our ceremonies we have chanted our requiem

> "Alike o'er Northern and o'er Southern dust,
> And both to God's great mercy leave
> In equal trust."

But in these Memorial services we pay our tribute not only here, but all over the Union, on many a Southern battle-field—wherever there is a soldier whose grave is known. There is no hamlet which is not to-day in sorrow and in pride commemorating the memory of some dead hero, and we with drooping flag share in that ceremony. The rank and the file, 600,000 strong, are all alike remembered. Death is each year adding to the list, treating impartially the officer and the private, and every returning anniversary finds fewer of the living comrades to do sad office for their brothers in arms. Last Decoration Day we mourned the loss of Grant and Hancock; since then not only the patriotic order which he helped to found, but the whole loyal nation, has suffered personal loss in the death of General Logan. Gallant, intrepid, and fearless, animated with the most noble patriotism, he bore a share in saving the Union which has yet to be adequately told. And when the war was over he went from the field to the forum where his voice was ever heard in the defence of the right and of the oppressed. You who have the honor of belonging to the Grand Army of the Republic know better than others the value of his services and the strength of his devotion to the Union; but to the whole people he will ever stand as the embodiment of rugged, honest patriotism. You have heard the story of La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France? He was a matchless soldier in the armies of the Republic and of Napoleon, and when, near a century ago, he fell in a hotly contested engagement, the regiment in which he served took his name. To this day at each muster his name heads the roll, and when "La Tour d'Auvergne" is called, the senior sergeant of the regiment steps to the front and answers "Died on the field of honor!" So in the roll-call of our Western armies, as they meet at their

reunions, along with the names of McPherson, Thomas, and the other leaders, the name of Logan will find ready response in the hearts and lips of veterans so long as we have a veteran left to answer.

The occasion is not one in which either politics or partisanship should find a place. Neither the action of the Executive nor of the Legislative department respecting the treatment to be accorded to those whom the war left helpless, is here fit subject for criticism. And yet, remembering how rapidly the survivors of the Civil War, and the dependent families of those whom the war took from us, are passing away, it is proper for us on this day to remind the non-participants in the war, and those who opposed the passage of the Dependent Pensions Bill, that an appropriation which it is conceded would now serve to dispose of only a small portion of an almost unmanageable surplus, would grow less each year, until in a generation there would be none left to claim the benefits of it, and to ask them if in the dark hours of the war, when victory was trembling in the balance, the Union could have been saved only by mortgaging for all time the half of the whole revenues of the country, there would have been raised a voice to oppose it. It is proper at this time to refer to these things that we may recall the duty we owe to the families whom the war left helpless, and who must, in the future as in the past, depend upon the generosity of private purses. As Burke says: "The true way to mourn for the dead is to take care of the living who belonged to them."

This day which we observe each year is, I say, intended to have no political significance, and its purpose is not to foster or continue or engender sectional animosities. The war closed with the surrender at Appomattox, and no men bear more cheerful testimony to the gallant bearing and sincerity of purpose which animated the Southern army and the Southern people than do the members of that glorious commandery of the Grand Army of the Republic all over the country, under whose auspices these Decoration Day services are conducted; and no men are so well qualified to judge. They tell us of a new South, of a South where the old issues are forgotten, and new thrift and energy and patriotism have come to take the place of the old régime. Over all this we heartily rejoice, and we take our Southern brothers by the hand and with them look forward hopefully to the possibilities of a united Republic.

This we do even to-day, our day with our dead, when the

shadowy forms of those nearest and dearest to us, who laid down their lives that men might be free and the nation saved, come thronging before our memory,—when men and women still go mourning about the streets for those who died upon the field of battle, and while many who to-day participated in these observances bear witness to the horror of prison life, and still bear the scars and feel the wounds suffered because they dared maintain the right. This much even to-day; and to-morrow when the hum and rumble of the market-place shall again resound, we shall feed our hearts and minds with old memories no more until Decoration Day shall come again. Our fellow-citizens of the South tell us that the war is over with them; that the question of secession was finally settled by the arbitrament of battle. Good! They tell us that neither they nor their children intend again raising the old issues. Good, again! But, our friends who wore the gray, we still wait to hear from Southern leaders not for ourselves but for the sake of those who are to come after us, that which some of us have never yet heard, but which some day they will surely tell us: That the doctrine of secession was and is wrong—forever wrong, and the doctrine for which the North poured out its blood like water was right,—forever right; and we know you were with us in denouncing the recommendation of a prominent ex-Confederate general, that the lieutenant-general of these armies, the brave Sheridan, should be denied food and shelter if he should attempt to revisit the Shenandoah Valley, down which he thundered so fearlessly and gallantly three and twenty years ago.

It is twenty-two years since the war closed, and with each succeeding return of the anniversary more interest and more importance have attached to Decoration Day. Each year we meet and with tokens identify and distinguish the graves of our patriot dead. It is not alone because these men fought in battle; the occasion has far greater significance. These heroes consecrated their lives to a principle; to the principle that all men were created free and equal; to the principle that citizenship of this Republic meant the pledge of wealth, honor, and life itself in its support. And this day is made sacred forever because of the deathless example of lofty patriotism which these men furnished in laying down their lives that the nation should live and not die. Who can recall the stirring epoch of the war, when men went out to battle for the right as men go to a feast, and not sometimes feel as if those shadowy hosts were

living and we who were left behind are the dead? And it is because of these things and because these men by their lives and by their death settled forever the fact that republican institutions should endure and must not perish—because they made it possible for us to live as free men in the nation which our fathers founded, that this day becomes more precious to us as each anniversary of it comes around. And as we scatter flowers to-day upon graves which hold only the lifeless clay of the dead, we do, by that symbol, pledge ourselves anew to the preservation of our form of government in its spirit and in its letter, and so our flowers are strewn upon the altar of liberty.

If the example thus left behind us, and of which we have this annual reminder, is lost upon us, we are unworthy of the names we bear. What our brothers died to save, it is for us to preserve. Our days have fallen into peaceful ways.

"Drums and battle-cries
Go out in music of the morning star,
And soon we shall have thinkers in the place
Of fighters."

Half Colorado came to us by conquest; the dividing line is the stream [1] yonder, and all beyond and to the west and south of it we took from Mexico in '48. There will be no more wars of conquest, and in our generation, at least, foreign governments will be kept so busy watching each other that we shall be left in quiet. But the questions which confront us are as serious as any that the sword settled, and there are dangers from within, if not from without. In the solution of these questions every good citizen owes a duty which he cannot evade. To seek to avoid them is cowardice. To pander to the wrong or to fail to speak when these issues are imminent, is demagogism. The labor problem is pressing upon us and thinking men must deal prudently with it. Every man in this Republic is entitled to the fruits of his labor. So long as he does not call upon others to support him or his family, every man has the right to work for whom he pleases and for as much or as little as he pleases. The law should throw around the man whose capital is his hands the same protection that is thrown around the man whose capital is his money. The vast majority of laboring men seek only a right way to better their condition, and

[1] The Arkansas River.

no man can meet the head of their order and not believe in his honesty and sincerity of purpose.

But there are some other things to be said that citizens of these United States can never afford to lose sight of. One of the foundations of this Government rests upon the proposition that each of its citizens is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and if any man anywhere in these broad domains desires to do honest work, no other man or set of men have any right on earth to seek to stop him; and he should be protected in this right, if it takes the whole army of the United States to do so. Demagogues are now pressing for the helm, and men whose hands never knew a day's work are seeking to direct and guide the movement for their own selfish ends; but the calm good sense and judgment of the toilers will finally teach them the advantages of organization and lead them to discard unworthy methods which seek to affect the equal liberty of their fellow-man.

Another danger menaces our institutions of a much more serious character. There seems to be a class of people who mistake liberty for license, who seek refuge here from the prisons and the slums of foreign countries under the impression that noise and agitation and occasional murder and riot will induce good people to divide with them the fruits of honest labor. They bring with them into the country neither money nor honesty; they are unwilling to work except with their mouths, and denominate themselves Socialists or Anarchists. There is no room even on the broad domain of these United States for such people or their methods. The red in our flag is commingled with the white and the blue and the stars. The dynamiter and the anarchist, whether detected singly or in groups, must be sent to that Nowhere in which he professes to believe. Under our present laws the danger from this class increases with the arrival of every steamer; and sooner or later a remedy which commends itself to every honest man of every nationality must be applied. These idle men disorganize labor and disorganize government. We have always welcomed to our shores the honest of every nation. In the war days, and since, we have had no better or braver citizens than those of foreign birth. The right of suffrage has never yet been abused by them, and their welfare is closely identified with the welfare of the nation. But the country is rapidly filling up and this new danger menaces us. It is but a question of time when, still permitting, under proper regulations, immigrants to land upon our shores, we

shall say to them: You are welcome to the protection of our flag and laws. You are not familiar with either, or with the spirit of our institutions. Your children, born in the land, shall, when they reach their majority, be free to exercise the right of suffrage, and this must content you.

The questions are national; all public questions these days are national; and as the Union is strong only as its thirty-eight States are strong, so we can in no way serve our country better than by serving well our State. For years but two classes of people came here—fortune-hunters and invalids. The one sought wealth, the other health; and both hoped to get away as soon as they had obtained what they wanted. But the face of the land is changing. Our plains are fertile and green, our valleys are rich, our mining interests are permanent and prosperous, and men are coming to look upon Colorado as a desirable abiding-place. No State offers a more promising outlook or a fairer prospect. We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to those who secured us this inheritance, that we upbuild this young commonwealth on sure and solid foundations; that we secure an honest administration of its affairs, State, county, and municipal; that we free our politics from debauchery, and, above all, that we see that the laws are obeyed, and crime punished when the offender has means and friends as well as when he is poor and friendless. Without these safeguards Colorado will be a reproach and a by-word; with them she may change her motto from "*Nil sine Numine*" to "*Omnia cum Nomine*."

The incentive to good citizenship which those we have to-day remembered have furnished us grows with years; and, though dead, they yet speak.

> "Above or underneath,
> What matter, brothers, if you keep your post
> On duty's side?"

They served their country well in its hour of danger; and we in our day and generation can render equal service in conserving the fruits of their triumph for those who are to come after us. It is not alone in the tented field that men may serve their race. All there is in this life that makes it worth the living is to be of use; and with reverence for old things that tend for good, not because they are old but because they are good; with minds free to grasp the truth when it comes, and with hearts brave to speak it, there is no man, however lowly,

whose thoughts are clean, whose heart is pure, who looks up and not down, and who lends a hand, that the world is not better for his having been in it. The influence is quiet and imperceptible, but it will tell for good as long as man is born of woman and the race endures.

The patriotic dead admonish us, to-day, from their silent graves, of the solemn duties which devolve upon us—that there is something higher and nobler and better than the hungry scramble for wealth and place and power. For ages after we too are gathered to our fathers, men and women will be living and dying, and living and dying the better or the worse because of the character of our lives.

Our fathers founded the splendid edifice of this Republic; our brothers died to make it free. Men are free, and thought is free. Never since history began have men had such inducement to high and lofty patriotism. And so, having scattered flowers upon our dead, we turn again to the duties of life; with tender memories for fallen heroes, with hearts full of gratitude that we are able to gather around a united board, brothers all, and with renewed devotion to our common country.

"O beautiful! my country! ours once more!
What were our lives without thee?
What, all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!"

AT A RAILROAD COMPLETION BANQUET

At Aspen, Colorado, on completion of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad to that city, November 1, 1887:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: The efforts of the management of the Rio Grande company to reach Aspen remind one somewhat of the darkey who went out one night after chickens, and when he saw one up in the rafters, looked up at it and said, "You roost high, but I 'se got to get you." If any of you have been over this line from Leadville to Red Cliff and from Red Cliff to Glenwood and from Glenwood here, it may appear to you at first blush that it is a little crooked, but you are all mistaken about it. Next week our passenger department will have out a map, in which there will be a great

big line going straight from Aspen to Denver and on to Chicago, New York, and Europe; but if you see upon that map a little thread that is as crooked as a ram's horn, you make up your mind it is some other railroad.

If it is true, as Dean Swift said, that he who made two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before, deserved better of mankind than the whole race of politicians put together, then what shall we say of a community in a country that was before considered inaccessible, which, by its energy, prosperity, and business enterprise, has brought two lines of railroad where, five years ago, no one ever dreamed that one could go? And in this connection, possibly, a word might be said, remembering the prevailing prejudice against foreign capital, in behalf of the New York directors of the Rio Grande company, who have uniformly evinced the greatest interest in the welfare of the State, and generously adopted the recommendations of its president respecting these extensions, and in behalf of the stockholders of Amsterdam and London, who, undeterred by serious losses in the past, have invariably put their hands in their pockets whenever the Rio Grande needed another extension. I am authorized to say to you that this present line will be broad-gauge from Denver to Aspen within four or five months, and will be soon extended down the valley of the Grand to Grand Junction, and will become a through line of the Denver and Rio Grande road, and bring you near to the products and industries of Utah and California. We shall not be the only railroad here, and while, as officials of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, we feel that we could take the total revenues of Aspen and manage to get away with them, yet, as citizens of Colorado, we wish to say to-night, that we have only respect and admiration for the men who are building the broad-gauge across the mountains, and we wish them their full measure of prosperity. With the exception of the territory lying east of the Rocky Mountains and north of Denver, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad system now reaches every important town and hamlet and valley in the State of Colorado; and except about 100 miles of road in New Mexico, that we wish were not there, every mile of the 1600 and upward of the road lies exclusively in this State; and no branch that has ever been built by that road offers the promise of future prosperity which is offered by this Aspen extension.

Did it ever occur to you that if a wave should sweep over this country and should submerge and engulf all the world

except the State of Colorado, we could yet find within our borders sufficient to maintain a population of 2,000,000 and upward in comfort and luxury? With the mines of Aspen and Leadville and Ouray, with the coal of Las Animas and Garfield, with the iron deposits all over the State, with the petroleum from Fremont, with our rich valleys and our agricultural interests of the plains, with our manufacturing and cattle interests, we can serve a vast number of people; and in the development of the interests of every part of the State the people of Aspen have a common interest, as have the people all over the State, in the prosperity of Aspen.

The railroad which we represent was never so prosperous as now. Its earnings are upward of $25,000 a day, and although that represents less than two per cent. upon the actual cost of the road as built, it is yet indicative of the prosperity of our State; and to-night, on the threshold of our business relations, I ask you to remember always that the prosperity of the Rio Grande and the prosperity of Colorado are one and synonymous. If you are prosperous and successful, we are prosperous and successful. If your interests go down, our interests suffer. We must stand or fall together; and in this connection, having these common interests, I want to say a word on the subject of corporate interference in railroad legislation. No complaint, no serious complaint, so far as I have known, has ever been made against the Rio Grande system. There have been complaints of inequalities elsewhere, and when oppressive measures have been threatened, the Rio Grande, with other roads, has taken its part in preventing the passage of hostile bills. But our interests, I say, are yours. When a public corporation, and we serve the public, does not deal fairly by the people, it is right for the people to pass such measures as shall compel the performance of its duties. They have the same right to fix our tariffs that they have to fix the price of bread, and if we make a mistake, even though we are doing our best to serve the public, if they can afford to legislate against us, we must and can afford to let them try the experiment; and for the future, gentlemen, we propose in legislative matters to trust to the fairness and generosity of the people of Colorado. The management of the company is a Colorado management. No officer and no employee has an interest which is hostile to the interests of any other citizen of Colorado. Whatever inequalities may come, and they come always in the management of vast concerns, you may rest assured of this: that no man and no

set of men will ever be charged more for the carriage, or less for the carriage of their goods than is charged to the general public. And the general manager authorizes me to say that as a starter the rate of freight on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad for your ore will be $4 to Leadville and $8 to Denver.

But, Mr. Chairman, the influence of this railroad is felt and will be felt far beyond the limits of the State. There is no such conserver of interests and institutions and no such civilizer as a railroad. It is more than an improved highway for the transportation of goods. Its iron bands are arteries bearing mutual interchange of thought and bringing peoples and States together. The East brings us the fruits of its culture and its refinement; we in the West, busy turning the virgin soil, and searching the mountains for their hidden treasures, yet bring to the common fund that without which free republics could not exist. Men in the East with wealth and leisure find time for criticism, and see in foreign forms and institutions something to imitate. We, laying deep the foundations of our young commonwealth, find time only to thank God for what we have, and we bring to our brethren in the East an undying love and devotion to our common country; thankful that we live under a Government which extends equal protection to all its citizens, but which even in its broad domains can find no hiding- and no abiding-place for the refugees from the slums of Europe, Anarchists and Socialists, who mistake liberty for license and who seek to destroy the fair fabric of this Republic.

And now, Mr. Chairman, in the name of the president of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, who could, if he would, make a far fitter response to the toast than I, for his words would be backed with the weight of nearly twenty-eight years of an honorable business career in Colorado,—in the name of the president of the railroad company and the management, we desire to extend to you our heartfelt thanks for the generosity and the spontaneity and the splendor of this reception. From the first you have extended to us a helping hand; from the first you have bid us welcome, and no such royal greeting was ever extended to any railroad upon its advent. They say that corporations have no souls; let me assure you their officers have. If you could look within our hearts you would find them throbbing to-night with gratitude and with appreciation; and as we enter for the first time within your gates and take your outstretched hands, we want to remind you that sometimes,

even with railroads, and especially in winter, "the longest way round is the nearest way home."

BANQUET AT PUEBLO

At a banquet tendered the Colorado Representatives in Congress (Pueblo, May 4, 1891), Senator Wolcott:

It is said that the speech which Chauncey Depew makes at the close of a dinner depends somewhat on the character of the dinner he has had. If he were here to-night his speech would be a rattler. Just after he was elected President of the New York Central Railroad, it is said he got a letter from Poughkeepsie, which boasted the worst eating-station on the road, which read about as follows:

Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

DEAR SIR: I have heard you make many fine after-dinner speeches, and I should very much like to hear the speech you would make after dinner at this eating-house.

This is not Poughkeepsie, but we receive a warm welcome and hearty words and encouragement. Were an incentive needed, I would find no hesitancy in finding words to thank you for your cordial greeting. My embarrassment comes from the fact that I feel that my public services are so slight in proportion to the confidence and trust and friendships with which I have been honored in Colorado, and nowhere more heartily than in this sterling and splendid city.

I find that the toast of my friend Mr. Townsend, who preceded me, was upon "irrigation." As irrigation is the whole of the internal improvements in which we are interested, I have been almost forced to the conclusion that the reference on the programme applied to me personally. I am at a loss to know whether it is gratification at some improvement you have found or hope for the future.

There is one internal improvement I must talk about, and that is the Pueblo public building. The bill passed the Senate for $400,000. It reached the House and Mr. Townsend, who fought for it energetically and intelligently and assiduously, while many were unable to get anything, yet was able to carry the bill through with an appropriation of $150,000. It came back to the Senate and went into the Conference Com-

mittee, and I remember, as if it were only yesterday, passing through the committee-room while Mr. Teller was addressing the committee and informing them that their ignorance of the growth and character of Pueblo blinded their judgment. He said that for his part he would rather wait for another and more liberal Congress than accept an appropriation of $150,000. It was raised in committee to $225,000, and for a time it seemed as if that was all we could get. But at the end of the session, in some mysterious fashion tacked on to the legislative and judicial appropriation, there was placed an amendment adding $75,000 to the $225,000, which had to go through or else the whole legislation would fail. I want to tell you who don't know, that that appropriation was put upon that bill, with the consent of the Senators of both political parties, solely and alone as a tribute of respect and personal friendship for my colleague, Senator Teller. The rest of us were able to do a little, and but little, and for myself I shall be proud and glad if the little aid I was able to render shall stand as a final and fitting sequel and end to the little jest I one day made about "a pleasant little village." I am, further, very much gratified to add that in the few hours I have been in Pueblo I have been very much pleased to learn that the different advocates of the different sites for the erection of the building have agreed with practical unanimity as to the fitness of the particular site which they desire.

Mr. Townsend has well said that the question of irrigation is a national and overshadowing one. In my opinion it is of far more importance than the question of the Nicaragua Canal which now seems to agitate Congress and the nation. The hundred million dollars which it is proposed to squander in the fever-stricken jungles and along the treacherous quicksands of Central America could be better spent in the arid regions of our own country. The trans-Missouri Congress which is to meet in Denver this month is non-partisan and will have something to say in this connection. It will favor nothing that looks to the confiscation of property or the avoidance of the payment of just debts. Not alone do we look forward to this Congress, but also to the privilege we shall shortly have in the coming upon our own soil of the Chief Magistrate of the United States. However we may differ with the party or the views of some of them, we shall unite as one joyful host in bidding him welcome to Colorado and God-speed on his journey.

Mr. President, for the courtesy of your greeting I extend

my grateful thanks. The welcome you have given me has been non-partisan—as a friend to a friend. The present marvellous prosperity and steady growth of your sturdy city are largely due to your public spirit. Pueblo is even yet in its infancy. We shall pass away, but the happy generations that shall come after will see your tall chimneys increased and doubled scores of times, and with them will keep pace the spires of your churches and school-houses. Time is fleeting and your names may be forgotten by those who are to follow, and yet because you are laying deep the foundations of good government in this city which you are building, your good works will live after you always in the welfare and prosperity and the well-being of your children and your children's children, and so is good seed sown.

TO PHILIPPINE SOLDIERS

Welcome to Colorado soldiers returning from the Philippines (Denver, September 14, 1899):

Colonel McCoy and Men of the First Colorado Volunteers: Your welcome went out to meet you at the State line; it followed you from there here. You have found welcome expressed in the declarations, and have felt the warm handshaking of the people, and every citizen on your route has wished you God-speed. This welcome will stay with you long after these ceremonies have ended. The people will pay to you and those who entered the service in other regiments a token of their love and gratitude, and a grateful people will take care of the families of those who have fallen in battle. This is not the place for a set speech, but you must remember we people of Colorado have the talking habit, and we have cultivated it ever since you left. While you were fighting, we were talking. We have criticised generals, and we have not failed from beginning to end to offer them our advice. However much we may differ in opinions about the conduct of the campaign, we have been unanimous in a favorable opinion of the First Colorado regiment. The noisiest opinion is not always the truest one, and I may add that most of the people of the commonwealth are not content alone with being grateful to you for the valor you have shown, but they feel in their hearts that the war you fought was a righteous war for the integrity of this nation.

My friends, this is the first time since Colorado became a

commonwealth that she has been able to take a place in the sisterhood of States as a sovereign State. Your conduct has made every citizen of Colorado prouder of his State, and when the history of Colorado shall be written, the roster of your names will be recorded on Fame's eternal roll-call, and the name of Colorado will be more lustrous than ever because of your patriotism.

Reunion of Philippine veterans, Denver, August 13, 1900:

GENERAL HALE AND MY FRIENDS: The pleasant things in the Senate and outside of it are such occasions as this, when we can bid you welcome, as we did a year ago on the Capitol grounds yonder. Citizenship is grandest when a citizen is ready to sacrifice his life and all that he has for his country, as you offered to do.

The word that I want to say to you to-night is to congratulate you on the part that you took in this war, a more noble and more just war than any that has been fought in the centuries past. The cruelties to Cuba we knew, for Cuba is at our doors; but not until Dewey had struck the blow May 1st did we know the cruelties that Spain had practised for more than a century on ten million of people across the Pacific. When the history of this war comes to be written, it will be set down as one of the most noble and most glorious in the annals of the world.

The dangers to the Republic lie in a cowardly isolation, and not in facing duties that are in the way of a civilized nation. In this war as in all others, ninety-nine per cent. of the criticism comes from those who were not in it. But your labor will not be for nothing, and in the years to come the people of this nation will complete the work that you so nobly began in the archipelago across the seas.

NON-POLITICAL SPEECHES OUTSIDE OF COLORADO

NEW ENGLAND DINNERS

TO the New England Society of New York, at Delmonico's, December 22, 1887:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It was with great diffidence that I accepted the invitation of your President to respond to a toast to-night. I realized my incapacity to do justice to the occasion, while at the same time I recognized the high compliment conveyed. I felt somewhat as the man did respecting the Shakespeare–Bacon controversy; he said he did n't know whether Lord Bacon wrote Shakespeare's works or not, but if he did n't, he missed the greatest opportunity of his life.

The West is only a larger, and in some respects a better, New England. I speak not of those rose gardens of culture, Missouri and Arkansas, but otherwise, generally of the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, and more particularly, because more advisedly, of Colorado, the youngest and most rugged of the thirty-eight; almost as large in area as all New England and New York combined; "with room about her hearth for all mankind"; with fertile valleys, and with mines so rich and so plentiful that we occasionally, though reluctantly, dispose of one to our New York friends. We have no very rich, no very poor, and no almshouses; and in the few localities where we are not good enough, New England Home Missionary Societies are rapidly bringing us up to the Plymouth Rock standard and making us face the heavenly music. We take annually from our granite hills wealth enough to pay for the fertilizers your Eastern and Southern soils require to save them from impoverishment. We have added three hundred millions to the coinage

of the world; and although you call only for gold, we generously give you silver too. You are not always inclined to appreciate our efforts to swell the circulation, but none the less are we one with you in patriotic desire to see the revenues reformed, provided always that our own peculiar industries are not affected. Our mountains slope toward either sea, and in their shadowy depths we find not only hidden wealth, but inspiration and incentive to high thought and noble living, for Freedom has ever sought the recesses of the mountains for her stronghold, and her spirit hovers there; their snowy summits and the long, rolling plains are lightened all day long by the sunshine, and we are not only Colorado, but Colorado Claro!

Practically, as little is known of the great West by you of the East as was known a century ago of New England by our British cousins. Your interest in us is, unfortunately, largely the interest in our mortgages; your attitude toward us is somewhat critical, and the New England heart is rarely aroused respecting the West except when some noble Indian, after painting himself and everything else within his reach red, is sent to his happy hunting-grounds. Yet, toward the savage, as in all things, do not blame us if we follow the Christian example set us by our forefathers. We read that the Court at Plymouth, more than fifty years after the colony was founded, ordered "that whosoever shall shoot off any gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game whatsoever, except an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit five shillings for every such shot"; and our pious ancestors popped over many an Indian on their way to divine worship. But when in Colorado, settled less than a generation ago, the old New England heredity works itself out and an occasional Indian is peppered, the East raises its hands in horror, and our offending cowboys could not find admittance even to an Andover Probation Society.

Where we have a chance to work without precedent, we can point with pride of a certain sort to methods at least peaceful. When Mexico was conquered, we found ourselves with many thousand Mexicans on hand. I don't know how they managed it elsewhere, but in Colorado we not only took them by the hand and taught them our ways, but both political parties inaugurated a beautiful and generous custom, since more honored in the breach than in the observance, which gave these vanquished people an insight into and an interest in the workings of republican institutions which was marvellous; a custom of presenting to each head of a household, being a

voter, on election day, from one to five dollars in our native silver.

If Virginia was the mother of Presidents, New England is the mother of States. Of the population of the Western States born in the United States, a large percentage are of New England birth, and of the native population more than half can trace a New England ancestry. Often one generation sought a resting-place in Ohio, and its successor in Illinois or in Iowa, but you will find that the ancestor, less than a century ago, was a God-fearing Yankee. New England influences everywhere predominate. I do not mean to say that many men from the South have not, especially since the war, found homes and citizenship in the West, for they have;—and most of them are now holding Federal offices. It is nevertheless true that from New England has come the great, the overwhelming influence in moulding and controlling Western thought.

New England thrift, though a hardy plant, becomes considerably modified when transplanted to the loam of the prairies; the penny becomes the dime before it reaches the other ocean; Ruth would find rich gleanings among our Western sheaves, and the palm of forehandedness opens sometimes too freely under the wasteful example which nature sets all over our broad plains; but because the New England ancestor was acquisitive, his Western descendant secures first of all his own home. The austere and serious views of life which our forefathers cherished have given way to a kindlier charity, and we put more hope and more interrogation points into our theology than our fathers did; but the old Puritan teachings, softened by the years and by brighter and freer skies, still keep our homes Christian and our home life pure. And more, far more than all else, the blood which flows in our veins, the blood of the sturdy New Englanders who fought and conquered for an idea, quickened and kindled by the Civil War, has imbued and impregnated Western men with a patriotism that overrides and transcends all other emotions. Pioneers in a new land, laying deep the foundations of the young commonwealths, they turn the furrows in a virgin soil, and from the seed which they plant there grows, renewed and strengthened with each succeeding year, an undying devotion to republican institutions, which shall nourish their children and their children's children forever.

An earnest people and a generous! The civil strife made nothing right that was wrong before, and nothing wrong that

was right before; it simply settled the question of where the greater strength lay. We know that

"Who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe,"

and that if more remains to be done, it must come because the hearts of men are changed. The war is over; the very subject is hackneyed; it is a tale that is told, and commerce and enlightened self-interest have obliterated all lines. And yet you must forgive us if, before the account is finally closed, and the dead and the woe and the tears are balanced by all the blessings of a reunited country, some of us still listen for a voice we have not yet heard; if we wait for some Southern leader to tell us that renewed participation in the management of the affairs of this nation carries with it the admission that the question of the right of secession is settled, not because the South was vanquished, but because the doctrine was and is wrong, forever wrong.

We are a plain people, too, and live far away. We find all the excitement we need in the two great political parties, and rather look upon the talk of anybody in either party being better than his party, as a sort of cant. The hypercritical faculty has not reached us yet, and we leave to you of the East the exclusive occupancy of the raised dais upon which it seems necessary for the independent voter to stand while he is counted.

We are provincial; we have no distinctive literature and no great poets; our leading personage abroad of late seems to be the Hon. "Buffalo Bill," and we use our adjectives so recklessly that the polite badinage indulged in toward each other by your New York editors to us seems tame and spiritless. In mental achievement we may not have fully acquired the use of the fork, and are "but in the gristle and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." We stand toward the East somewhat as country to city cousins; about as New to Old England, only we don't feel half so badly about it, and on the whole are rather pleased with ourselves. There is not in the whole broad West a ranch so lonely or so remote that a public school is not in reach of it. With generous help from the East, Western colleges are elevating and directing Western thought, and men busy making States yet find time to live manly lives and to lend a hand. All this may not be æsthetic, but it is virile, and it leads up and

not down. Great poets, and those who so touch the hearts of men that the vibration goes down the ages, must often find their inspiration when wealth brings leisure to a class, or must have "learned in suffering what they teach in song." We can wait for our inspired ones; when they come, the work of this generation, obscure and commonplace, will have paved the way for them; the general intelligence diffused in this half century will, unknown or forgotten, yet live in their numbers, and the vivid imaginations of our new England ancestors, wasted in depicting the joys and torments of the world to come, will, modified by the years, beautify and ennoble the cares of this.

There are some things even more important than the highest culture. The West is the Almighty's reserve ground, and as the world is filling up, He is turning even the old arid plains and deserts into fertile acres, and is sending there the rain as well as the sunshine. A high and glorious destiny awaits us; soon, the balance of population will lie the other side of the Mississippi, and the millions that are coming must find waiting for them schools and churches, good government, and a happy people.

> "Who love the land because it is their own,
> And scorn to give aught of reason why;
> Would shake hands with a king upon his throne,
> And think it kindness to his Majesty."

We are beginning to realize, however, that the invitation we have been extending to all the world has been rather too general. So far we have been able to make American citizens in fact as well as name out of the foreign-born immigrants. The task was light while we had the honest and industrious to deal with; but the character of some of the present immigration has brought a conviction which we hope you share, that the sacred rights of citizenship should be withheld from a certain class of aliens in race and language, who seek the protection of this Government, until they shall have at least learned that the red in our flag is commingled with the white and blue and the stars.

In everything which pertains to progress in the West, the Yankee reinforcements step rapidly to the front. Every year she needs more of them, and as the country grows the annual demand becomes greater. Genuine New Englanders are to be had on tap only in six small States, and, remembering this, we

feel that we have the right to demand that in the future even more than in the past the heads of the New England households weary not in the good work.

In these later days of "Booms" and "New Souths" and "Great Wests," when everybody up North who fired a gun is made to feel that he ought to apologize for it, and good fellowship everywhere abounds, there is a sort of tendency to fuse; only big and conspicuous things are much considered,—and New England being small in area and most of her distinguished people being dead, she is just now somewhat under an eclipse. But in her past she has undying fame. You of New England and her borders live always in the atmosphere of her glories; the scenes which tell of her achievements are ever near at hand, and familiarity and contact may rob them of their charms, and dim to your eyes their sacredness. The sons of New England in the West revisit her as men who make pilgrimage to some holy shrine, and her hills and valleys are still instinct with noble traditions. In her glories and her history we claim a common heritage, and we never wander so far away from her that with each recurring anniversary of this day our hearts do not turn to her with renewed love and devotion for our beloved New England; yet,

"Not by Eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But Westward, look, the land is bright!"

SECOND ADDRESS

To the New England Society of New York at Delmonico's, December 22, 1897. Introducing Mr. Wolcott, President Charles C. Beaman of the Society said:

Gentlemen, when Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott was Comptroller of the Treasury. When, in 1795, Alexander Hamilton ceased to be Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott became the Secretary of the Treasury, and continued in office until 1800. That same Oliver Wolcott was the President of this Society from 1807 to 1815, and was its honored head for a longer period than any other man. We had with us ten years ago his kinsman, Edward Oliver Wolcott, then and still a young man, but then recently from

his home in Connecticut, and seeking not only his fortune but his duty in Colorado. Since then Edward Oliver Wolcott has been six years United States Senator from Colorado, and is now in his second term as Senator. He has rendered the service in the West of a New Englander. Ten years ago he told us what he then thought of the East and the West. He will now speak to us on that same toast. I know Wolcott as my friend; I know him as my senior counsel, and I present him to you as one of the best and truest of good, honest, frank, intelligent men, trying to do in his Western home the same duty that we as New Englanders are trying to do here, namely, his duty as he sees it. Gentlemen, the New England Society can do no better work than in honoring New Englanders wherever they have planted their feet and wherever they have raised the New England standard. I present to you your guest of old and your guest to-night, the Honorable Edward Oliver Wolcott, of Colorado.

THE EAST AND THE WEST

"And if there come wild words of East and West,
Let us invoke our mighty memories—
. . . . . declare it best
To sail together over tranquil seas,
One ship, one helmsman, one ambition high."

RICHARD BURTON.

Mr. Wolcott responded:

Ten years ago to-night it was my very great privilege to meet the members of this Society at its anniversary gathering. Many of the faces I saw then are before me now. They show, somewhat intensified, the marks they then bore, and which are visible on the brows of all the members of the Society: the marks of patience and resolution and endurance, which stamp them as unwilling exiles from their native New England. It is wonderful how, year after year, ready to make any sacrifice for the old home except to leave New York and go and live in it, the members of the New England Society gather on Forefathers' Day, with patient resignation, to eat together the "bitter bread of banishment."

The value of New England as a factor of our national great-

ness has long been universally recognized, and is admitted even in Boston; and it would seem as if there could be no new illustration of the fact. Within the past few weeks, however, I have been made to realize her potency as a source of possible national aggrandizement. A gentleman, English, I believe, by birth, but of extensive Canadian experiences and associations, and of importance in the Canadian world, talked to me lately of the recent efforts of that Government to secure direct ocean mail facilities with England during the winter as well as the summer months. He passed after a little to the great mineral and agricultural wealth of that portion of the Dominion which adjoins the northwestern section of our own country, and then made a remarkable suggestion. He said that while it might be premature now to discuss the subject, he had no doubt that an agreement would be eventually reached whereby in return for a large and valuable tract of rich territory adjacent to our far Northwestern States, we would give Canada, for her needed seaport facilities and approaches, the State of Maine, and possibly a slice of northern New Hampshire and Vermont. While the proposition was at first a trifle startling, yet it took but a moment to realize the chastening influence, perhaps not wholly unneeded, which such a transfer might exert upon the "down east" section of our country; it would secure, automatically, the very reciprocity the new Tariff Act contemplated, for it would give Canada at least the Dingley features of the Dingley Bill, and it was also a sure thing that if Canada took those Maine Yankees, to say nothing of a few from New Hampshire, she would be glad enough to give them back in a little while with something handsome "to boot"; and so, for the moment, the plan had its features. As one came to think seriously on the subject, however (and I am repeating to you a suggestion literally made to me), there arose instinctively that feeling which we all cherish, of equal appreciation and devotion to every inch of American soil, a realization of what it would mean to this people to face the possibility of changing by the shadow of a hair the contour of these States, or the sacrifice of a chip of its native granite, however barren.

Not only does this sentiment pervade the land, but we seem at times to be developing an inclination to invite some other country to differ with us in order that we may demonstrate our united aggressiveness, and we are in danger of furnishing national illustration of the typical Irishman and his wife, who enjoyed quarrelling with each other better than any other diver-

sion in the world barring one, and that was joining hands to quarrel with somebody else.

And in certain directions our domestic differences are crystallizing, and not disintegrating. For more than a generation we had waited for the day when parties would divide solely on national questions, and when the old sectional issues growing out of the war and the race problem would be buried. The time came. The parties met on a broad economic question, and lo! we emerge from the contest threatened with another bitter sectional division. The far West, largely the child of the East and pulsing with its blood, joins hands with the South. The new alignment is not only debtor against creditor, class against class, but in a land pervaded with equal devotion to what its people believe to be the truest welfare of the whole country, great majorities in one section face equally great majorities in another.

This is the season of good cheer, when kindly thoughts hold sway, the close of the year, when old differences are forgotten, while we join in commemorating the advent of Him who taught peace on earth and good will; and on this anniversary, as we recall those early New England days when, with the fear of God always before them, our fathers gradually grew from stern, unbending insistence to a broader recognition of the right of individual judgment, there should be left no room for rancor. Sons of the Pilgrims, we remember to-night only our common mother and our common destiny, and may the hour lend its benediction to a plea for greater tolerance.

The West is not decadent; its views are of men virile, industrious, and genuine, and their beliefs are honest. They would scorn any sort of evasion of an obligation. They are patriotic men. There is in the whole far West hardly a Northerner born who was old enough to go to the war whom you will not see on Decoration Day wearing proudly the badge of his old corps. They are Americans; to a proportion greater, far greater, than in the East, native-born American citizens. The views they cherish are held with practical unanimity. The beliefs of the clergyman, the lawyer, the farmer, and the storekeeper are alike. You swell their ranks every year from New England colleges. The young fellows graduate and go West, grateful that you have developed their ability to reason, and they rapidly assimilate their views with those of the people among whom they cast their lot. A distinguished New Englander wrote the other day that the differences between the sections of our country are

really differences in civilization. No man familiar with the whole country would, in my opinion, share this view. Our people would accept the statement as too complimentary to them, and if they thought you cherished the same view would desire me, in courtesy, to assure you that this very assemblage, in apparent intelligence and general respectability, would compare creditably, if not favorably, with any similar gathering at Creede, Bull Mountain, or Cripple Creek.

So universal a feeling as that which pervades the great West cannot be all wrong. You cannot dispose of a conviction held by millions of intelligent people by calling it a craze, and some day you may find it worth your while to look for the truth where it is usually hidden—somewhere between extremes.

The continued friction is largely generated both East and West by a certain modern type of newspaper. The plague may have started here, but it has spread and sprouted, like the Canada thistle, until it is a blight in Colorado, as it is a curse here and wherever it plants itself. Wherever there is a cause to misrepresent, a hate to be fanned, a slander to utter, a reputation to besmirch, it exhales its foul breath. It knows no party, no honor, and no virtue. It stirs only strife and hatred, and appeals only to the low and the base. It calls itself journalism, but its name is Pander, and its color is yellow.

Difficulties also arise because of differences in the point of view. There is everywhere in the West the most cordial appreciation of the wisdom of Eastern men and the value of Eastern co-operation; but somehow it is not fully recognized out there that ability to reorganize a Western railroad and swell its stock and securities several millions every time it is foreclosed, necessarily indicates an equal ability to determine the wisest economic policy for the farmer who lives along the right of way. And men who would no more dream of intrusting their banker with the duty of formulating their financial views than they would of intrusting the man of whom they bought a shotgun with the command of the armies of their country, are naturally inclined to fear that in this part of the moral vineyard there is a tendency to assume that the possession of great wealth means necessarily the possession of great wisdom. It may be that you go to the other extreme and assume that a minimum of wealth naturally carries with it a maximum of wisdom; and this suggests a possible compromise whereby we might spare you some of our wisdom in exchange for some of your wealth.

It is only a few years ago that New England was "uncom-

mon proud" of that West which her sons had so largely peopled, and her resources, lavishly ventured, had done so much to develop. Perhaps they are only supersensitive Westerners who fancy they see in certain quarters a subtle change, an inclination to criticise, an inability to find much to commend, and a tendency to look still farther to the eastward for methods and ideas fit to follow. I hope it is all a mistake. Fellow-Pilgrims, we must n't turn away from each other. We must never forget, even in Presidential campaigns and after, that we are one people, and that as associates in adversity, as well as companions in prosperity, we must ever sit at the same table and take pot-luck together. Our form of government does not work automatically. It will be strong and receive the world's respect to the extent that the people act wisely and intelligently. But, good or bad, with high ideals or low, Republican institutions on this continent are here to stay. It is more than a century since, for all time, so far as these States are concerned, God said, "I am tired of kings." No other form of government is possible to us. It is this or chaos.

If, then, we be harnessed together, destined to follow the road the greater numerical half shall point, we can reach that fair day's journey, that stage in human progress, which this generation owes to the fathers of the past and the children of the future, only by adjusting our burdens equitably, and moving evenly, and pulling the load together.

Contentment cannot come to this land by sections, and it never can come except under conditions which bear equably on the whole people.

> "All who joy would win,
> Must share it. Happiness was born a twin."

The West is doing its share in the effort to bring about a better understanding. We had known only abundance, and when the lean days came, through what we believe to have been a mistaken policy, we turned bitterly in our first unreason against all who did not share our views. The far Western press assailed as scoundrels everybody who ventured to assert the belief that the most important free thing in this country was free government, and in the passion of the hour whoever was out of harmony with the dominant "ism" was denounced as a traitor, and if he lived near enough was apt to be ostracised as a neighbor. The hysteria of the campaign in the West developed remark-

able national Jeremiahs. The favorite method of appeal to the people was by turning yourself into a wailer and a lamenter and a predicter of calamity unspeakable, and the louder you wailed and the longer you lamented and the greater the intolerance you preached, the higher was the pedestal on which you were placed. Some of these bemoaners are still at it, and call upon us to throw stones at everybody who differs with us, instead of bidding us lift up our parched lips gracefully to catch the rain of prosperity as it falls and to thank God for the blessings of these gracious days. For months men frowned until their brows seemed furrowed in hate and the skies were dark.

But a brighter day is dawning. The old cries of calamity still reverberate in the cañons of our mountains, but the notes are fainter and much of the noise is echo. Our people are buoyant, aggressive, and naturally intolerant of opposition. But they are square and decent, and not at all as our newspapers would have you believe, and I know of one State where the sun shines out of a clear heaven 350 days every year, and the other fifteen you can still see her rays through the mist. Hope abides there, and she is even now emerging from the gloom. Our people want your friendship as you want theirs. They want to stay in decent relations with the rest of the world, to convince them by reason and not to try to club them into agreement. Many of them felt their first great thrill of patriotism on the day of Sumter or have heard their fathers tell the story, and they don't take kindly to incendiary advice from South Carolina. They don't propose to be driven into the ranks of the army of discontent, where a gospel of hate and despair alone is preached; and thousands of good men have quit beating their tom-toms and are returning to saner and kindlier views of life and duty.

Whatever may be the hostility to present policies which exist in the West, our people have not as yet contracted the hypercritical habit which views our institutions and customs and tendencies unfavorably in comparison with those of other countries, and which sees in our public men and legislative bodies only that which is deteriorated when measured with former days. It is a poor fashion, but it is older than our Western States. You remember that John Adams wrote his wife in 1776 that there was too much corruption in public life; that virtue was not in fashion and vice not infamous, and that he was ashamed of the age he lived in. And, thirty years after the

Second Congress, Gouverneur Morris and John Jay were talking over old times, when Morris said, "Jay, what a set of scoundrels we had in that Second Congress!" "Yes," said Jay, as he knocked the ashes from his pipe, "that we had."

And yet, then, and from that day to this, and never more than now, the members of the lower House of Congress had and have a higher average of ability and character than the members of any other legislative body in the world. It is so easy to "swear at the Court" when things don't go your way. Only the other day a Cabinet officer came over here to enlighten one of your great commercial bodies, and with a gifted Chicago imagination, quoting Walt Whitman, told you how our fathers, when George III. was King, "dashed the cup from their lips" (a precedent, I am glad to see, that has not been followed at this dinner), and talked about "obstruction" at Washington, having reference to the Senate.

It is rather a new use of the term to call a man, who does not vote as you want him to, an obstructionist, and in the last hundred years the balance and check upon hasty legislation, which the deliberations of the Senate have furnished, have been of infinite advantage to the country.

Our system of government is all right. If its administration needs anything, it is a little more hearty support and a little less criticism. Our Congress is all right, and if the people who don't like it, and are not appreciated politically at home, will come West and stay long enough, they may reform it by being sent to Washington as members of it; for there is, I regret to say, a tendency out there to change their representation occasionally. There was never a people who had so much to be grateful for as the people of these United States, and if we will only

> "Look up and not down,
> Look forward and not back,
> Look out and not in, and
> Lend a hand,"

our vision must be mean and paltry if it does not see the heavens bowed high with promise for the future.

The century now ending has been full of growth and glory. It has witnessed the Republic rise from insignificance and poverty to wealth and greatness. Most of us here to-night can recall the dark days of doubt, and from them have seen this

people emerge triumphant a nation of freemen, all free. A continent's width may divide us, but the same flag greets us at the dawn, the forty-five States, all blazoned alike upon its azure field, all yours and all ours. In days of peace, as in times of war, the altar of patriotism is an altar of sacrifice, and, please God, we will start the new century on its journey to the stars laden with the hopes and aspirations of a happy and a united people.

BEFORE THE PHILADELPHIA UNION LEAGUE

FOUNDERS' Day, Union League Club of Philadelphia, Philadephia, November 24, 1900:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA: The touching words of my friend Theodore Roosevelt, whom it is going to be very difficult for me to designate as "Mr. Vice-President," and the warmth of your meeting and the cordial welcome by your chairman, make me very glad that I did not make the condition of my acceptance that I should be re-elected; for if I had I should not be here.

I remember reading years ago that among the ancients the practice existed of bringing out at all public banquets a cloaked and hooded figure, masked with a skull and cross-bones, to indicate that all human triumphs were ephemeral, and man was but mortal. I presume that I must have been invited to this banquet to designate that figure. I decline to play the rôle; I claim the right to share with you in the unalloyed joy which has followed the magnificent triumph of the Republican party, the vindication of the policy of the last four years, and the overwhelming vote of confidence in our President, whom we all honor, and whom we all love.

I decline further, because I am no mourner. I have been told for years that "sweet are the uses of adversity." Fortunately, I have many years in which to ascertain wherein that sweetness consists. There is no more pitiable spectacle than a man in public life who fancies that the world owes him something. In this world we are entitled to just so much of success as we conquer, no more. Somebody has said that to the strong man life is a splendid fracas, and this is true. It is infinitely better to have fought and lost than not to have fought.

I decline further, because when I go back to Washington I am going to gather up the few of us that are left, including my friend Pettigrew. And I am going to organize the "Society of Cheerful Losers." The Senator from South Dakota and I are of different political parties, although we started together; but he has really got the best of me, for I cannot attribute my defeat to Mark Hanna. I say I cannot, and yet, in the heat of the campaign, I sent him appeals, without response, that would have moved the heart of a mummy.

But though Colorado did not give you her electoral vote, which you did not need, much as we wanted to bestow it, we gave you the Victor riots, which cut no inconsiderable figure in the East, and the story of which apparently lost nothing in the telling.

Colorado is a long way from Broad Street, but you must be patient with me while I tell you for a few moments why it was that Colorado did not line herself where she belonged—with the great intelligent and progressive States of the Union. She is a wonderful State, of marvellous resources and unlimited possibilities. The sun shines out of a clear sky for three hundred and fifty days in every year, and she is settled by as fine a set of people as ever lived under the canopy of heaven. I know, for I have lived there since boyhood. I have served her for twelve years in the Senate. I have been hanged in effigy in most of her important towns. I have been burned in effigy in a few of them, and I claim the right to speak for the people, because I know them. I have known there days of friendship and days of adversity, and days of returning friendship, and, although the sun climbs slowly over its cañons and defiles, it gets there finally, and its dawn is already beginning to illumine the State.

Our people were almost the only people that were the devotees of the real Bryan. Questions of expansion and of imperialism cut no figure with us. We were of the fruits of expansion. The eastern and the northern portion of Colorado came with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and 1804, when it was full of Indians, and the western, southern, and northwestern part of Colorado came under the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. We found there thousands of Mexicans, many of whom are still living there, with their sons and daughters, living their simple lives in their adobe houses. We knew nothing but expansion, and it never occurred to us to ask the consent of the governed. We simply started with our prairie schooners across the plains,

oftentimes fighting our way, and we built our homes under the shadow of her majestic mountains. We treated all men fairly; we erected our school-houses and our churches; we made out of the desert a garden; we feared God and nothing else, and it never occurred to us to trouble ourselves as to whether we were acquiring new territory or assuming new responsibilities. As to anti-imperialism, we never even tried to define it. We had a few pronounced anti-imperialists, who assumed to pose as anti-imperialists; but we knew them, and we found, what possibly you have found here, that there was a certain affiliation between a dyspeptic and an anti-imperialist, and that anti-imperialism and a bilious temperament went hand in hand.

No; we fought out our campaign on the dear old issues of the "Crime of 1873," and "Sixteen to one." There was nothing left of it but a leader or two and a reminiscence. It always reminded me—I cannot tell why—of a story you may have heard of the woman who wore at all times and at all hours of the day a locket, and a friend of hers said to her once: "You must have within that locket something very sacred, a tender memento." She said: "I have. It is a lock of my husband's hair." "But," her friend replied, "your husband is still living." "Yes," she said, "he is living, but his hair is all gone."

Nevertheless there were thousands of people in Colorado, good people, who, having voted for Bryan four years ago, felt that they would not be true to themselves unless they voted for him again; but they felt ashamed to tell of it, and classed themselves as Republicans. Yet we did splendidly. We did something that was never done in the history of any State since American history commenced. We brought the majority of 134,000 against us down to 29,000. We added 50,000 to our vote, and we lessened their vote 60,000; but it was not enough.

I must beg your pardon for taking so much time to explain the situation in Colorado; but it is the last opportunity that anybody will have to explain it, for two years from now, and in every succeeding year as long as the party stands true to its principles as enunciated in its platform, and carried out by our President, Colorado will be a Republican State.

It was fitting that the great national issues which confront us should be determined now, and that the voters of this Republic should decide whether they would accept our new duties, or whether they would evade them. The century now closing has been the most marvellous century in all that pertains to the

advance in science, in discovery, in commerce, and in all that relates to the freedom and the rights of the individual. But in all that pertains to the liberty of the individual it has been the most reactionary century since history has been written. The first third was filled with the wars of the Napoleons, where every province was the scene of bloody carnage and battle, and this was followed by the Holy Alliance. In the second third came the reaction, when all men dreamed of liberty and human freedom. Young men were writing constitutions for the republican England that was to be. The people of France overthrew Louis Philippe. German students and German professors dreamed of the day when the little principalities of Germany should be free republics, and when thought and act should be free. The older men of this audience will remember that during that third of the century there were no Independence Day orators making speeches on the Fourth of July, who did not picture this nation as the forerunner of a universal brotherhood of republics. All men dreamed of that day to come.

What a change has come in the last quarter of a century! France is a military barracks. The great armies of Europe, with racial hate, stand facing each other in armed neutrality, and call it peace. The same German professor who dreamed of peace and freedom does not dare to talk to his wife as he walks along the streets of his German town lest what he says might be overheard, and he be deemed guilty of *lèse-majesté* The question of peace or war for the world rests on the beck and nod of the Czar of all the Russias. Here, and here alone, has the tree of freedom grown until its overspreading branches cover millions of free and contented people. If this Republic is to live and not perish, it must be because its people accept cheerfully every responsibility imposed upon them. The answer has been given this month, and the American people, at the dawn of the new century—the American people, in whose hearts burn as brightly the fires of liberty and of patriotism as ever in our history—have declared that for us, as for our fathers, the path of safety is the path of duty.

[PRESIDENT DARLINGTON.—Gentlemen, I received a letter from Senator Wolcott within the past few days in which he expressed doubts as to the wisdom of coming to this banquet, and gave as a reason that he "did not have any speech in him."

The Senator must have received an inspiration since writing his letter, and you are able to judge how much of a speech he had in him.]

EULOGY ON BLAINE

AT the Lincoln Day Dinner of the New York Republican Club, in response to the toast "Our Departed Leader" (Mr. Blaine), February 13, 1893:

At first thought it might not appear seemly that a banquet should furnish occasion for a eulogy on a great man, gone but a few days ago, leaving a grief which still chokes our utterance when we speak of him. We meet, however, a party and partisan organization, devoted to principles to the embellishment of which his life was given, continuing the work which was for a generation the labor of his hands and heart and brain; and there could be nothing more fitting, as we close up the ranks, than to recount his glories, recall the splendid cheer his life and example have given us, and renew our allegiance to the party he did so much to establish and maintain. He is dead, but the example and lesson of his life bring to us only joy and hope for our glorious country, and new courage for the future.

"Death is life's high meed,"

certain and blessed, and when it comes to crown a finished life our grief is merged in the pleasure we feel that such a man lived with us, and was of us.

Mr. Blaine was a descendant of men who fought in the War of Independence, and the Americanism which permeated him came through birth, descent, and tradition. His youth and younger manhood were typical of the young American,—independent and self-sustaining. He early had the public for his audience through the columns of a newspaper which he owned and edited. Destined for a public career, he served first in the Legislature of his adopted State, then in Congress, where for

three terms he was Speaker of the House; afterward in the Senate of the United States, and was twice Secretary of State. He was once a candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency, and he has written a political history of his time which will live as a standard and a final authority. This is the bare, cold summary of his public career, and serves only as the frame for the life which for nearly thirty years was the chief controlling influence in American politics.

He seemed young when he died, for you know "we do not count a man's years until he has nothing else to count." Yet his life was rounded, and was complete and filled with achievement. From the commencement of his career, even during the clouded days preceding the war, he cast his fortunes on the side of human freedom, and he never wavered. From boyhood until his death, Mr. Blaine saw with vision unclouded and certain. He was a delegate to the Convention of 1856, and from Fremont to Harrison his Republicanism knew no variableness or shadow of turning.

To three-fourths of us the days of Reconstruction bring no personal meaning, and stand as a remote epoch, interesting only as history. To the participants in the legislation of that period the days were crammed with interest and excitement. The central figure was Blaine.

It was during this period and when his greatness began to overshadow the ambitions of other men that his calumniators began their work. He was a shining mark—courageous and open as the day. Conscious of rectitude, he was careless of the appearance of things, and every assault that slander could devise or infamy suggest was levelled against him. The attacks were continued because year after year he grew stronger in the hearts of the people and calumny seemed the only weapon which could poison his reputation. How pitiful those charges seem to-day!

The far-seeing and distinguished ability which Mr. Blaine brought to the administration of the State Department has reflected a lustre upon our relations with foreign countries gratifying to every American citizen.

Mr. Blaine was intensely American, and the limits of America which he believed should exist under free institutions were bounded by the two oceans, by Hudson's Bay and the Straits of Magellan. In furtherance of the accomplishment of this design he gathered together the Pan-American Congress and devised that grand and beneficent policy of Reciprocity which

already has largely increased our commerce with these countries, and which will, if followed, prove of inestimable value to us and to them.

It is not critical of other men in public life, to say that for many years Mr. Blaine has been the overshadowing presence in the Republican party. His hand guided, his brain directed. The fierce strife that beat about him prevented his receiving the high recognition which the homage of the rank and file of his party sought to pay him; but no Republican Administration commanded public confidence in which his brain or the policy which he had outlined did not control or direct. He cherished no animosities. For himself, as I have said, he cared nothing; for his party everything.

The recent defeat marks no sign of the decadence of the party, nor does it indicate that its usefulness has departed. The reasons which impelled the voters of the country to again depose the Republican party from power were many and complex. We might not agree as to them, and discussion on the subject would be useless. We meet to-night undaunted and undismayed in the face of temporary defeat, to take each other by the hand, to give token as brother to brother that our loins are girded about and our lights burning, and to pledge each other anew to the principles of our beloved party.

And so, my friends, we pledge each other to the memory of our departed leader. Brave, sincere, patriotic, gallant, magnanimous, and intrepid; rarely since men have been born has so lovable and true a soul, a "fairer spirit or more welcome shade," been ferried over the river. The world is better because he was of it; we are better for the inspiration of his presence and the stimulus of his example. He will shine for us, and for those who come after us, as "the star of the unconquered will." When the rancors and political animosities of this generation shall have passed away, patriotic men of all parties will pay their full tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of James Gillespie Blaine.

TO THE YALE ALUMNI

AT the Yale College Alumni Dinner, New Haven, Connecticut, June 25, 1890. Mr. Wolcott spoke for his class, that of 1870, following Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, who had attacked the advocates of silver coinage. Mr. Wolcott said (partial report):

I am glad that my class asked me to respond before they heard the terrible philippic of Secretary Bayard against the friends of silver; otherwise I might have been requested to sit still and silent. But remembering the kindly words of President Dwight, that all may say what they please and no one need pay attention to it, I am constrained to say that Mr. Bayard must have referred to those wicked Southern Senators who, during his possibly temporary retirement, feel at liberty to vote as they please.

All things come to him who waits, and although for more than twenty years one of the chief regrets of my life has been that I did not stay with my class until graduation, yet if Yale should follow the recommendation of the other university and greatly shorten the years of study, I shall probably soon find that after all I rather overstayed my time and may be entitled to some post-graduate honors. Those of us who fall short of our four years have one compensation. When we do ill we may ascribe it to the partial discipline which a full course would have corrected, and when we do well we may attribute it to even a partial course. But be the stay short or long, incomplete or full, no man ever entered the portals of this institution who did not leave it better equipped for the life before him. Not alone the habits of study or the facts learned, but somehow the very atmosphere of the place breathes into him the encouragement to higher ideals. As to the lover of books, the

living with them, their association, the sight of the very covers, brings unconsciously a certain influence of their teachings, so does the student here absorb an indefinable something which shall stand him for good the rest of his life. The good stays with him, the clearer vision rejects the illusory. I should be inclined to say that all he imbibes here was good, if I did not recall the ease with which some of us have been able to brush aside certain teachings in political economy, of late years rather fashionable at this institution. Our love of Yale and belief in its teachings and its supremacy still leave in us room for generous appreciation not only of every other university and college, but also of every other method consistent with the spirit of our institutions by which learning may be diffused. There is no more encouraging national symptom than the gracious tendency, which is constantly growing on the part of those who have been blessed with wealth, to bestow endowments upon voluntary institutions of learning.

But there are other suggestions made, from time to time, upon which many of the sons of Yale look with doubt. There are a few things, a very few, which government can do well; and some of us are of the opinion that the conduct of a national university is not one of them. Yale would never have occupied her permanent position as an educator had it not been for the sacrifices past and present of our professors, many of whom, animated solely by the desire to benefit mankind, have passed lives of poverty and self-abnegation, content to plant and to water while others gathered the fruit. A bureaucracy with national endowment, imposing a burden upon every citizen, yet for the benefit of the few, responsible only to the cumbersome machine of administration, without incentive and dependent upon varying policies, and clothed in the atmosphere of politics, offers no such inducement. I should not anticipate competition, but in my humble opinion a national university merger, or any other which takes from the people the individual responsibilities which rest upon them, and lessens the inducement to public-spirited citizens to give of their means and the incentive of self-sacrificing men to devote their lives to the cause of education, would be a grievous mistake, the influence of which would be disastrous to the cause of sound learning.

It always has been true that men of education have been sadly needed in the administration of public affairs; it is equally true to-day. We live in an eminently commercial period, and up here in New England, at least, as loyal sons of the Revolu-

tion, we draw our inspiration to patriotism from that venerable source. We have theorists in abundance, agitators by the hundred; but what the country needs is men in touch with the people and of them, yet made competent by mental training to deal with great economic questions fearlessly and practically, and not theorists or demagogues. Above all, in the attempt to solve the labor problem, ever restless and fermenting, are the services needed of men themselves toilers, who bring to its discussion not only intelligence but the desire to help and lift up the race. Statutory levelling will always be futile so long as industry brings greater reward than sloth, and tendencies and qualities are transmitted; and the chief hope for the future of labor must rest in the growing beneficence in the men who employ labor, which broadened lives and thought and high intelligence alone can bring.

In everything that is vital Yale men are at the front. They are not always heralded by clamor and music, and, in some instances at least, the best and worthiest of them are not found in public life. But wherever there is work to do here or on the Western plains, and in the mining camps, they plant their standard: "Not for the gain of the gold; not for the getting, the hoarding, the having, but for the joy of the deed; but for the duty to do." Every year brings new acquisitions to the ranks, and merges them with the veterans. For there is no younger Yale, as is sometimes said. Our beloved president stands for the best in '90 as he stood for the best in '49. Yale gives all her sons eternal youth; although their forms may grow bent, and their hair be tinged with gray, she ever imbues them with progressive thought and noble aspirations forever young.

Speeches in the Senate

THE SILVER QUESTION

TREASURY NOTES ON DEPOSITS OF SILVER

THE Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration, June 17, 1890, the bill (S. 2350) authorizing the issue of Treasury notes on deposits of silver bullion, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: There would seem to be little excuse for my fretting the time of the Senate upon the bill under discussion, even under the shortened rule contemplated for further debate, within which I shall endeavor to confine my remarks. The subject has been practically exhausted. Indeed, until the Senator from Alabama, almost at the close of the debate, disclosed so ably a fresh field and built a new bulwark for the white metal, I had supposed nothing new could be said upon the question. I have the good fortune also to be associated with a colleague who almost since Colorado was admitted to the sisterhood of States has stood as the exponent of the views of an intelligent constituency upon this great subject, and who has left nothing pertinent unsaid. But when Senators opposed to the views which some of us entertain charge us who live in silver-producing States, directly and by imputation, with holding sordid and unworthy and unpatriotic opinions, and aver that the people who are demanding that silver be again recognized as a coin of the land equally with its sister metal are adventurers and speculators, and assert that they are indifferent to the true welfare of the country, I must be pardoned for feeling that I have the right to claim the attention of the Senate long enough to protest against such intimation and against such a method of conducting debate.

If, however, it were true, as it is not, that the people of the silver-producing States were governed in this matter by a

desire to protect the product upon the value of which their prosperity depends, large warrant for such a course is being furnished us by some of the Eastern States. We seem to have fallen in the North upon days where politics are rated at a commercial value alone; where fealty to party depends on whether the prosperity of the locality in which the voter resides is to be best fostered by competition with other countries, or by large and prohibitory duties which shall exclude such foreign competition. The prosperity of the Mountain States and Territories of the West must ever rest chiefly on the product of its mines; yet we, who are less benefited than any other portion of the Union by a high protective tariff, are asked to stand each session by the duties which the East formulates; and when we ask that our silver shall be also protected, and have behind us the wishes and desires of the vast majority of the people of the United States, we are called speculators, and told that our ideas are those of a dissatisfied and visionary people.

I wonder how long the Republican majority in Rhode Island, for instance, would last, if the interests upon which the people depend for their livelihood were no longer fostered and protected by the party in power! The worm of Democracy seems already to have made some headway in that commonwealth, possibly because duties are not yet high enough, and how long does the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich] expect that the miners and farmers of the West will continue to help protect the industries he represents, while he and other Senators who agree with him can find for us only words of criticism and denunciation?

But, Mr. President, the East is not the custodian of the national conscience, and the people of the West are governed by no sectional and selfish views. They are intelligent, industrious, and patriotic, and are neither visionary nor sordid. If they believed that the reinstatement of silver to a parity with gold meant disaster to the best interests of the country, they would no more ask its further coinage than they would ask that the iron and lead with which their mountains likewise abound, should be stamped as coin and given to the world.

We are jealous for the honor of our country, and the sanctity of its obligations. Vital as is this question to us and our local prosperity, we would rather see our mining camps desolate and deserted, our mining shafts and tunnels abandoned, than see the currency of the country degraded or our credit impaired

at home or abroad, and would cheerfully turn our hands to other industries if thereby the fabric of the nation could be strengthened. But we have the well-grounded conviction that silver is entitled to its old position as money, and to the extent of its availability for that purpose; that its re-establishment is but simple justice, and that its value for coin should no more be measured by the standard of gold, than the value of gold should be measured by the standard of silver. And so believing, the person who questions the motives of a great and important section of the country, because it happens to be a producer of that metal, must himself hold narrow and contracted views of the high duties of citizenship.

I have read, Mr. President, with some care, a great portion of what has been said on this subject. I should have been more satisfied to listen to the spoken words, but that has been impossible. Instead of seating the newer Senators in the front rows, where they could hear and profit by the words of wisdom and of eloquence which flow with tolerable frequency from the lips of the older members of this body, we are relegated to the rear, where we have to be content with the stimulus of gesture alone. But I have read the *Record* faithfully, and nowhere, as I can gather, is it disputed that if this country stood alone in the use of gold and silver as coin, or if our financial relations with the rest of the world need not be considered, the coinage at present standards of the silver product of this country available for that purpose would work no financial embarrassment.

And, sir, no intelligent man can contemplate the vast growth of this country during the past quarter of a century and not share this view. The increase in population has been unexampled; great areas have been opened up to tillage; the growth of the towns and cities has more than kept pace with the farming communities; thousands of miles of railroad have been constructed, and important mineral belts have been opened and developed. Meanwhile, although facilities for the transaction of the ever-growing business and commerce of this great nation have been extended and improved, the needed increase of the currency of the country has moved with laggard step. I believe the silver available for coinage, produced in this country, will not exceed, even if it equals, fifty millions a year, but if it were double that amount it would still be needed to carry on the business of the country, reaching over vast areas and covering an enormous diversity of pursuits.

If these things be true it might pertinently be suggested that a currency properly adjusted for our own needs might well be tried rather than that our farmers and wage-workers should see prices of farm products and wages reduced in order that our financial policy should be in accord with that of foreign countries. But the evils foreshadowed from abroad seem too dim and uncertain to be seriously considered. It is somewhat singular that the Senators who seem most fearful of the troubles to come upon us from the other side if we adopt free coinage are the same gentlemen who are most conspicuous in their advocacy of a Protective Tariff of such proportions that if it becomes a law our commercial relations abroad would be minimized; but their fears, though genuine, seem to have little tangibility.

The great fear seems to be that silver from abroad will be shipped to this country and find its way to our mints, and dire forebodings are indulged in if the balance of trade should ever be against us. In spite of the reduced shipments of our cereals abroad, the balance of trade continues in our favor in increasing proportions. The amount of gold produced annually available for coinage diminishes rather than increases, and keeps pace in no proportion with the growing affairs and business of the world. In view of the sensitive relations sustained by many foreign countries toward each other, it is manifestly difficult, if not impossible, to secure unanimity of action in the first instance; but if this country will take the lead, there is every reason for believing that the other nations will adopt our standards. Already every country except Germany and Great Britain is reaching out in effort to secure the establishment of silver as an international coin, and in the two last-named countries there is a growing and intelligent public sentiment in favor of the double standard.

The only other argument pressed with any earnestness is that Roumania has a few millions of silver she is liable to sell to us. Nobody seems to speak officially on the subject, and so far the awful rumor has not been confirmed. Why, sir, we could absorb her silver, and after six months never know we had taken it, and it is indicative of the absence of real objection to free coinage that such vague material should stand as argument against supplying this country with the currency it needs.

It would seem, therefore, that we may with safety resume the coinage of silver into standard dollars as it is presented at

our mints, and if the measure shall prove unwise the same votes that pass it in this body will be cast for its repeal.

Yet, because the far Western States, fortified by good reason for the faith that is in them, favor the full resumption of the coinage of silver, as contemplated in the Constitution, sanctioned by the usages of all nations since the two metals were given to man, and enjoyed by this people for nearly a century and lost only in some mysterious fashion, they are charged with sinister and unworthy motives.

Before Senators charge the new West with selfishness in its advocacy of this or any other measure they should stop to consider. They should remember, sir, what our attitude has been since we have participated in the counsels of the nation.

We have not within our borders—I am referring especially to Colorado—a single stream or lake to be benefited by the great annual appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors and for coast defences. Yet we loyally join with you in voting vast sums for these purposes and contribute our share of the expense.

The Interstate-Commerce Act, in its present condition, has wrought injury to every town of considerable size in the West; it is gradually causing the absorption of the smaller lines of railroad by the larger lines, is retarding the building of competitive roads, and must inevitably work injustice to inland communities on lines of through commerce, and far from the seaboard. Yet because the experiment must be tried, and having been inaugurated must be continued until some result universally patent is reached, we cordially second its enforcement and continuance.

Peace is in all our borders. There are no wars or rumors of wars, and no possibility is more remote than that we shall again be called upon to unsheathe the sword. Nevertheless you ask for millions for the further improvement of your Navy, and for the construction of new cruisers and battle-ships. We are two thousand miles from the nearest sea. Few of our people can ever hope to look upon the pathless deep or to see the white sails of the stately ships they have helped to build. But, because from Paul Jones to Farragut our Navy has been manned by heroes, because we desire that other nations shall see that our country is strong and valiant and ready to protect its citizens and its interests abroad as well as at home, and, above all, because we love the flag and are proud of our common country,

we willingly aid in voting whatever sum may be required to insure the supremacy of our Navy.

Colorado is less benefited by a Protective Tariff than any other State in the Union. Yet, as loyal citizens, we have regularly voted to protect the industries of other States while our own have been neglected and ignored; and we shall probably continue so to vote under proper conditions.

In the face, then, of our record respecting public affairs, I trust that we may be hereafter spared the imputation of being either sordid or unpatriotic in any matter affecting the public welfare.

The struggles of the people ever since the demonetization of silver to secure its reinstatement, though unwearied, have been in a large degree unsuccessful; and it is doubtful if in the whole history of legislation in this country a parallel can be found to the ingenuity and disloyalty which have so far thwarted the efforts of the representatives of the large majority of the people, indorsed by the national conventions of both parties, to carry out the will of their constituents.

It is useless at this time to inquire into the circumstances under which silver was demonetized in 1873. It may have been by trick or it may have been by open proceeding. We only know that there were at that time in both branches of Congress able, vigilant friends of the double standard who did not know until it was too late that silver was demonetized, and we know that, notwithstanding all the extended statements since made by those who participated in the act, nobody has yet pretended to tell us why the silver dollar was dropped from further coinage.

Hostile as was the Act of 1873 to silver coinage, it nevertheless contented itself with suspending the coinage, and it did not in terms make silver a commodity and debase it, as does the House bill before us.

When the Act of 1878 was passed and the minimum was placed at two millions and the maximum at four millions a month, it was first vetoed and then carried over the veto, and it was believed that the discretion reposed in the Secretary of the Treasury was a discretion to be exercised in the interests of the whole people and not of any section; yet from that day to this, whichever party has been in power, each Secretary has travelled in the direct path of his predecessor and contracted the currency by every means at his command.

The open and avowed views of ex-President Cleveland, while they convinced nobody apparently, either in the Democracy or

out of it, were yet sufficient to paralyze the efforts of the friends of silver in both political parties to secure its full recognition.

The day-star of hope did not rise for us until the national conventions of 1888. Then the Republican convention declared for silver. It seems droll now to recall the enthusiasm created in the far West in the last campaign. The Republican candidate for the Presidency had been in public life, but his utterances had not been many or particularly important. The motto, in part assumed by Junius, could have been applied to him: *"Stat magni nominis umbra."* But we hunted up the *Congressional Record*, and being ardent and sanguine, and our hearts being illumined with hope, many of us found here and there a phrase or a sentence which indicated a friendly feeling for silver. And we labored among the farmers in the valleys and on the plains and with the toilers in the mining camps, in the mountain gulches and cañons, with these as texts. We held up Mr. Cleveland to contumely and scorn in withering language that would make him feel very badly if he ever heard of it; we extolled our candidate in glowing terms and assured our friends that upon his election the remonetization of silver would be speedily accomplished, and that meanwhile his Secretary of the Treasury, whoever he might be, would certainly commence coining four millions a month.

If I remember aright, we made some other predictions as to the treatment and recognition the great Northwest would receive when he became President which have not exactly materialized. But I am confining myself to the silver question. We gave handsome majorities for the Republican ticket; our hopes were high; our confidence supreme. The awakening all along the line has been somewhat rude. If the Windom recommendation, approved by the President, could have been announced before the election, it is my humble opinion that not a single State west of the Missouri River would have given a Republican majority. Not because the large majority of the citizens of those States were not and are not and will not always be true and stanch and earnest Republicans, loving the traditions of the party and true to its principles, but because they would overwhelmingly rebuke a party that selected as its standard-bearer one unmindful of the interests of the country, and disregardful of the wishes of the majority of its members. An open foe is to be preferred to a secret enemy; but who can foretell the future, or gather figs of thistles?

The recommendations of the Secretary, largely followed in

the House bill before the Senate, strike viciously at the interests of silver. The Act of 1878 is infinitely preferable to the bill before us. Under that act we can have at least two millions a month of legal tender; while the whole purpose of the House bill seems to be to degrade and debase silver, and to make it a commodity, ranking it with the baser metals, and to forever prevent its again taking its place as a standard of value. Some amendments appear to be submitted by the Finance Committee, but while they eliminate one of the objectionable features, the bullion redemption clause, other obnoxious clauses are retained and a curious amendment is added, concerning which I hope some explanation will be made. Why is the law to cease and terminate at the end of ten years? Instead of encouraging other nations to adjust their monetary system in harmony with ours, we give them notice that this increased silver coinage is a temporary device, expiring by its own limitation, and much of any good effect of the law is immediately destroyed.

Such are some of the difficulties under which the friends of silver have labored; but though we have much to contend with, we are by no means hopeless. A bill for the free coinage of silver will some day become a law. Administrative influence is strong and far reaching; the inducements it can offer are great, very great. Its friends, when it has any, are supposed to bask in the sunshine of executive patronage; those who, although of the same political faith, cannot agree with it, must sit in outer darkness. Cabinet officers with patronage, soliciting support to a Government measure, are almost omnipotent, but not quite. We do not despair. The large majority of Senators on the other side were uninfluenced by the utterances of the last Chief Executive; a number of the Senators on this side of the Chamber feel able to form their own opinions. A bill for free coinage will become a law because the country is in favor of it, and in the end the wishes of the majority govern, notwithstanding the personal desires and efforts of the Executive. The measure is of vast importance; of far greater importance than a new election law, an anti-gerrymandering law, or a tariff law. So great are the interests involved that, in view of them, party lines are obliterated and forgotten, and the South and the West meet on common ground, animated by a common and patriotic purpose.

DEMAND FOR FREE COINAGE

THE Senate having under consideration, April 6, 1892, the resolution directing the Committee on Finance to make examination and report to the Senate certain information in relation to currency and coinage, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: We may as well face the truth on the silver question. The bill for free coinage has been put to sleep in another body and will not be resuscitated. Nobody had expected the measure to become law under this Administration, for the present Chief Executive, in his public utterances last summer foreshadowed his veto in unmistakable terms, and those in his councils have openly proclaimed it since. His assurances were made while the stock market was depressed. The bull operators were able to use them for a slight advance, and, therefore, some temporary result was attained, but another English banking house was reported in trouble about Argentine securities, and the market, in the classic language of the street, "slumped" again. This was the only net result of the intimation made by the President of the United States, while Congress was not in session, of what he would do if a measure, which could not then be pending, should be passed by both Houses of Congress. The game was hardly worth the candle, as the market on Wall Street showed.

It was evident, I say, that free coinage could not become a law at this session. The friends of the bill, however, did hope and did believe that it would at least score some advancement. If the vote of the two Houses could have been polled when Congress met in December it is within the limits of conservatism to say that in the other body a clear majority of fifty and in this Chamber a majority of twelve would gladly have ranged

themselves on the side of free coinage. To-day if a vote were had here on a motion to take the bill from the calendar it would undoubtedly fail, and we are left fighting the air with some general resolutions. We exercise the privilege we enjoy of debating the question, that the country may understand the situation, but we all know that when we are through a vote is no nearer and the bill is not advanced.

This, therefore, is a proper time, when we have practically suffered defeat, to gather up our wounded and dead, determine where the deserters are hiding, fortify our intrenchments for the next encounter, and stop, if possible, that destructive rear firing, which not only damaged but surprised us.

The first great force opposed to the bill in this Congress was, as it has been for three years, the present Administration. No stone has been left unturned, no effort unemployed, to compass the defeat of the measure. Had it been an open contest it would have been easier to meet; the offices and patronage are much, but they are not all. But people have been befooled by the claims set forth in annual messages and elsewhere that the Administration was really at heart bimetallist. It assured us that it looked forward with ardent and hopeful anticipation to the time when gold and silver would go hand in hand together, the sure defence of national credit. This was for Western consumption. One little qualification was added—that it would first be necessary to secure the consent of other nations, England included; a consent we are as apt to secure under existing conditions and with the methods employed as we are to catch larks when the heavens fall. As if Great Britain, which demonetized silver seventy-five years ago, and has thrived on it at the expense of her own colonies and other nations ever since, would be apt to change her policy until we had demonstrated our determination to adopt the double standard!

The President might as well have said that he was inclined to turn Quaker, and would if the Pope would become Quaker too! Of course there was no hope for this result, and if there had been it was utterly destroyed by sending as the agent to pave the way a prominent New York banker, identified with gold interests, who promptly reported that they were not quite ready yet to join us. Thus, both sections were to be lulled—the East by the policy of inaction; the West by the earnest assurance of bimetallism in the future, in that to-morrow which was never to dawn.

A national convention is soon coming on, however, and a

direct answer on the silver question seems rather embarrassing and better to be avoided. It was essential to prevent the necessity of a veto if possible. And so the miserable work began. The officers were parcelled out, the party whip cracked, and the wavering members were influenced. It has apparently been effectively done; but, Mr. President, there is always a to-morrow. Nobody is now deceived; but it would have been a graceful act in an outgoing President to permit Congress to vote according to its own inclination on one measure of national importance.

This spectacle, humiliating as it is, has been no more extraordinary than the amazing change of front by a large section of the Democratic party. At the last session that party, with few exceptions, stood nobly and manfully for the old party traditions—for hard money, gold and silver. A clear majority of the present members took the stump before their election, and pledged their constituents that they would vote for free and unlimited coinage. The sudden change would be ludicrous, if its effects were not tragic.

One prophet of Democracy announces that tariff reform is the slogan; another insists that being a Democrat is the test and watchword. The South and West want free coinage; but these leaders think they must carry New York and a couple of little States adjoining. These States are lenders and not borrowers, and want less rather than more money. The friends of the tariff reformer have in the North at least the courage of their convictions, and demand the putting aside of the silver question. The adherents of the other Moses, who is to lead his people out of bondage, want to gratify the popular demand, but are fearful of their Eastern following, and so they "let 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would,'" and the Silver Bill is shuffled aside. And meanwhile the other bell-wethers of that party, who coyly look about and wait for a voice they hope to hear, like Bre'r Rabbit, "keep on layin' low and sayin' nuffin."

Among all these shoals and breakers our bark is driven. To the Eastern ear each side gives assurance of undying hostility to the "seventy-cent dollar," as they designate it, and tell how the "silver baron," whoever he may be, has been beaten and baffled, while the West is assured that political necessity requires the postponement of the measure.

In this parcelling out of the country the South counts for nothing. She is to be Democratic anyhow. The results of the heroic efforts she has made for nearly a generation, and which

have brought her almost to the haven of prosperity, are to be sacrificed that the party may carry New York. Because of the contraction of the currency, and the competition with India, which the degradation of silver makes possible, Southern cotton is lower in price than ever before, and almost a drug in the market; her railroads are so impoverished that one reorganization is not completed until another is necessary; her industries are paralyzed; but she must submit because the New York Democracy demand it.

She has for a century furnished the brains of the Democratic party. No section and no nation ever produced such able and adroit political leaders. They have never known final defeat, and from apparent disaster they have again and again plucked victory. And yet, because the balance of Democratic power lies in the North, they are called on to abandon the interests of their section to those of party. The threat of negro supremacy is still potent. The Force Bill is as dead as Julius Cæsar, but its ghost still haunts the South, and every material interest of that great section is sacrificed that a President, whose election is to be accomplished by ballots marked "Democratic," may exercise the appointing and veto power for four years.

The dominant wing of the Republican party claim the fruits of this substantial victory, because their support at a critical moment brought defeat; while the Eastern section of the Democracy insist that their superlative efforts brought about the desired results. One gifted young man, the efflorescence and bright particular star of Mugwumpery, a product of Massachusetts, a gentleman who seems from his exalted pedestal to reach down to the Democratic party only that he may throw over it the halo and sanction of Harvard University, has admitted in a recent interview in a Boston paper that he and the Democratic party did it all!

It makes but little difference, Mr. President, who has strangled silver coinage. It has been apparently effectually garroted, and each party as to this measure has become what Disraeli once charged the Tory party with having become, "an organized hypocrisy." But before long, unless the signs all fail, each side will be anxious enough to unload the responsibility upon the other, for some day the people will have an inning.

The tactics of the opponents of free coinage have been somewhat extraordinary, and, so far as I have been able to observe, have largely consisted of appeals from one man who had money

to another man who had money to prevent the third man who had no money from getting any.

A fair example of this sort of appeal is found in the urgent circular which has been promulgated among posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, calling upon their members as citizens drawing pensions from a grateful country, to stand for a gold currency which should depress the price of food products and give their pensions greater purchasing power. The appeal was exclusively to their ignorance and to their greed. To their ignorance, in calling upon the pensioner, whose pension is generally but a trifling portion of his income, to sacrifice his own interests, with no proportionate compensation; to his greed, in urging a man who fought to save his country, to impoverish it that he might be the gainer.

And the man who is now the recipient of the pension of his country, who knows that the money which pays him is charged to the garments and utensils and necessaries of the laborer and artisan, his fellow-men, who would join in the attempt to squeeze the bread-winners of our country, because of the monthly reward his Government pays him for his past services, is lost to all those principles which should govern mankind in their dealings with each other, and unworthy to receive an annuity from a generous nation.

We are charged also with being the disturbers of the financial peace of the country. For several years past there has never been any sort of financial disaster or stringency on this side of the water or the other that has not been attributed to silver. No matter how independent the occurrence may have been of any sort of relationship to our financial policy, the wiseacres, whose forecasts have always been erroneous and whose forebodings invariably proved ludicrous, continue to inform us that the threatened legislation respecting silver is the cause of all financial upheavals. They are careful not to attribute it to past legislation, for they concede that the Silver Act of 1878 has been of great benefit to the country, and their representatives are responsible for the present half measure which affords but partial relief; but any impending legislation is always what they deplore.

The latest illustration has been the financial disasters which have overtaken English investors in South American securities. Argentine railroads and other attractive investments in South America resulted in a loss to English capitalists of upward of $500,000,000, and involved certain English banks. Liquidation

was the natural and necessary result, and American securities held in England were sent over, and are still being sent over, for sale to enable English holders to pay their debts caused by South American losses, and our gold is sent back in payment. This liquidation had no more to do with threatened bimetallism in this country than it had with the last transit of Venus, and yet we are gravely told that the gold that has been taken out of the country in payment for these securities is going because the people of the United States are clamoring for the remonetization of silver.

American railway and other bonds held abroad are payable, some in gold specifically, some in "lawful money." Any banker having dealings on the other side will tell you that our bonds are returning for sale, irrespective of the material in which they are payable, and one sort in the same proportion as another. This liquidation would have taken place whether we had silver as well as gold in our vaults, or gold alone; and it is interesting to consider what would be our financial condition to-day if gold afforded the only security we had to offer the holders of our Government certificates.

In this connection also it would be instructive if the Nestor of finance on the committee, who has for years been the Jeremiah of silver coinage, will tell us how it happened that when free coinage the other day received a stab which everybody recognized as fatal, the stock market dropped instead of rising, and the gold for shipment abroad is called for with the usual regularity.

It is charged that dire results are to follow free coinage, and that the silver of Europe will come here, and our gold be taken from the country. Why, Mr. President, the product of gold and silver together not only does not keep pace with the legitimate needs of these metals as currency, or as security for currency, but the civilized countries of the world to-day are annually increasing their circulation to a greater amount than the amount of gold and silver which the world produces. No nation can spare her silver from her circulation, and there is no appreciable amount of silver bullion in Europe. Under the pending bill it would not be exchangeable for gold in this country except at the option of the Government. Its transmission and sale to our mints would be attended with a loss no nation could afford to suffer, and if free coinage became the law of this country the value of silver the world over would be equal, and the foreign countries which now use silver as well

as gold would have no inducement for making the change, even if it could be accomplished. The gold of Europe, so insufficient for its needs that three times has the Bank of France saved English credit by loaning it to that country in time of panic, is now, in time of peace—and we have had no European war since silver was demonetized,—a scant covering for the notes which are issued upon its security.

Infallibility belongs alone to the majority of the Finance Committee. I cannot pretend to state with precision what the effect of free coinage would be abroad, or what inducements would move the financiers of Germany, France, or England, or foretell the future of India, which is in the hands of Lombard Street;—I believe I see for this country, whose welfare is largely intrusted to our hands, only prosperity in free coinage, and I believe other nations will join us when once we take the decisive step, and because I so believe I favor the bill.

This charge, constantly made, that the advocacy of the restoration of our coinage to its old standing is an attempt to raise silver above the equality which it should enjoy is believed only by those who are interested in believing it, or those who have never investigated the subject. Silver has not declined. Gold has appreciated, and the tables for the last ten years of the fluctuating values of the cereals show this to be true. If gold were demonetized, gold bullion would decrease in value. The silver bullion that furnishes the quotation is small in amount and held by bullion speculators. Free coinage would destroy this apparent difference in values, the annual coinage would be increased but little, and in an average of a decade probably not at all.

But, Mr. President, I did not rise to discuss the details of the bill or the arguments in favor of free coinage, which are familiar to every member of this body. I intend to confine my remarks to a discussion of the remarkable occurrences of the past fortnight respecting silver legislation, and to endeavor to ascertain the cause for change of front, and the inevitable and far-reaching results of the action of Congress in that regard.

There is going about the Capitol mysterious talk about a reaction against silver, of a change of conviction in the minds of great numbers of people who heretofore advocated the rehabilitation of the white metal. I confess myself at a loss to understand just where the defection or change has arisen. It must be, if anywhere, in the South and West, as the representatives of those sections in both Houses of Congress are the persons

whose votes and utterances have changed, and it must be the agriculturist who has joined hands with the East.

Mr. President, constituencies have not changed their minds; their representatives have changed theirs. They mistake silence for acquiescence. The Western farmer is much like a child in his method of reasoning. Industrious, frugal, hardy, patriotic, he toils from day to day, content with simple living and simple pleasures. When he finds that in spite of his labor his land does not yield him the support he requires and another mortgage has to go on the farm, he turns blindly against institutions as they exist and demands that in a free country, where the soil is fertile and the sun shines, where great wealth is accumulating and vast interests acquired by those who seem neither to toil nor spin, he shall receive for his long day's labor that knows no rest at least the necessities of life. He cries out for all sorts of relief, unreasonable and reasonable; untrained in the subtleties of political economy and finance, only clamoring for what he believes the Almighty intended he should have. A good many of him means much noise and perturbation, and, while the disturbance lasts, the politicians of his section are earnestly his friends, and suggest to him that if they were at Washington the fur would fly, and all other legislation be stopped until he gets relief.

But a year comes when nature smiles and the harvest is great and his granaries are full. He does not get, it is true, much a bushel for his grain, not as much as he would receive if the currency of his country were elastic enough to take care of his crops, but it is enough to tide him over. He thinks the old acres are good yet, and dreaming that the tide has permanently turned and that the snows and the storms and the elements will always deal kindly with him, he ceases his complaints and harvests his crops. This is no change of sentiment, no reaction. The evil is there and increasing every year, and when next the harvests fail and trouble comes, the voice will be louder, the demand more peremptory, and the outcry more intelligent. And I venture to suggest to the Senators from far Western States, whose people live remote from money centres and need a fair volume of currency, and are borrowers and not lenders, that when that day comes, the voice of the Eastern capitalist and the local banker will cease to charm as it now does, the sunshine of the Administration will be less blinding than at present, and the hunger of a constituency who would scorn to touch the property of another, and who only entreat that

the purchasing power of gold shall be kept somewhere abreast of other values, will not be appeased with the occasional bone of office.

The contest is not alone between the South and West on the one side, and the East on the other. It happens that the East owns most of the wealth of the country that is not in lands, and is naturally desirous that it should have the greatest possible purchasing power; but the East is supplemented by the money-lender everywhere, who wants to keep the volume as small as possible that what he has may be most potent; these are the classes that the friends of hard money, gold and silver, must fight.

The question is one upon which honest men differ. I confess I cannot share in the general denunciation of Wall Street. The operators of that highway are the brightest men in the world; they have the best and quickest information on commercial subjects; they are alert, plucky, alive, and dashing. They may not be very near the Kingdom of Heaven, but they earn and enjoy the best this world affords. They do not want more money, because they can manipulate markets better with the present volume of currency, and they are in touch with the owners of large capital, the only men they fear or respect. But when free coinage comes they will be the first to avail themselves of its possibilities, and long after this question is determined Wall Street will still be the haven of the speculator, the friend of every business enterprise, and the slaughter-house of the lambs. Their towers are often those of Babel, but their energy has gridironed the country with railroads, and they are the embodiment of American commercial ability.

We must not look to relief by abuse of that community or of any section. Capital is naturally selfish; it has great power, and it must be met and fought on the fair ground of financial expediency and common interest.

And yet somehow there must exist in the breast of every just man some dim sense that the world is in some way wrong and the times out of joint. Great fortunes are being amassed, and poverty walks naked. It is doubtful if pure-food bills or anti-option bills, or any legislation yet devised, can meet the trouble. The moment you level by legislation you destroy the incentive to achievement. And you cannot legislate against brains or heredity, or the unconquerable hope which comes with vigorous manhood and Anglo-Saxon love of power.

But when we now see, and the great majority of the people

believe our vision clear, that the wellspring of commerce and prosperity is choked by the narrow channel of a circulation insufficient for the needs of a great and growing people, scattered over a broad and ever-widening area, and that a clearing away of this impediment is consistent with a sound currency based on hard metal, it is cowardly for us to hesitate because the owners of the present currency do not want its volume enlarged.

Mr. President, out of the wreck of the hopes we had cherished one fact stands clearly patent—a vast mass of the citizens of this country are unrepresented by either political party concerning a question which they believe paramount to all others. Not only is this fact true, but it seems almost certain that the same condition of affairs will continue to exist. At this moment it is apparently probable that the party in power will, with negative unanimity, renominate the present magnetic Executive, not because he is the choice of any considerable body of his party, but because, since the letter of retirement of the great Secretary who holds his party bound by ties of deepest affection and regard, no man of greater stature than the present incumbent is willing to stand.

Because of the blow which has struck silver aside it is becoming likewise probable that the Democratic party will again present its apostle of tariff reform, whose vision sees no other issue, and who desires again to be "consecrated" to public office.[1]

The situation is perplexing and grave enough. "Time's iron feet" will gradually crush, until the injustice of the present law will make men cry out with a voice which must be heard and heeded; but even before such result shall come through suffering, I believe that in some way relief will be found. I do not assume to speak for any section except the far West. Nor can I speak for all its citizens. There are men with us who want office; and there are good men to whom the name of their party appeals with stronger force than do questions of high expediency or the needs of their section. But to the needs and demands of the great mass of the people of the far Western region I believe I can give voice.

The large majority of the people of the State which I have the honor in part to represent, are Republican in politics, devoted to the traditions and principles of the party, proud of its record, glorying in its achievements, and desirous of identify-

[1] The references here are to President Harrison, James G. Blaine, and the then ex-President Grover Cleveland.

ing themselves with its future so far as its future shall continue in the line of the elevation of the quality of American citizenship and the uplifting of humanity. On the question of the free coinage of silver, however, the people, irrespective of party affiliations, are practically a unit, and the passage of a silver bill seems to them of far greater importance than any other legislation or the success or downfall of any political party. They entertain these views, Mr. President, not because they are producers of silver, but because they are honest-money people and believe the volume of the currency should be enlarged and should be backed by both gold and silver.

I have said nothing as to the industrial side of this question, because it is one of national and not alone of sectional importance. It is true that Colorado is the largest producer of silver in the United States; that two thirds of her population, in one way or another, derive their support from the mining industry. It is also true that in the far West more than one million of people are thus circumstanced, and that the failure of Congress to pass the bill now pending means suffering and loss and enforced idleness to them. It is likewise true that no class of people in the Union earn and deserve success more than the hardy miner and prospector, who makes the secrets of the mountains his own.

We have heard much talk of the "Silver Baron." He must be a rare bird. We have never heard of him where silver is found. And we are told of the cheap cost at which the white metal is produced. I wish, sir, that you could know something of the toil and the failures that accompany its finding. The cañons and valleys of Colorado are full of the discarded processes for the extraction of the metals from the rock, which proved unsuccessful. They stand deserted and decaying, with only ruin and their tall chimneys to tell the story of the investments that failed. The mountain-sides are dotted and covered from one end of the State to the other with prospect holes and shafts and tunnels and workings, now filled with water, caved in and abandoned, and in them all are buried hopes and fortunes. There is no dollar of coin produced that has not cost, in the sum of the labor which supplied it, far more than the value it represents. The search is fraught with excitement and buoyed by hope and courage, and success sometimes means fortune; but for one success there are dozens of failure. No, Mr. President, the silver that we seek to add to the wealth and credit of the nation, is represented to its full value in toil

and industry, and the men who dig for it have discovered no royal road to wealth.

It is difficult to anticipate what the voters of Colorado will do in November. Unless I am greatly mistaken they will first endeavor, with the limited influence at their command, for the State is not large in population, to secure at the national conventions the nomination of candidates who would feel bound to give to the expression of the will of the two Houses of Congress on this great question, the sanction of law. Failing in this they will seek some other honorable solution of the difficulty.

The people of Colorado are intelligent, thoughtful, and independent. They have been the architects of their own fortunes, and they are devoted to the interest of the commonwealth which they have founded and developed and made prosperous. Her citizens claim the privilege of liberty of thought and freedom of action, and they concede the same right in those who stand for them here. And I may add that their representatives in this body would cease to value their high office as worth a moment's holding if this full freedom were not accorded them.

Mr. President, so marvellous and so extensive has been the growth of our country during the past century that it may even now be said of us as a nation, as was said a hundred and twenty years ago, that we "are a people still in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." Vast areas have been reclaimed from savagery, the boundaries of the Union have been widened, and States have come into being that a generation ago were an uninhabited wilderness. This process of moulding is still active; new industries, new sources of wealth, and new settlements are everywhere springing into life and activity. With them come greater demands for such wise and careful legislation as shall enable this widely scattered population, engaged in various pursuits, to yet coalesce with each other, and to conduce by their individual efforts to the prosperity of all. There was never a time when a broadened, a humane, and unsectional view was so demanded. Sin and poverty and suffering will, no doubt, always abound, but a wise and generous economical policy can do much for the amelioration of the people of these States and the establishment of their permanent prosperity. No partisan feeling should be invoked. An equal patriotism pervades every hamlet in the land, and while we differ as to policies, no one State surpasses another in lofty devotion to the perpetuity and welfare of our institutions.

It is a mistake for the representatives of one section to seek

financial aggrandizement at the expense of any other. We have a common interest, a common country, and should share a common prosperity. The music of the looms in New England, the song of the field-hand on the cotton plantation, the echo of the woodman's axe in Oregon, and the ring of the prospector's pick on the granite of the Western mountains, all blend in one melodious harmony, and tell the same story of the energy of free men who conquer success because in this country industry and hope are companions. The uniting of all these interests so that no one shall suffer because of the other, and so that each shall benefit and bless the other, is a mission more glorious than one of conquest; it is the noblest task that could be imposed upon man by his brother-man.

REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN ACT

THE Senate, August 15, 1893, having under consideration the resolution submitted by Mr. Lodge on the 8th inst., as follows:

"Whereas, Congress has been called in extraordinary session on account of the unfortunate condition of business; and

"Whereas, Some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the Silver Act of 1890: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to report at once to the Senate a bill to repeal the purchasing clauses of the Silver Act of 1890, and that a vote be taken in the Senate on said bill on Tuesday, August 22, at 2 o'clock P. M., unless it is sooner reached"—

Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: The resolution offered by the junior Senator from Massachusetts does not afford proper scope for general discussion of the silver question at this time. When that discussion shall come before the Senate it will be upon broader and upon wider grounds. But I am unwilling to let the resolution upon which the Senator from Massachusetts has spoken so ably and so forcibly pass by without entering my protest as to the preamble which precedes his resolution. It recites that:

"Whereas, Some measure of relief can be obtained by the immediate and unconditional repeal of the purchasing clauses of the Silver Act of 1890."

Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Massachusetts that this is not a party question. I feel greatly relieved in view of some unpleasant relations which some of us have sustained for the past few years on this side of the Chamber, that a question has arisen wherein the Democratic Executive and the Massachusetts Senator may agree. It is a most auspicious and a most significant occasion. It is a most delightful foreshadowing of the days when party rancor shall cease and all notes of discord be blended in one harmonious melody. I believe the next thing in order will be for the President of the United States, who is fortunately untrammelled and unembarrassed by any previous utterance on the subject, to frame some election law which may perhaps meet the views of the Senator from Massachusetts, and then our reconciliation will be complete!

But, Mr. President, to bring relief by the repeal of a law there must have been some injury by that law. What injury has been inflicted by the Sherman Act, and what is to be the measure of relief afforded by its repeal? I have yet to hear a single intelligent man state on his conscience that he believes the Sherman Act has wrought the injury under which this country now suffers. I have yet to hear a single man of experience in financial matters or in public affairs say that the unfortunate financial crisis through which we are now passing has aught to do with the Sherman Act. Everybody will admit, monometallists and bimetallists, that the Sherman Act is vicious in principle and illogical so far as it affects the silver coin of this country.

It is vicious in that it makes of silver a commodity and dethrones it from the pedestal where it belongs. It is illogical and vicious in that it leaves the silver bullion in the Treasury uncoined and leaves this vast mass of silver coin a menace to Europe, which foreign nations that might incline to join with us in the double standard fear may be dumped upon their markets at any time. These are its disadvantages. It has likewise some advantages. It is a quasi recognition of silver. The one strand which yet holds this country back from monometallism has been of infinite value, in the hope for the final and full recognition of silver that it has inspired in the human breast. The fact that it has afforded an enlargement of the currency from month to month, keeping pace with the needs of this country, has been of inestimable advantage during the past three years; and after the Baring failure, if it had not been for the Sherman Act,

nobody knows how serious the panic might have been, how great the suffering we might have undergone.

Even, Mr. President, in these last few months the Sherman Act has saved us from infinitely greater disaster than we would otherwise have encountered. As was ably said by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Chandler] in a letter to a New York paper, it has given us a currency backed by the credit of the Government and by silver at its bullion value. That is a pretty good currency. Perhaps it is a little better currency than the $37,000,000 of clearing-house certificates now in circulation in New York backed only by rediscounted paper and held by people who are clamoring for the repeal of the Sherman Act.

The only tangible statement I can get from anybody as to the injury which the Sherman Act is inflicting, is by people who claim there is a lack of confidence in Europe by reason of the existence upon our statute books of the Sherman Act. With such limited investigation as I have been able to give, I do not find that statement borne out by the facts. Our securities were enormously held in Great Britain, perhaps to the extent of $2,000,000,000. Great Britain suffered serious loss in Argentina and in Australia and her other colonies; she was forced to sell, and her securities came over here.

The cheapest came first. It is impossible to state what proportion of American securities held abroad are securities payable in gold and what are securities payable in lawful money; but it is nevertheless true and susceptible of proof that the securities which came back were returned irrespective of the material in which they were payable. No better illustration of that can be afforded than the fact that the New York and New Haven Railroad stocks, the Pennsylvania Railroad stocks, and other dividend-paying railroad stocks which have permanent and steady value have not come back. Their dividends are payable in lawful money, and not in gold. Those securities are still largely held abroad. The cheapest and the weakest securities come first, and they come irrespective of whether they are payable in silver or in gold. The great sale of foreign securities, the great liquidation which has been taking place in the last few months in this country, has come not because Great Britain lacks confidence in American financial methods or American finance, but because they were compelled to sell. And it is true that when Europe had a little breathing spell there came again a healthy demand for our bonds abroad, which was checked by the Reading *fiasco*.

Almost every ill that flesh is heir to is attributed in these

days to the Sherman Law. I do not believe even a Philadelphia banker would accuse the Sherman law of being responsible for the Reading disaster. The Whiskey Trust came next. Mismanaged and fraudulently conducted, it went to pieces and engulfed great fortunes. Was the Sherman Law responsible for that? The Cordage Trust, organized and managed by the select financiers of New York, came up like a mushroom, and was dissipated, and vanished, and with it vanished millions of dollars. Would you say that the Sherman Law was responsible for that? And yet the New York press figure up daily the market quotations of a year ago and the market quotations of to-day, and they strike the balance between them, and say that silver and the Sherman Law are responsible for the difference.

If, Mr. President, the Sherman Act is not responsible for the condition of affairs abroad, still less is it responsible for the condition of affairs here. They tell us, and the Senator from Massachusetts tells us, that if we will repeal the Sherman Act there will be renewed confidence in this country. How will it come, and from whom? Will it come from the farmer who sees his grain commanding a lower price than ever before in the history of the United States? When you threaten him with cutting off $4,500,000 a month of increased circulation and bring him face to face with an appreciating currency which must bring in its train lower prices, are you going to bring confidence to him by cutting off the purchasing provision of the Sherman Act and putting nothing in its place?

Because the papers yesterday and the day before announced that the banks were unable to furnish the farmers of Indiana and Minnesota and the Northwest with even the currency sufficient to remove their grain, do you mean to tell us that confidence is to come back if you will only unconditionally repeal the Sherman Act? Will it bring confidence back to the railroads, which see diminishing earnings week after week, earnings which will diminish in a still greater ratio in the months to come, with a poverty-stricken people unable to get their currency from the banks, and with the price of their grain constantly decreasing? Is it to bring confidence back to them? Will it bring confidence to the millions of people in the far Northwest, who have seen their principal industry stricken down by the existing condition of affairs, and which the passage of this resolution would entirely obliterate? Will it bring them confidence? Those people, Mr. President, law-abiding and orderly, ask, under the protection of the flag, to be permitted

to earn their living and to carry on an industry which the law has recognized since the foundation of the Republic.

The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that we want first unconditional repeal, and that afterward some measure will be enacted for the recognition of silver. You say to those people, already almost homeless, with the roof of their cabins gone and poverty before them: "If you let us knock out your foundation stone and obliterate all trace of your home, and the place of your habitation, in the time to come, after we have had time for consideration, we will build you a stone-front house." Now, Mr. President, confidence will not thus be brought back.

Will you bring confidence to the banks by the repeal of the Sherman Act? The banks do not want confidence; they want money. They want other people's money. Is the repeal of the Sherman Act to bring them confidence? Will the repeal of the Sherman Act bring confidence to the laborer or the artisan who had his money in the banks and who has drawn it out? That is where the resolution seeks to hit. They want some legislation that will bring confidence back to that man. And that brings us, Mr. President, to the real secret and cause of the present existing financial panic. It has come partially because of European losses. It has come because Russia and Austria have been buying gold; and it has come because we have had to liquidate large holdings of foreign securities, and we have our money in their securities. It has come because we have purchased more than we have sold abroad.

But all these causes, Mr. President, are utterly independent of and irrespective of silver. If we did not have a dollar's worth of silver in the country and had never had a line of silver legislation, the gold would have gone abroad exactly the same. Silver is not responsible for that. But it is true that for months the financial institutions of the East have been crying out throughout the land that unless the Sherman Law was repealed and silver demonetized they would be ruined.

We have heard it from the house-tops, and those of us who are debtors have heard it *ad nauseam*, when we have sought to renew our loans; we have been told that unless we repeal the Sherman Act we are all going to be ruined. They have raised a hue and cry and clamor they cannot still, until finally the people of this country have begun to believe there is something wrong, not with the financial policy of the country, but with the institutions that hold their money, and they are drawing it out. They are not drawing it out because they distrust silver,

or because they distrust our country, or because they distrust Congress, for the silver certificate is laid away in the stocking side by side with the gold dollar.

It is distrust of the institutions, and legislation cannot help it, for confidence is a plant of slow growth, and it depends upon faith and trust in human action. All the legislation that we may enact will not bring confidence back to the man who has taken the money out of a financial institution solely because he does not believe that the financial institution would pay him his money when he called for it.

What legislation is needed, Mr. President, we are all at a loss to know. For my part, and in the small share I may have in it, I intend to conduct myself, not as a citizen alone of a section, but as a citizen of a great Republic. We all seek a common result. We all seek that which shall be of the greatest benefit to our beloved country. Prophecy is futile, but I may be permitted to record my conviction that when prosperity does come back to this country it will be after we have announced to the world that we are a nation of bimetallists, believing in hard money, both gold and silver; when we have announced to the nations of Europe that we propose to have our share of the gold of the world; that we are rich enough to hold it, and are entitled by our resources and our credit to have it, and that at the same time we have opened our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and have returned to the paths of the founders of the Republic—paths which, so long as we followed them, brought us financial prosperity and happiness, and which, whenever we have diverged from them, have brought us financial disaster and panic.

THE FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1893

The Senate, on August 31, 1893, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal the silver-purchasing part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," known as the Sherman Law, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is said that a financial panic is invariably accompanied or followed by a widespread religious revival. Up to this time we are unfortunately without that beneficent occurrence. The ready and complete change of heart, however, on

the financial question which we have witnessed in this Chamber gives evidence that this is a time when men are especially open to conviction. And if the Administration, with its petty spoils and patronage, has been able to make so many converts, what may we hope when the assurances of future happiness will be, not for four short years, but for eternity? The misfortune under which the silver men suffer is that the Administration conversion came first. For if the hearts of Senators had first been impressed with the littleness of the things of this world and the glory of things supernal, the people, who are to be the sufferers, would not have been deserted by their representatives.

Except as patronage may be used to affect the action of Congress, there is no criticism to be made respecting the policy of the Administration. There has been much comment upon the present attitude of the Secretary of the Treasury, because while he represented a constituency in Congress he was an earnest advocate of the free coinage of silver. Such criticism is misplaced. He is a member of the President's household, and committed to carrying out the President's policy, or to withdrawal from the Cabinet. The Secretary of the Treasury is not the only member of the Cabinet who must have radically changed the views of a lifetime in subordination to those of his chief.

Nor is the President of the United States open to stricture because of his message. He has been a consistent and persistent opponent of silver coinage since his first entrance into public life. There has never been a moment's doubt as to where he stood. The platform of his party, it is true, declared in favor of silver, but the platform meant no more to him than the wind that blows. We of the West knew perfectly well last fall that whoever of the two candidates should be successful, we were powerless, and that our reliance must be placed in Congress, which already on more than one occasion had shown its willingness to rise above the personal wishes of the Executive.

The friendship for silver expressed by every member of each House of Congress who has spoken on this question is remarkable and unanimous. No Senator in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act has failed to announce in solemn words his belief in bimetallism. The statement may be soothing to his conscience, but it serves no other purpose so far as favorable legislation is concerned. The Senators who state that they are bimetallists, but that international agreement is necessary before we can adopt the double standard, misstate the proposition.

International agreement must depend on the attitude of Great Britain. If, then, Great Britain consents to a double standard, they are bimetallists. If she adheres to gold, they are monometallists. The policy of Great Britain, which they are powerless to shape or to control, is the policy they advocate. They are willing to sacrifice, not only a great region of our country, whose resources are of infinitely more material value to the East than all our trade with Great Britain, but the welfare and prosperity of every farmer and toiler in the land, in order that we may be in entire accord with Great Britain in our financial policy.

Nor are the friends of silver in the slightest degree carried away by such utterances as those of the Senator from New York the other day. Who is not for us is against us. It would have been far more satisfactory if, instead of arguing in favor of silver and likewise in favor of unconditional repeal, the Senator had argued against silver and then announced his intention of voting against unconditional repeal, and his speech would have been equally logical.

Silver has been compelled to bear everybody's burdens for many months, and it seems now involved in some fashion with the Democratic differences in New York.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Hill] knows perfectly that free coinage by separate act is impossible during the incumbency of the present Executive, and that any assistance he may desire to render must come now or not at all. Those who believe in the principle of free coinage of both gold and silver care not a bawbee about the local fights in New York, and, for my own part, I prefer an open foe who asks no quarter and gives none, who has been steadily opposed to silver and has never concealed his views, to one who "keeps the word of promise to our ear, and breaks it to our hope."

The most remarkable and most ominous occurrence, however, has been the change of front by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees], chairman of the Finance Committee. For nearly a generation, in season and out, he has posed as a friend of the people. Many and varied have been the remedies he has proposed; but until last week, if consistent in nothing else, he has everywhere and at all times found occasion to denounce the national-bank system, and to advocate the free coinage of silver. I have been examining the files of the *Record* for the past decade and longer, with a view of reminding the Senator of the days of which Charles Lamb wrote: those "red-letter

days, now become, to all intents and purposes, dead-letter days."

But what is the use? The banks were Molochs and everything else that sounds bad and wicked, and no matter what other gentlemen might do, he would never vote to extend their charters, or enlarge their powers. He looked forward with hope to the time when they would be wiped out altogether. He even opposed the amendment permitting them to issue notes up to ninety per cent. of their bonds on deposit with the Treasury. And during all these years the Senator from Indiana has been also apparently the unvarying friend of free coinage. The *Record* contains speech after speech in which he shows the necessity for, and the availability of, the use of silver. One of these speeches was delivered only last year, since the passage of the Sherman Act. In it he uttered no word of reproach respecting that law, but urged a continued and increasing use of the metal as coin.

This is a brief summary of the utterances of the Senator from Indiana on these subjects. But "his words were writ in water," and the pitiful outcome of it all are the two bills now before us: The bill to permit national banks to issue notes to the par of their bonds, and the bill for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act.

For the first time in the legislative history of either of them, the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] are in accord in financial matters. For a generation they have both served in public life, the one, in public estimation, standing for the masses, the other for the classes, yet both meet at last on common ground! It has not been always so. Since the passage of the Sherman Act and just prior to the last Presidential election the Senator from Indiana, in a warm and impassioned article in the *North American Review*, in favor of free coinage, described his colleague as follows:

"Now, however, those who eighteen years ago wrought under cover for the destruction of one-half the honest, debt-paying money of the American people, are as well known as if a calcium light had been turned on them, and are as universally distrusted by the plain, laboring, and productive masses as if they had been caught in the commission of crime. This feeling of distrust is confined to no one party. The ablest and most distinguished opponent of silver money in the United States, and, more than any other one man, the author of the legislation of 1873 on that subject,"—

But I suppose the *amende honorable* of the Senator from Indiana yesterday may possibly be held to cover this article as well as the Senator's utterances in this Chamber—

"has been before three national conventions of the Republican party seeking a nomination for the Presidency, and seeking it in vain.

"Mr. Sherman of Ohio is always to be spoken of with respect as a man of ability and large experience, and more especially so in connection with the finances of the country. It is true that he has been on both sides of every financial issue for more than a quarter of a century past; but it is also true that he has always veered from one point of the compass to the other at the exact time when his services were most valuable to the money power, and most oppressive to the laboring, overtaxed, debt-paying farmers and wage-workers of the country."

I hope the Senator from Indiana will not be able to catch up with him.

"And yet, with all his eminent services in behalf of the financial centres, as they are called, banking corporations, usurers, interest-eaters, and parasites on human labor generally, the leaders of the Republican party in New York have never dared in national convention to cast the vote of that State for him.

"The opportunity was presented in 1880, 1884, and 1888, and the weight of obligation which the moneyed interests were under to Mr. Sherman was not denied; but a wholesome fear that the plain people would resent at the polls his hostility to their interests restrained the impulse of gratitude, if, indeed, such a sensation as gratitude is ever known to organized wealth."

But it is different now. The wolf is dwelling with the lamb, and the leopard is lying down with the kid. This delightful harmony, I fear, will not long continue, and when they arise they will be fewer in number. There can be but one chairman of the Finance Committee, and without in the least underrating the abilities of the Senator from Indiana, those of us who have watched the course of financial legislation for the past twenty years, commencing with the demonetization of silver in 1873, must be pardoned if we look forward to the resumption of the control of the committee by the Senator from Ohio, and if we recall in this connection old Pharaoh's dream of the lean kine.

In what I have said I beg to be understood as offering no harsh personal criticism respecting the Senator from Indiana. He has been so long the advocate of silver that I cannot yet believe he will desert the cause or cast his vote for uncondi-

tional repeal. I only venture to remind him, in view of his past utterances, that old Solomon did not belie his reputation for wisdom when he said, "It is better thou shouldest not vow than that thou shouldest vow and not pay."

The report of the Finance Committee, signed by two Democrats and by four Republicans, and not concurred in by four Democrats and one Republican, is bedecked with plumage which it has no right to wear. The issue is clear enough and nobody is deceived by the verbiage of the report.

Silver is to be demonetized—the Sherman Law to be robbed of the purchasing clause. There is always a to-morrow, and it is unwise to close our eyes to the character of the proposition.

No man can be a bimetallist in the sense that he believes in the further coinage of both gold and silver by the United States, and advocate the bill. The President of the United States will undoubtedly veto any independent measure for the free coinage of silver, and there is not a Senator in this body who does not believe this to be true. The only possible chance to save silver is to couple any provision looking to a change in the Sherman Act with some measure recognizing and establishing silver coinage. Any man who will vouch for Mr. Cleveland as a bimetallist would vouch for the man in the moon.

It is urged upon us that we have been called together for a specified purpose, and that it is our duty to accomplish that, and that only, and then go home. It is everywhere admitted that we need further legislation respecting silver; but it is glibly said that we can have that later. Why not now? Congress is in session to deal with the financial question. We are all of us advised as to the situation. We shall never know more than we know now about silver. It is conceded on every hand that the Sherman act had nothing to do with the existing financial panic. Then, why not at this time determine the policy which this country should follow, and bring the subject to a finality?

We are told that it is essential that we act quickly. Very true; and if we are all bimetallists and all favor the repeal of the Sherman Act, no obstacle stands in the way of speedy action. And I may be permitted to suggest to the gentlemen who are in so great a hurry that if time be of value to them they may, perhaps, secure the repeal of the Sherman Act far more quickly by coupling with it some fair provision for silver coinage than in the way suggested by the Finance Committee. It may be true, as the Senator from New York last week foretold with confidence, that the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act will

be surely and unconditionally repealed; but it is equally true that he may possibly find it necessary after a time to revise his prophecy.

Since this subject was thrashed over during the last Congress two new reasons have been advanced why silver should cease to be either purchased or coined at our mints. They are persistently presented to us by the advocates of the bill reported by the Finance Committee. They are, first, that our abandonment of silver will compel England to agree to an international conference, and to the restoration of silver as a money metal to be freely coined as offered; and the other, that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act will restore confidence in our finances and our financial institutions to the people, who have lost faith in both.

We are constantly assured that our abandonment of silver will force England to an international agreement. This may be true. There is not gold enough in the world to do its business, and some day this will be recognized by monometallist countries. But the time is far away. Capital is strong and selfish. This Senate Chamber to-day is the best possible exemplification of its power, and a long period of suffering and of shrinkage will pass before we return to the double standard.

Meanwhile, the sections heretofore devoted to the search for silver will become largely depopulated. The mines will fill with water, the timbers which sustain their walls will rot, the vast industries dependent for success on the mining regions will become bankrupt, and a generation will not serve to renew their prosperity, even after silver may be remonetized. The investments in railroads, mines, smelters, and other property directly and fatally affected by the action recommended by the Finance Committee aggregate more than $1,000,000,000, and they are all to be sacrificed that we may make our financial policy in exact accord with that of Great Britain, the creditor of the world!

The argument is as if one should say, Protection is wise, and must be the bulwark of our prosperity. It is threatened year after year by the advocates of Free Trade. There is one way to settle the agitation finally and forever. Submit to absolute free trade. A few years will show the folly of it. The country will then return to Protection, and you will not be again disturbed. I picture the eagerness with which New England would grasp the suggestion, the warm-hearted welcome she would extend to the friends who thus advised her.

Since I have referred to the subject of Protection another word may as well be said. There is no analogy between free coinage and Protection. They rest on essentially different principles, are based on separate foundations. Yet if this great country, with its enormous area and wealth and population and resources, is to change its monetary policy to follow and to be in accord with that of Great Britain, it alters the whole basis of our relations with foreign countries.

I speak with hesitancy and reluctance; but as the subject now presents itself, if this bill shall pass, and silver be, as it must be, absolutely dethroned and degraded, I know of no reason why any Senator who believes in free coinage should ever cast another vote in favor of Protection in any form. If we are to have a steadily appreciating currency and constantly lowering prices, it is better for our farmers and wage-workers that they have the opportunity of buying, untrammelled and unrestricted, in the markets of the world. In the light of the proposed policy, bounties are iniquitous, Protection an oppression, and free ships desirable. This is an era of experiment. Let us experiment all around.

Even if it were true that our abandonment of silver would, in time, compel other nations to rehabilitate it and renew its coinage, the taking of such a step by this people would, in my opinion, be ruinous and unnecessary. We have a vast area of country, with many and varied resources and constantly increasing needs. Our great cities, the centres of the commerce of the country surrounding them, are remote from, and largely independent of each other. The numberless new enterprises everywhere springing up and the constantly increasing avenues of trade demand a steadily enlarging volume of currency to keep pace with our growing demands.

We produce of gold, available for coinage, less than $18,000,000 annually. We can absorb the silver offered us for coinage without inflation of the currency and without impairing our financial credit at home or abroad. The silver held in Europe is in coin and needed there, and surely not to be returned at a loss. We cannot get the gold to furnish the needed increase; and we believe in hard money, gold and silver, in preference to the only other alternative, irredeemable fiat money, based only on credit. The two metals together would furnish us, if our mints were reopened, a stable, enduring, and adequate currency. France for seventy years maintained their parity. With an area seventeen times greater than France, and a vastly larger population and

far greater resources, who shall say that the United States cannot coin both gold and silver at her mints as offered, and maintain their parity and her own financial integrity?

To those timid people who look to international conference for sanction before they are willing to embark upon the coinage of our gold and our silver, I commend the following excerpt clipped from a recent paper:

"The increase of our population in the brief period of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, exceeds the entire population of Mexico; the increase of population in the United States in ten years of more than thirty per cent. of the entire population of France, more than forty per cent. of the population of Italy, nearly seventy per cent. of the population of Spain; an increase equal to twice the population of Belgium, three times the population of the Netherlands or European Turkey, four times the population of Switzerland, and six times the entire population of Denmark or of Greece."

In the face of such a showing, I can imagine no more cruel, or unnecessary or unbusinesslike proceeding than to hold our whole financial system in abeyance until Europe determines what policy will be satisfactory to her.

The other additional reason for repeal, Mr. President, presented by the advocates of the bill reported by the Finance Committee would be droll, if the times were not tragic. One Senator after another tells us, and the other House echoed with the same statement, that the existing law, known as the Sherman Law, has absolutely nothing to do with the present deplorable financial panic, but that some other people, who are not designated by name or calling, think it has; that there is a woful lack of confidence, not in our silver certificates, but in our financial institutions, and that this departed confidence will return if Congress will repeal the purchasing clause of the Act of 1890.

A few days since I demonstrated, as best I could, the folly of this statement, and I shall not weary the Senate with a repetition of what I then said. This panic will go down into history as a bankers' panic. Months ago the associated national banks, as an organization, began demanding the repeal of the Sherman Act. They solemnly assured themselves and the country that they would be ruined if it were not repealed. They charged to silver the export of gold, when every dollar that went would have gone if we had never a silver dollar in our

coinage. They continued to clamor until the people who had money in the banks drew it out—bills, gold, or silver, it mattered not which, for they knew the dollar stamped by the Government was good for one hundred cents. They sought to bring discredit upon the financial policy of the Government; they have succeeded in engulfing themselves. If you ask a banker to-day how the repeal of the Sherman Act is to restore confidence to the depositors who have drawn out some $180,000,000, he cannot tell you.

Mr. President, the depositors did not complain of the Sherman Act, and no one of them drew out his money because of the existence of that law. I have no sort of hostility toward national banks. The system afforded the first basis of confidence in our bonds and has been of vast service to the country. The attitude of the banks toward the Sherman Law, however, in connection with some recent occurrences, deserves mention at this time. The banks demand, as I have said, the repeal of the Sherman Law. This act is the only one now upon our statute books which permits an enlargement of the currency. In time of panic, such as this, it would seem unaccountable that banking institutions should not desire an increase in the volume of money.

The fact is, however, that when the Sherman Act shall have been repealed, the banks intend asking Congress to authorize either an issue of bonds or bills to the amount of one hundred millions or more for the purchase of gold, and they have good reason to believe that a complaisant Finance Committee will authorize a bill for the issue. This would bring temporary prosperity, and aid in the journey toward gold monometallism. Meanwhile, we are asked to authorize the banks to issue notes to the par value of their bonds deposited to secure circulation, a measure which recent disclosures would indicate is of importance to their depositors as well as to the banks. While waiting for this measure to become law, clearing-house certificates, based on rediscounted paper, furnish an excellent substitute for money.

Nobody was disposed to find fault with this procedure, but when a resolution was offered the other day calling on the Comptroller of the Currency, whose integrity everybody recognizes, to inform us whether the banks were obeying the law or not, an extraordinary incident occurred. The Senator from Maryland [Mr. Gorman] informed us that, as a matter of fact, all the banks were violating the law; that if they did not

violate the law they would all have to close; and we were urged not to inform ourselves of the facts, but to let the Comptroller alone. No more remarkable statement ever was made. Congress is in session ready to enlarge or change the law if necessary, but we are informed that it is our duty to blind ourselves to the facts, and to our oaths, and to suffer the law to be violated without inquiry or rebuke.

Did it ever occur to the Senator from Maryland that a depositor might have some rights which the law ought to protect? And did it ever occur to the banks that possibly the "lack of confidence" in their institutions might not be wholly due to the Sherman Act? In the struggle which is now being fought out on this floor, whatever may be the outcome, we have all learned something of the divinity that hedges around a moneyed institution to an Eastern mind.

A Western point of view is not much valued these days on Wall Street, but I venture to suggest to the able financiers of that attractive but expensive locality, that if they will prevent a repetition of such frauds as the Whiskey Trust, and such mismanagement as has been shown in cordage and other industrials; will remember that the Sherman Act, or some kindred measure recognizing silver coinage, must afford them the only avenue possible for an enlargement of the currency which they especially need; will look at a map of these United States and observe that they cover a broad expanse of country, and contain many people with many views, and will so modify their opinion as not to believe that every man who differs with them respecting financial matters must be either a villain or a crank, we will the sooner arrive at that condition of mutual confidence and regard which ought to obtain between citizens of the same country.

The opponents of further silver coinage in the United States are endeavoring to create the impression that there is an overproduction of silver in the world; that silver is cheaply produced at a cost much less than even its present market price as a commodity, and that upon a return to free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, the present product would be largely increased. No one of these statements is true, and the falsity of each of them can be readily demonstrated.

When an annual product is not consumed, the measure of its increase must be ascertained by comparison with the stock on hand.

Carefully prepared tables show that in 1872 the world's sup-

ply of gold produced since 1492 was $5,453,000,000, and of silver $6,751,000,000. Of the total of these sums 44.68 per cent. was gold; 55.32 per cent. was silver. At the close of last year the existing stock of gold in the world was $7,610,000,000, and of silver $9,097,000,000. After four hundred years of production the gold composed 45.55 per cent. and the silver 54.45 per cent. of the two metals. The world's product of gold existing in 1872 has since that year increased 39.55 per cent., while the increase of the stock of silver amounts to 34.77 per cent.

Advocates of the abandonment of further coinage of silver must look elsewhere for reasons why it should be discarded as a money metal. It is not and has never been overproduced. The reasons for its fall in value are not because it is too abundantly furnished, but because the great demand for it must ever be for coinage purposes, and legislation has robbed it of this demand. If gold were demonetized, gold as a commodity would fall equally in value. Talk of over-production! Why, in the twenty years, between 1853 and 1873, the production of gold in the world exceeded the production of silver by $1,441,000,000, but both were equally welcome at the mints, and no disturbance resulted. In the twenty years from 1873 to 1893 the excess of silver produced over gold has been but $190,000,000, yet the gold value of silver decreased forty-two cents an ounce. Over-production has not affected the value of silver. Legislation alone degraded it and destroyed its value; legislation, and legislation alone, can restore it.

Nor is it true that silver is produced so cheaply that there is a great margin between its cost and its coinage value at the old ratio of 129 cents an ounce. It belittles the whole subject to even state the proposition. What has the cost of mining gold to do with its value as coin? As a matter of fact where gold has been found the cost of mining it has been far less than of mining silver. The great proportion of the gold is found in placers and gulches, quickly and profitably produced when discovered in paying quantities. Nuggets valued at thousands of dollars are sometimes found by some prospector or miner in a day. The day's wages or expenses of the man who found the nugget would have no relation to the cost of the gold product, and would have no bearing on the coinage question if it did.

Mr. President, you cannot measure its cost in that way. I could take you to a section in Colorado—Gilpin County, the residence of my colleague—one of the few sections of our coun-

try that produces gold in paying quantities through the years in fissure veins, and I could lead you through a hundred miles of shafts and tunnels and adits and levels and cross-cuts and drifts that have cost from ten to fifty dollars a foot to sink and to drive, which never produced a dollar's worth of ore—shafts that were sunk for blind veins and did not find them, or were sunk on barren streaks; tunnels that were driven through cross-country, and discovered nothing at the end of them—drifts and adits driven on the barren portion of the vein.

Are they not to be counted? I can take you over the mountain, just over the hill, to where the placer miners are taking out an ounce a day, worth $20, with wages at $3 a day. Would anybody say that therefore the cost of the production of gold in Gilpin County was $3 an ounce? You must measure the losses with the gains. The mountains of the West are peppered and scarred with shafts and tunnels and prospect holes which brought the miner nothing. Are they not to count? Are you to measure your own standard of value by its cost? You might as well say the value of the $1 bill is the cost of paper on which it is printed.

I have seen a mechanical invention—the Westinghouse, for instance—which has made a vast amount of money, a million dollars; and you might as well say that therefore the profit on mechanical patents is a million dollars. Go down to the Department of the Interior and see thousands and thousands of models of patents that represent the work and labor of years now covered with dust and profitless to everybody; must you not take into consideration the losses as well as the gains? So it is with silver. The sum of all the labor and expenditure that goes into the production of silver in the United States is undoubtedly far greater than the value of the silver produced.

But, Mr. President, as the statement has been so persistently made in this Chamber that the cost of producing silver is so slight (I believe the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Morrill], who is not now here, made some statement of the astonishingly low price at which silver was produced), a careful investigation was entered into by a committee of leading citizens appointed for the purpose, and I hold in my hand the summary of the result of their investigation, which I ask to have printed at the close of my remarks.

The investigation was most exhaustive. The total silver product of Colorado for 1892 was 24,000,000 ounces. Of this, two counties, Lake and Pitkin, produced 40 per cent. The returns

from the smelters showed the value of the silver and of the by-products, lead and copper. The two counties were separately tabulated as to production, from the date of their settlement, and the total product of each carefully ascertained. An examination of the records was then made showing the number of claims pre-empted, the cost of sinking the shaft necessary before location, the cost of the survey, and of the filing of the notice of location. The law requires $100 worth of work annually on each claim prior to patent. The number of claims not abandoned was ascertained.

The law further requires an expenditure of not less than $500 of work before patent will issue, and certain expenses of survey, etc., are necessarily incurred in patenting each claim. The number of patented claims was ascertained from the Government land offices, and these sums computed. From the records obtainable of mining and smelting operations full tables were prepared. A summary shows that Leadville has produced in fourteen years, net, $104,515,824, at a cost of $121,521,583, showing a loss in silver mining changed into a fair profit by the value of the by-products. Pitkin County is tabulated in the same way, and I commend the report to the attention of Senators who believe that the cost of mining has any bearing on the question of coinage. Of course, sometimes fortunes are made and are widely advertised, but the failures are numberless and are never counted. Abbot Lawrence, fifty years ago, stated that in Boston out of fourteen merchants who start in business thirteen failed. The commercial agencies will tell you that now the proportion of failures is even greater. The successes are one in eighteen, or one in twenty. Would you measure the profits of business by the fortunes of your merchant princes?

The assertion is likewise made that if we return to silver coinage there would at once be a much larger production of the precious metals. It is not true. The West has seen the zenith of its mining industry. The zone in which mines may be found —the mineral belt—is as well or better defined than is the coal belt of Pennsylvania. There is not a square rod of ground within the mining belt that has not been prospected. Everywhere has the hardy miner been searching for the precious metals. There may be other discoveries yet made, but the great mass of the country has been developed and its riches extracted.

You will find, Mr. President, that whatever legislation may hereafter come, if silver shall again be restored to its pedestal,

the production of the precious metals, unfortunately, cannot much increase. I hope it may. So long as silver is recognized as coin, so long will the courageous prospector search for it, until there are no longer any secrets concealed in the bosom of mother earth.

But, Mr. President, all discussion of the cost of production or of present or future over-production are beside the mark.

The people of the far Northwest favor the resumption of the free coinage of silver because they believe in the principle of bimetallism. We are not inflationists; we do not advocate fiat money. We believe that, as the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Jones] so aptly put it, the rude obstacles which nature interposes offer a better safeguard for the people than the wisdom or unwisdom of their rulers. We oppose the single standard because there is not enough gold to do the business of the world and furnish its inhabitants with the currency they need.

The history of all times has shown that a scarcity of circulating medium means a continuous fall in prices, depression in business activity, the impoverishment of the people, and a decline in civilization. The last twenty years have but emphasized the experience of the centuries. Silver has not depreciated; gold has appreciated. The double standard relieves the tension which may be caused by the lessened production of the one metal or the increased production of the other. It secures to the debtor at the maturity of his debt money of the value he received when his debt was incurred. The two metals together furnish a standard which has permanency, stability, accessibility, and is a suitable and adequate measure of value.

Mr. President, the question as to whether silver shall by the passage of the bill before us be finally demonetized is national and not local. The claims we urge in behalf of the recognition of silver are not pressed because we of the mountains ask your sympathy for a region which your proposed action would impoverish and ruin. If we represented any other section, with our knowledge of the possibilities of the great West, we would be equally tenacious for the preservation of the white metal as a standard of value. No man removed from the money centres, and realizing the illimitable resources of this Republic and its constantly expanding needs, will ever stand for the contraction of a currency already insufficient.

Our interests, our hopes, and aspirations are identical with those of the other sections of our country which are borrowers and not lenders; with those of the Carolinas, of Alabama and

Mississippi, and Arkansas and Missouri, the Dakotas and Washington in the remote Northwest. We demand the coinage of both metals, because the history of our country and of all lands has taught us that they afford the safest and most adequate basis for the currency of the people.

We are not influenced by our environment. It is true that for a generation at least many States, some of them larger in population than any one of three of the New England States, and having greater resources, minerals included, than all of them put together, will suffer if this bill shall become a law, to an extent impossible to describe, and which in our lifetime cannot be repaired; but we can endure it. The strong will survive and the weak will go to the wall. It is the lot of man. But before you complete your work, I beg of you to pause long enough to realize that this is the first time in the history of republics —nay, even of governments—that a people devoted to one of the noblest of human industries, the search for the precious metals of the world, were doomed to destruction by their fellowmen because they produced too much of them.

You ought to be proud that within the limits of our own country the courage and enterprise and industry of your own people have disclosed and developed silver enough and nearly gold enough to satisfy the constantly increasing needs of those metals for coinage purposes. There could be no stronger bulwark of a country's safety than that she produces her own coin for her own people, and is not dependent for it on foreign nations.

If the mining States were alone to suffer by the unconditional repeal which is proposed, we would sacrifice without a murmur our interests to a mistaken policy for the public good; but there is no section of our country you are not likewise devoting to disaster and impoverishment. You are endeavoring to remove one of the corner-stones on which the fabric of our Government is based. You are seeking to tear down one of the pillars of the temple of our prosperity. You will find to your sorrow that when the Western and Southern walls have fallen, the Eastern façade will not remain unmutilated and secure.

The words one uses to express a proposition in finance sound cold and formal and dry. But the result of our action at this great crisis must affect deeply every home and fireside in this broad land. Measured against the welfare of a great people, threatened with the misery and suffering which must follow the proposed abandonment of silver coinage, of how slight im-

portance are party lines, and how paltry and sordid do patronage and the favor of the Executive appear! The battle must be fought to an end in this forum. On other occasions the Senate of the United States, in opposition to the wishes of the Executive and a hostile majority in another body, has stood firm and unyielding against party and Eastern clamor.

No sectional horizon obscures our vision. If the contest for the people is to be won, it must be because against the selfish demands of the East are arrayed the united votes of the South and West. The fertile acres of your section wait for the plough of the husbandman; so do ours. You need capital for the development of your great resources; so do we. Both sections alike need fair prices for the produce of the farm, and a stable and sufficient currency.

It is for us, standing together on this great question, to save our common country from greater suffering and impoverishment than even the horrors of war could inflict; and by our united votes to maintain, not alone the standard of both gold and silver contemplated by the Constitution, and consecrated by centuries of usage, but to maintain, as well, the standard of American independence and American manhood.

CLOTURE IN THE REPEAL DEBATE

The Senate, September 22, 1893, having under consideration the resolution submitted by Mr. Platt, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That Rule IX. of the Senate be amended by adding the following section:

"SEC. 2. Whenever any bill or resolution is pending before the Senate as unfinished business, the presiding officer shall, upon the written request of a majority of the Senators, fix a day and hour, and notify the Senate thereof, when general debate shall cease thereon, which time shall not be less than five days from the submission of such request; and he shall also fix a subsequent day and hour, and notify the Senate thereof, when the vote shall be taken on the bill or resolution, and any amendment thereto, without further debate; the time for taking the vote to be not more than two days later than the time when general debate is to cease; and in the interval between the closing of general debate and the taking of the vote, no Senator shall speak more than five minutes, nor more than once, upon the same proposition"—

Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have a word to say respecting the resolution. I had intended to speak upon it yesterday, but the press of other business made it seem wise that further discussion on the resolution should be postponed until this morning, and I do not regret, in view of the significant occurrence of last evening, that I have left until to-day the few words which I have to say upon the subject of the resolution.

The proceedings of last evening taught us one thing clearly, and that is that debate upon the pending bill, so long as it proceeds reasonably and in order and during the usual hours of the Senate, will occupy the time of the Senate profitably and in accordance with its principles and traditions, but that any attempt to impose upon this body cruel or unusual hours or extraordinary methods will be met with opposition, unless cloture shall prevent it.[1] For that reason I think it is due to the country that it should know there is a method of stifling debate in this Chamber, and that there is but one method. That method is by the resolution offered by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Platt] or some similar method.

Such a resolution could be voted upon in this body far earlier than can the financial measure which is pending in the Senate. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees] said the other day that it was idle to talk about cloture; that the discussion of cloture resolutions would take until next March, and that it was nonsense to talk of attempting to curb and control the Senate by such means. With all respect to the Senator from Indiana, I differ radically from him. I cannot speak for other Senators agreeing with me upon the great question of finance before us. I know that some of them feel as I do, and if the Senate desires a vote upon a cloture resolution it can have it without much debate. For my own part I would not for a moment interpose the slightest objection to a full, free, and fair vote upon the question as to whether cloture shall be introduced into this Chamber.

But little argument is needed. Distinguished Senators in this body, some of whom have left the paths they used to follow and have gone the way of immediate repeal, have already put themselves upon record in opposition to cloture or the pre-

[1] This reference was to a filibuster conducted by the anti-Repeal Senators in resistance of pressure in the interest of the bill repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law.

vious question. Their speeches might not control their votes (former speeches do not seem to control present legislative action), but yet if a vote upon the previous question or upon cloture is desired, I suggest to the Senate that we can have it in a few days, and very much earlier than we can have a vote upon the bill pending before the Senate. There will be no extraordinary methods used to prevent such a vote. Most of us are upon record. I would content myself with voting against it. If Senators desire to change the rule and practice of the Senate they will have no serious difficulty in submitting their amendments of the rule to a vote, thus letting the Senate determine once for all as to whether there will be a previous question, a cloture, in the Senate or not.

But, Mr. President, if there is a failure to press such a question to a vote, or if the Senators in control of the pending bill decline to press their cloture, then criticism upon us must cease. You may, if you like, stifle debate by rule; you cannot stifle it so long as Senators acting in the line of what they conceive to be their duty and in accordance with the rules and practice of the Senate see fit to interpose such motions, authorized and recognized by the existing rules, as they may choose to bring forward. Cloture at this time is intended to stifle debate upon this great question. It must apply to everything. If Senators desire it as an amendment of the rules they have only to unite and press it, and they will find no factious opposition to a vote upon the question.

In my opinion cloture is not necessary, for there has been no factious delay interposed to a vote upon the pending measure. But Senators must remember that unusual methods and unusual pressure invite unusual opposition. During the ordinary hours of the session of the Senate there has been no disposition to hinder or delay or obstruct public business. It is only when out of all precedent and out of all consideration for the reasonable and decent comfort and health of Senators unusual pressure has been sought to be brought upon us that there has been any opposition that might be denominated unusual or factious. The Senators who press the hardest for the immediate closing of debate are largely Senators who themselves have fired off their cannon, finished their utterances, and who desire that now, without answer to their remarks, there shall be no further debate upon this question.

I have no reference whatever to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees], who is in charge of the measure, and who owes it to

his committee and to the country to press it to a vote as early as possible. I refer to other Senators who have already spoken in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, and now ask that there shall be no further debate upon it. Every speech made by the friends of repeal demands response. For instance, the Senator from Texas [Mr. Mills] the other day, in his long and able speech in favor of repeal, stated (and I shall endeavor to quote him correctly, although his speech unfortunately has not yet been published) that the present low price of cotton and of the cereals is not in the slightest degree affected by our financial legislation or the financial legislation of other countries; that it has but kept pace with the lessening price of transportation, with the lessened cost of production, owing to new inventions and improvements; in other words, that the present low price of cotton and grain is due to the advance which the country has made in civilization. He said that nobody would like to go back to the prices of 1873, and stated, in substance, that the farmer, the cotton-raiser, is to-day in as good a condition as he ought to be.

The State where I live almost adjoins the great and splendid State of Texas. Does not the Senator from Texas believe that some voice before this debate is closed ought to be raised in the Senate on behalf of that great and growing and glorious country, on behalf of a State ninety per cent. of whose people, unless I am grossly misinformed, believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver? If the junior Senator from Texas represents that that people are as prosperous as they ought to be, does he not think that some Senator advised as to the fact should have an opportunity of either correcting him or correcting the misapprehension under which his constituents labor?

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. Daniel] the other day made a great and a masterly speech. In the minds of many of us it is unanswerable. If the public press is correctly quoted his colleague has joined the army of the Administration and is upon the other side. Does not the Senator from Indiana intend that the colleague of the Senator from Virginia shall have an opportunity to tell the country in the Senate Chamber of the fallacies and mistakes of his colleague? Does he intend to send the junior Senator from Virginia back to the Old Dominion with the eloquent words of the senior Senator still fresh in the memory of its people without answering the mistakes and the errors of his arguments?

There are many Senators yet to speak, and the Senate, I

fancy, cloture or no cloture, will have an opportunity of hearing them during the next few days.

The Senator from Indiana the other day referred at length to the Force Bill. For the first time since I had the honor of voting upon that measure I make direct reference to it. The Senator from Indiana stated that the bill was not talked to death; that it was voted to death. That is true; but does the Senator from Indiana for a moment believe, and did he believe when that measure was introduced, that there was a majority of Senators in this Chamber opposed to the measure? Does the Senator not know that the long debate and exhaustive arguments and splendid presentations of the facts and the time for reflection were what caused the changes in the vote on that measure? Does the Senator believe that if that bill had been put on its passage on the day it was introduced it would have failed of passage? I know the Senator from Indiana will not so state.

He tells us that that bill was before the Senate for fifty days; that thirty-one of them were consumed in debate, and then the bill was voted to death. True, Mr. President, and no more encouraging statement could be made for the friends of silver. If, at the end of thirty-one days, where their honor only, as they thought, and the honor of a great section were involved, a majority of the Senate voted against the Force Bill, we have every reason to believe that where the pockets of the people are affected, while the time may be longer, there will be a majority of the Senate yet found at the end of this debate who will vote for the right, in spite of the influence of the monetary institutions which seem to dominate and control national legislation at this time.

Since we are upon the subject of the election laws, there is another reason I might suggest why there is no need for haste. It is given us day after day by the great metropolitan paper in New York which assumes to lead the Republican party, and which, until recently, has been denominating us as "mining-camp Senators and enemies of the public welfare." We are told that in another Chamber there is a bill pending against the passage of which in that Chamber it is the duty of every public-spirited citizen to interpose every parliamentary obstacle and advice which are known. It is urged upon Republican members of the House of Representatives, as the highest duty they owe to the country, that they filibuster, that they interpose every possible objection which the rules of procedure will permit to prevent the passage of such a law.

There is a similar bill pending in this Chamber, and it will be instructive to note how methods which are denominated by the Eastern press vicious as to one measure will become laudable when applied to another. It will be an edifying spectacle, which this Chamber has not witnessed since I have been a member of the body, to find the Senators on this side of the Chamber in complete and harmonious accord, one contingent fighting by every parliamentary device against the passage of an election law, and the rest of us indifferent as to that measure in comparison with the great measure before us, endeavoring to prevent, so far as we can, the passage of a bill which must impoverish and ruin a great section of the country.

There is another reason, Mr. President, why some delay might be accorded. There are three seats in this Senate which the law contemplates shall be filled, which are now empty. The governors of three great States presented the names of three Senators for seats upon this floor, and they were rejected. Suppose on some great tariff measure three seats from New England were not filled; suppose, in the debate on the Election Bill, with a close and a doubtful Senate, there had been three Southern States which were but half represented, does any sane man believe that there would have been a vote upon either of those measures until the States had filled their seats and this Senate was full?

Those Senators were rejected after a full discussion. The vote was complicated and mixed. Some friends of silver voted against them, although it was known that they came from States whose very lives depended upon the establishment and the maintenance of silver coinage. Some Senators opposed to silver voted for them; and no more magnificent fight on behalf of a constitutional question was ever made than was made by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] in endeavoring to seat Mr. Mantle, of Montana. Some Democrats voted for seating; some Democrats voted against it.

But, Mr. President, there was a most significant and unusual change of vote. There was one change upon this side of the Chamber, when the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Peffer], in a manly and honorable and straightforward fashion, told the Senate that while he did not believe Mr. Mantle was entitled to his seat, the safety and the welfare of the public were threatened and that he thought it was better that a State should be represented by two Senators, one of whom might have a doubtful title, than that the interests of that State should be unrepresented and unprotected.

No explanation has been made of the other changes which were against the seating of the Senators. But, while no man can say, and no man desires to say, that any Senator was influenced by other than his own conscience in votes that he cast, yet it is pitiful, Mr. President, that, at a time when the silver question was uppermost, three Senators whose voices would have been lifted in favor of silver, and whose votes would have been accorded and cast in its interest, were driven out of their seats in the Senate, and there is nobody to take their places.

Every Senator, I say, voted according to his conscience, and yet such was the environment and such were the circumstances that I have no doubt if those Senators had been Democrats, or if they had been opposed to silver, there might have been at least considerable further discussion before their seats were denied them and they were denied places in this body. And we may well postpone final action on this bill until the Legislatures of these three States have met and elected their Senators and this Chamber has its full membership.

Instead of proceeding prematurely to vote upon this question, instead of being catechised, as we are by the Senator from Indiana properly enough, day after day, to know when we shall be ready to vote, I suggest that this is a proper time to ask the Senator from Indiana and his associates, who are pressing this Administration bill for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act, why it is that they will not at this time accept some measure which recognizes silver as a standard of value?

One after another they rise in their places and announce their undying friendship for silver. If they still cherish it, why will they not at this time, attached to the pending bill, give us a measure which recognizes the principle which they say should be paramount, a principle of which they approve? Why do they imperil the measure? Why do they leave a great section of this country in impoverishment for a long period of time until the measure can become a law? If there is haste to dispose of the Sherman Act, it will not take twenty-four hours to do so if Senators on the other side will carry out the convictions they say they cherish, give us a free-coinage amendment, and then repeal the Sherman Act. If they are such friends of silver why is it that they desire to subject a free-coinage measure to the possibilities of a veto by the President of the United States?

It is idle, Mr. President, to talk of the action that is to

follow the repeal; it is futile and foolish to talk about forcing Great Britain to an international agreement. If Mr. Gladstone is correctly reported, the sentiment which fell from his lips in Parliament the other day was the most brutal which has emanated from any statesman in any civilized country for centuries. He said in substance that England, being a creditor nation, desired the dearer metal; and, Mr. President, if the sentiments of Mr. Gladstone so expressed are, as the vote showed them to be, the opinions of the majority of the English House of Commons, how is our repeal of the Sherman Act to force England to free coinage? They will welcome any step which we may take which will lock up gold and make it dearer, and make the currency of the country scarcer.

Already, Mr. President, English opinion is asserting itself. The *London Times* and the other great English organs, instead of being apprehensive lest we may discard silver, are applauding the course of the United States. I recently received a copy of the *London Saturday Review*, which said that the day of silver had gone, and the only use left for it in the United States was to make silver balusters for the stairways of our public buildings and silver spittoons for our tobacco-chewing Senators.

Before taking this irrevocable step, it is surely not unreasonable to ask that there should be given ample time for discussion and for digestion. The full hours of this Senate, as the sessions are at present held, certainly give us enough pabulum for thought, without increasing the hours to an unreasonable time.

The discussion is bearing its fruit. There is no Senator in this Chamber, I venture to say, who is not receiving letter after letter protesting against the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act. I can only state my conviction, but I state it as my solemn and serious conviction, that if the question of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Act were submitted to the people of the United States, a great majority of them would vote against it. What effect the discussions which we are having may have in this Chamber it is impossible for me to state.

The Senator from New York [Mr Hill] the other day interrupted my colleague [Mr. Teller] in the course of his remarks to ask him if he were not absolutely certain that there was a majority of the Senate in favor of unconditional repeal. If the Senator from New York has a tally of the Senate, I should be very glad if he would produce it and give us the benefit of it. I had always understood that the Senate of the United States was not a political machine, whose votes were handled, antici-

pated, and counted. I had supposed that we were a body of intelligent men, who listened to debate, and when the time came for us to cast our ballot, cast it according to our conscience. I had not supposed that the vote was already compiled and tabulated.

It may be true, Mr. President, that the majority of this body favors repeal, but if it be true, I suggest to the majority of the Senate the wisdom of the old proverb, "Give losers leave to talk and winners to laugh." If the bill reported by the Committee on Finance shall pass there is not a banker or money-lender in all Christendom who will not laugh and rejoice. If the bill is to pass, these are the last days in which we can entreat you not to destroy the final hope of bimetallism by closing our doors against silver. We believe we foresee great disaster to the whole country if the measure shall pass. We know that it means suffering and impoverishment and ruin to a great section of our common country. If you are certain of your majority, you can at least afford us the poor privilege of entering our solemn protest against your action, and of giving the reasons which we yet hope, perhaps hope even against hope, may lead you to hesitate before you register your final vote.

I say to the chairman of the Committee on Finance and to those who claim a majority in favor of immediate repeal, that if you have a majority and if you will not give us this privilege and this right, we shall take it, and, with the taking, we shall have a full realization of the criticisms and denunciations which will be showered upon us by the Eastern press.

The public opinion which is invoked in this cause is a bastard public opinion; it is a public opinion of the bankers, who rightfully enough want their money as dear as possible; it is a public opinion which the banks have forced upon the small dealers who are accustomed to get credit at the bank, and who, when they now ask for it or seek to have their notes renewed, are told they cannot be accommodated so long as the Sherman Act remains upon the statute books; it is a public opinion created by men who "grind the faces of the poor"; and against such a public opinion I am rejoiced to stand.

So far as I am personally concerned, Mr. President, I believe that the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act would bring untold suffering upon our country. If I were to consult my own judgment alone, I should be inclined to let the blow come at once and have it over; but if

my associates with kindred views, some of whom have grown old in the service of their country, and who have in their long legislative career known no change or shadow of turning in their views, at the beck of an Administration or otherwise, shall deem it best that we contest this measure inch by inch, I shall cheerfully and cordially join with them in meeting any test of endurance which the majority may see fit to impose upon us.

Within reasonable and proper hours this measure can be discussed until the time for a vote. Any attempt to impose cruel and unusual conditions will be met by every obstacle which the rules permit us, of which we shall continue to avail ourselves until you, who control the Senate, shall change your rules, as you have the right to do, so as to prevent us from, with propriety, availing ourselves of them.

Mr. President, this measure is taking its due course, and I suggest to the Senators claiming to be in majority that *festina lente* is a proper motto for them to ponder and to follow.

THE ATTITUDE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND TOWARD SILVER

The Senate, October 9, 1893, having under consideration the resolution submitted by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Wolcott], as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate Committee on Finance be directed to report a bill for the coinage of gold and silver, in accordance with the policy set forth in the bill reported by the committee August 28, 1893, being H. R. 1"—

Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is now about seven weeks since the Finance Committee by a vote of 6 to 5 reported the bill under consideration, with its remarkable manifesto which reads as follows:

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguard of legislation as will insure the maintenance of the parity in value of

the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in the payment of debts. And it is hereby further declared that the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetallism as will maintain at all times the equal power of every dollar coined or issued by the United States, in the markets and in the payment of debts."

Since that time there has been much discussion of the financial question of an interesting and instructive character. Senators have differed widely as to the causes of the existing monetary troubles, and as to the remedy that will cure them, but on one point there is perfect accord. We are all friends of silver; the only distinction seems to be that some of us are bimetallists and the rest of the Chamber are "by-and-by" metallists.

The pressure of existing conditions has led to many changes from former avowals and to the abandonment of life-long principles; but these have everywhere been accompanied by professions that present repeal would be attended or followed by immediate and affirmative legislation in behalf of silver. These assurances have been made undoubtedly in the utmost good faith, and they have uniformly been followed by the assertion that our financial policy need not, and should not, depend upon that of Great Britain or other foreign countries, and by the guaranty that the President of the United States stood upon the platform of his party, and favored the use of silver as the standard of value.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. Voorhees], in his able and comprehensive speech on the 22d of August, which opened this discussion, said:

"Beginning with the first speech I made in this body, and down to the present hour, I can recall no vote or word on the subject of coinage and the circulation of silver which I would now change or blot from the record if I could. And now in this, the darkest day ever known for silver amongst civilized people since Abraham, the Hebrew prince, paid 400 shekels 'current money with the merchant' for a resting-place for the beloved Sara, I avow my unshaken faith that it will remain forever one of the world's great and potential factors of finance, commerce, traffic, and daily business transactions.

"It will neither be demonetized nor driven away from the habitations of the laboring masses of mankind. It has come down to us from immemorial ages, and it will continue to exist as one of the precious metals, upholding the credit of nations

and bringing blessings to the sons and daughters of toil when the scenes through which we are now passing have grown dim in the light and progress of distant centuries. I shall vote to repeal the Sherman Act as I would remove a dead fly from a box of sweet ointment, as I would abate a nuisance, and wipe out an obstruction to rational, wholesome legislation. It taints and vitiates our entire financial system, and destroys confidence in all business transactions every hour it remains a part of our laws. Often the question has been asked whether a vote should be given for its unconditional repeal, or whether, before it goes, something in the way of a substitute must be agreed upon to take its place.

"Sir, I would at once eradicate this confessed evil, this universally condemned enactment, from the body of our laws, with no other condition than my right and free agency to support and to secure in connection with its repeal—or afterward by an independent measure, as the success of its immediate repeal, the primary duty of the hour, may at the time dictate—a sound financial system, embracing the coinage of silver on an equality with gold. In making this statement I only repeat the declaration of the Democratic party in national convention at Chicago in June, 1892, and on which the American people restored to the Presidency one of the strongest, ablest, purest, and most patriotic characters ever known in American history."

Then, after analyzing Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance, he added:

"Where in the annals of financial legislation can be found a wiser, a stronger, a more comprehensive monetary system, or one more richly freighted with blessings to the laboring masses of mankind, than is here so briefly and so powerfully depicted? Who dares in the face of the clear and explicit words which I have just read to charge that their author is a monometallist in disguise, a believer in the use of gold and gold alone, but wearing, for the sake of an election to the Presidency, a bimetallic mask?

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"If I am reminded that he did not repeat his letter of acceptance in his recent message, recommending the repeal of the Sherman Act, my answer is, that while such a reassertion of his well-known views would have gratified many worthy and well-meaning people, yet it was not necessary on his part in order to retain the confidence of the people that he was in favor of the coinage and use of both gold and silver on terms which would insure a parity in their values. He has never recalled, retracted, or explained away a single word of his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency. His assurances in that letter are to-day alive and in force, and as binding this hour as they were when first given to the world; and I

hereby declare that I am willing to stand or fall by my faith in the truth and honor of Grover Cleveland and in his well-known fidelity to pledges when once they are made.

"Sir, I also invoke in this connection the honored name of the Secretary of the Treasury. John G. Carlisle is the peer in intellect and spotless integrity of any of the illustrious statesmen who have held the folio of finance since the Treasury Department was created, including Alexander Hamilton, its first Secretary. I make no mistake in placing him as a bimetallist, concurring fully with the President in support of a bimetallic system of coinage.

"As a Democrat, as an American citizen, as a man loving and believing in justice, fair play, and common-sense, I appeal to those around me, and to the great body of the people, to know whom we can trust, whom we can believe, if we are to turn our backs, at such a time as this, on such men as Grover Cleveland and John G. Carlisle?

"Sir, the terms, conditions, and ratios fixing the intrinsic or interchangeable value of these two metals have always from the earliest ages been matters of detail, and will so continue; but the great, paramount fact has been declared and established in the most solemn and overwhelming manner by the voice and votes of the American people within the last year that silver shall not be demonetized, that one half the specie basis of the world shall not be destroyed, that the volume of paper money now in circulation for the payment of labor and the products of labor shall not be contracted, with their consent, to the basis of monometallism, and to the standard and the existence of gold alone. It is not my purpose at this time to discuss the details of coinage, or the number of grains of each of the precious metals which should go into the different coins of silver and gold.

"Let it be distinctly understood, however, not only by the American people of every class, calling, and condition, but also by the people of every nation with whom we have commercial relations, that a fair and honest ratio will be established and maintained by the American Congress, and that neither the one nor the other of the two metals will be dismissed from the public service. We will omit no honorable effort to induce foreign governments to unite with us in achieving, by international agreement, this great and gigantic blessing for the human race; but let it be distinctly understood now and for all time to come that the laboring, debt-paying masses of this country, constituting nine tenths of the people, will never, under any circumstances, consent to double the debts of debtors and double the claims of creditors by destroying one half the money authorized by the Constitution with which debts may rightfully be paid.

"It is well also to remember that the American Republic is a Government of the people, whatever may be true of other nations, and that here on American soil no system of public policy can stand, or ought to stand, which does not rest on the consent of the governed. Nor will I hesitate to say to those

who are now urging the adoption of monometallism, with gold alone as a standard, and a specie basis for all our currency, to the exclusion and extinction of silver money, that by virtue of their great powers of self-government the people at the very earliest opportunity will tear down and utterly annihilate such an oppressive and destructive system of finance, should it ever be established.

. . . . . .

"In fact, no disturbance in business circles or in the channels of trade, in connection with silver, ever took place in this country until after the stealthy and treacherous attempt to stab it to death in 1873.

"While silver has been honorably coined on proper terms, while it has been treated with dignity and respect as money and not discriminated against and dishonored as an ordinary product, a commodity to be hawked in the markets, it has never failed to do its duty, and to stand the peer, at all times and under all circumstances, of gold. I appeal on this subject with great respect, and with full confidence in the ultimate result, to the silver-producing States themselves. The very able and distinguished Senators from those States need no assurance of my warm personal regard, nor of my keen and anxious desire for the welfare of their constituencies.

"May I not, therefore, submit to them, without offence, that the safety, the stability, the honor, and the very existence of a true silver currency in this country require the fair and legitimate coinage of silver rather than its sale as bullion? Must we not, at once and without delay, get back of all makeshifts, subterfuges, and insincere compromises, and place ourselves, after the financial deck has been cleared, on the plain constitutional right to coin gold and silver into money? Why should any friend of silver money from the Pacific, or from any of the States, vote to retain the Sherman Act a day longer as a law?

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"Sir, I do not believe for a moment in placing this country on a silver basis any more than on a gold basis. I have never advocated such a policy. The two metals together on a parity and in harmony with each other must constitute the broad and ample specie basis required by the vast and progressive character of American trade and industry. Nor have I the slightest faith in the pretence that our silver coin or our silver certificates have been driving our gold to foreign shores, where our creditors are said to be sitting in fear and trembling lest the silver itself should come, or something worse.

. . . . . .

"The Government proceeded in orderly and constitutional methods to coin $24,000,000 per annum of silver money for the use and benefit of the American people, and continued to do so for the next twelve years, during which time the increase—not the decrease, but the increase—of gold in the United States

was at the rate of about forty millions a year. At the date of the passage of the Bland–Allison Act the estimate of gold money in this country was $230,000,000, and when coinage ceased under that act the estimate was more than $700,000,000. And such was the fulfilment of the prophecies of 1878, and yet I am now expected to believe that the fair and legitimate coinage of silver, its free coinage upon a properly ascertained and determined ratio, will banish all our gold and put us on a single silver basis.

"I must be pardoned for believing nothing of the kind. The shipments of gold which have taken place from this country in the last four or five months must be accounted for, to my mind, in a different way. They were a part of the same plan which attempted to sack the Treasury of its gold reserve fund, to create distrust, fear, agitation, panic, and a withdrawal, as far as possible, of all money in circulation; and all this to be accompanied by a concerted outcry from terror-stricken business circles, and from the whole national banking system that nothing can restore public confidence and save the public credit except the issuance of at least three hundred millions of interest-bearing Government bonds."

And the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Lindsay] only a fortnight ago said:

"An international agreement is most desirable, but by no means indispensable, and, for one, I shall never consent that the action or non-action of foreign countries shall determine for us our policy as to questions so vitally affecting our domestic trade as are the questions of standard money and the volume of our circulating medium.

"The President has nowhere said that the future coinage of silver shall depend upon international agreement."

The junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Gordon] in his speech favoring repeal said also:

"If the friends of bimetallism (and this Chamber does not contain one more consistent, ardent, and sincere than myself), if the friends of bimetallism are strong enough to impose conditions upon the repealing bill, will not that same strength suffice to enact bimetallism in a separate bill?

. . . . . .

"There are two methods for executing this criminal. One is by immediate, the other by a lingering death. One is proposed by the Finance Committee, or a majority of it, the other by a minority. To drop the figure, the majority of the committee reports a bill for immediate repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law with bimetallism to follow.

"The amendment proposes bimetallism and repeal simulta-

neously. It is not necessary for me to say, I trust, that I would unhesitatingly support and vastly prefer this amendment, if prompt and favorable action upon it by both Houses of Congress were practicable or possible.

. . . . . .

"But we are told that unconditional repeal leaves this country in the relentless clutch of monometallism. Mr. President, if that were true, we might well stand appalled before so fatal a step. If I believed that to be true, I should turn my back upon the majority bill as being inimical to the highest interests of this country. And if unconditional repeal is passed and Congress should seek to take advantage of the situation in order to establish monometallism as the permanent policy of this Government, it would arouse from sea to sea the indignant people of this Union as they have never been except by the patriotic frenzy of the sixties.

"No, Mr. President, repeal does not mean monometallism for this country. Monometallism can never find a resting-place in the American Union. However gorgeous its plumage or dulcet its notes to English eyes and tears, our people recognize it as the insatiate vulture which has fattened upon the labor of European peasantry and would drive its bloody beak into the very vitals of American hope and progress.

. . . . . .

"Mr. President, I will consume the time of the Senate in answering but one other objection. That objection is serious. It furnishes a substantial and, I think, by far the most forceful argument against bimetallism, as we understand bimetallism. That argument is that we cannot maintain parity in this country without the co-operation of other nations.

"It is undoubtedly true that the problem would be vastly simplified if other leading powers would concur in the movement; but there are two factors in this problem which have not, I think, been fairly considered by those who disbelieve in the ability of the United States to carry bimetallism upon its own shoulders.

. . . . . .

"But, Mr. President, what is the use of making comparisons between this nation and any other?

"We have exceptional advantages in dealing with this problem in almost every direction. We can utilize profitably and intelligently a larger amount of currency, man for man, than any other people, because of our vast territory still undeveloped, with resources still more boundless. In the march of nations our place is at the head of the column. By inheritance, by geographical position, by the character of our people, we are set apart for leadership. My friend, the Senator from Indiana, said a few days ago that, in the wisdom of Providence, it was reserved for this people to discover and unlock the hidden wealth

of our Pacific slopes and Western mountains. He might have added, and to pour their fructifying and enriching currents into the world's commerce.

. . . . . .

"Mr. President, the day will come—has it not already come?—when it will be our duty to lead in broader financial policies. Suppose this country now follows Europe in its contracted gold policy. It requires no gift of prophecy to foretell the results. With this nation and all the other nations bidding and scrambling for gold, that metal must necessarily appreciate until the products of labor will lose half their value, while debts will be doubled. Sir, some power must be found which can resist the march of this remorseless policy—remorseless in its results—however differently intended by able and honest advocates. I am not here, sir, to impugn the motives or assail the judgment of those who differ with me on this issue of such transcendent moment to the American people. I no more doubt the sincerity of our great cities than I doubt the honest, sturdy yeomanry of the country."

There has been from the outset a general consensus of statement by the Senators whom I have quoted, and by others who have spoken in favor of repeal, to the effect that they were in favor of the continued coinage of silver; that it should no longer be treated as a commodity, but should resume its place as a standard of value; that because silver was now dealt with as a commodity the Sherman Law should be repealed, but that its repeal was only sought in order that we might place upon our statute books some measure that should restore silver to its former pedestal, and insure its perpetual use; that we ought not to act as a stool-pigeon for Europe, but should assert our financial independence. And all these statements were based upon the firm belief and accompanied by the solemn assurance that the President was in hearty accord with these views.

These assurances were entitled to respect, and they received it. They would undoubtedly have been accepted unreservedly had there not existed in this Chamber an underlying fear that the President of the United States was opposed to bimetallism, and would not approve any independent measure requiring the continued acquirement and use of silver. If this suspicion had not existed, there would have been a frank acceptance of the situation, and in the belief that a fair and adequate measure recognizing silver as a standard of value would speedily pass Congress and become a law, there would have been practically no opposition to the unconditional repeal of the existing act.

Within the last few days, Mr. President, our worst apprehensions as to the position of the Executive have been realized. The open letter, bearing date September 27th, which the President addressed to the whole country, through Governor Northen of Georgia, is one of the most remarkable pronunciamentos of this generation.

The conspicuous phrase it contains, having direct reference to this body, is beside the question under discussion, and I do not care to dwell upon it. The President of the United States, while Congress is in extraordinary session, convoked by his proclamation, informs the country that he is "astonished by the opposition of the Senate" to the measure he has advocated by his message. Such an utterance is intrusive and offensive, and is unfitting the relation which should exist between the executive and the legislative departments. It would not be tolerated in any civilized country of Europe, empire, or kingdom, where legislatures or parliaments exist; and whatever may be our attitude respecting the great question which we are considering, it merits the protest and rebuke of men who value the perpetuity of republican institutions.

But I do not care to dwell upon this, or upon the extraordinary activity of the Administration in its efforts to force individual views on Congress.

In my own State there is a large and respectable body of Democrats who are unrepresented in either Chamber of Congress; the wishes and requests they have made have been often repudiated and ignored, and the offices of that State are being largely parcelled out to Congressmen living thousands of miles from Colorado, who were never within the borders of the State, but whose vote in Congress coincided with the financial policy of the Administration.

Equally unimportant to the question under immediate consideration is the successful attempt of the Secretary of the Treasury to avoid the effect of existing law in the monthly purchases of silver. It is serious enough, but we are powerless, and we know that the zeal of the pervert is proverbial, and that the Secretary of the Treasury is but the automatic register of the wishes of the Executive.

What I do desire to call to the attention of the Senate is that portion of the letter of the President which refers to his policy and views respecting silver.

Without evasion or hesitancy the President of the United States declares that the future of bimetallism must rely upon

international agreement, and that in the absence of such agreement he is opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, no matter what may be the ratio.

There is no escape from the manifest meaning of this language, or from what must follow unconditional repeal. It means that, for the remainder of his term at least, silver is to have no place as a standard of value; that it is to be discredited, abandoned, outlawed.

The people of this country, the largest producer of the precious metals, who believe in the double standard are referred to Great Britain for legislation and for relief.

International agreement is a chimera, a myth. Two members of the late conference are in this body. They will not hesitate to tell us that there is no hope for it at this time. Without Great Britain's assent it is impossible. Why should she consent? Her policy is plain, her interests are evident. Her position is well stated by one of the leading witnesses before the late royal gold and silver commission, Mr. Watney, as follows:

"9504. (Question by Mr. Montagu.) Why should a bimetallic convention, say, at 20 to 1, break down, if all the important nations joined in it?

"Answer. I should have to suppose that everybody is wise to suppose that it would remain. I cannot suppose that everybody is wise. Just think of the folly of the United States when they were a debtor nation in adopting a gold coinage. They knew nothing about currency matters; they did not know that it was going to increase their debt enormously. . . .

"9514. Question. You advise foreign countries to adopt silver currency while we keep out of it. Do you think that advice is likely to be followed?

"Answer. There again I have to make an estimate of the folly of mankind. I have said it would be to the interest of the United States to adopt that policy, and that therefore it would be foolish for them not to do so."

And in answer to another question he says:

"9518. . . . I hope you understood me to say just now, that a universal gold currency for every country in the world would be the greatest possible advantage to this country, because we are the greatest creditor nation in the world, and it would increase the world's debts to us enormously. This is an undoubted fact, though no one could properly, I may say honorably, recommend it as a policy."

This remarkable avowal is fitly supplemented by the recent

statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which is found in the *London Times* of the 7th ultimo, and which is significant in that it antedates but a few days the deliverance of the President:

"In the course of a letter to Mr. R. L. Everett, M. P.—who wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer criticising some references of his to the majority of eighty-one which, on February 28th, rejected Sir H. Meysey-Thompson's motion on the monetary question, and pointing out the way that majority was obtained and the small significance it really had—Sir William Harcourt says: 'The English Government are always ready to give "a fair, careful, and courteous consideration" to any proposals made to them on the responsibility of other States. But it is of the highest importance, in the interest both of this country and of other governments, that no doubt should be entertained as to our own position and intentions, and that we should not encourage expectations which we are not likely to fulfil. As you are well aware, her Majesty's Government entirely adhere to the declaration made in the resolution adopted by the House of Commons that "any interference with the single monetary standard now by law established in this country is open to the gravest objections." And it was, no doubt, on the same ground that the late Government declined to accept the original terms of reference proposed by the Government of the United States as the basis of the conference at Brussels.'"

It is to the tender mercies of such a nation that the welfare of our people is to be intrusted! To Great Britain! A country to which we are now indebted to the extent of over a thousand millions, for she carries that amount and more of our obligations. And we are to voluntarily put our heads in the noose, knowing that every dollar we owe her will have to be paid with dearer money than we received when we sold her our securities; a country which has been our only enemy since the Republic was founded; our greatest commercial rival in time of peace, from whose competition we have most to fear; whose every policy is hostile to our interests, and from which we never obtained any concession or fair treatment we did not fight for from the colony days until now.

This letter of the President of the United States changes the whole aspect of the situation. When the remarks which I have quoted were made, the position of the President was differently understood. Had it been known, the Senators who favored repeal must have taken different ground.

It is not yet too late. Surely the friends of silver who have

advocated repeal only as a stepping-stone to a fuller recognition of the metal will not follow the Executive further! This great crisis demands absolute frankness, and Senators can no longer "hold with the hare, and run with the hounds."

I appeal to the Senator from Indiana, who is, I know, at heart opposed to the abandonment of silver as a standard, who holds the key to the situation in his hand, and whose single word of approval would give us relief and save this nation from the cruel burden of monometallism, to stand with the people of his own country and his own flag and against the proposed surrender to English interests. The only hope for silver is by amending the present bill. There is no hope for an independent measure even if it shall pass Congress.

The interests of the whole people are to be vitally and, in our opinion, injuriously affected by the passage of the bill as it stands. More than that, a section of this Republic vastly larger than all of England and Scotland and Ireland, and which adds hundreds of millions annually to the wealth and revenues of the country, is to be doomed to black despair, in order that we may inaugurate gold monometallism in the United States at the bidding of the Executive.

The Senator from Illinois called upon us the other day to vote. Mr. President, no time is wasted that postpones the day when this measure must become the law. We are accustomed to praise our institutions, to congratulate ourselves on our form of government, and to dwell upon the glorious destiny of the Republic. If the bill before us shall become law, we abandon the hopes we have cherished and cast our fortunes with the nations of the Old World, where "poverty comes as one that travelleth, and want as an armed man."

Under the false plea that silver is the enemy and not the friend of our commerce and our prosperity, we are to see a noble industry destroyed, a great section made waste and desolate, and the rights of the people subverted. We are to be led into the valley of the shadow of death, with no rod and no staff to comfort us. The step when taken will be irrevocable. This Senate owes it to itself and to the country that it make no cowardly surrender of the sacred interests with which it is intrusted.

I trust that this resolution may be adopted.

THE SITUATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE REPEAL DEBATE

The Senate, October 28, 1893, as in Committee of the

Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," the pending question being on an amendment proposed by Mr. Perkins, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: Yesterday we voted upon that amendment to the bill which would give us free coinage. It was lost, a great majority of the Senate voting against it. All other amendments will meet a like fate. They are good only in that they are better than unconditional repeal, and it seems idle to go through the form of voting upon them. I am indifferent whether I vote upon them or not. Some of them have been introduced by Senators who intend voting for unconditional repeal, and their amendments may save for them something of the appearance of things. Nobody is really deceived, however, as to who are the friends of bimetallism. The course of debate and the vote of yesterday have given us the names, and these additional roll-calls but serve to emphasize the defeat which the cause of silver has suffered. We came here buoyed by hope and confident of final success. We have met overwhelming and disastrous defeat, and the reasons are not far to seek.

The fight for silver has failed because Democratic support and Republican encouragement have been withdrawn.

The true situation has never been understood by the public; it has never developed on this floor; it has never been exposed to the light.

There has been talk of cloture, and Senators across the Chamber have leaped into sudden reputation by advocating it; have posed as if they were each a Columbus discovering some new land, or an ingenious and adventurous spirit who had found a clew to the Senate maze; they are lauded by a metropolitan press as men who were to be saviours of their country, and unsavory criticism and bitter denunciation have changed and blended into acclamations and praise.

Why, Mr. President, even the newest Senator here must have understood perfectly that cloture as applicable to this measure was an impossibility; that it could find no foothold or abiding place in this Chamber. These arguments have been for the gallery, for a gullible public.

For my own part I should be delighted to see it enacted. We have from the first invited a vote upon its adoption. The ma-

jority will need it later. It will not be so ardently pressed by this side of the Chamber in the winter months when the repeal of the Election Law and Tariff Revision come up for passage. When that delectable time shall come the silver State Senators will no longer be the "goats." While we may not be able to emulate the subserviency recently displayed by this side toward the Administration, we shall hope to exhibit our earnest desire for progress in legislation by taking to heart the lesson which has been taught us, and by lending our presence at all hours for a quorum and a vote.

The open and avowed sentiment of the large majority of this body is against the introduction here of the previous question or of any other form of cloture. That majority believes that the privilege of free discussion is a safeguard which should not be removed, and that while delays may arise because of the right of unlimited debate, yet the sum of the gain it brings is infinitely greater than any inconvenience which may be occasioned. Nor does the dignity of the Senate suffer by this right of debate. This Senate loses its dignity, Mr. President, whenever it becomes the simple mouthpiece of the Executive will, and when it yields to influences which should have no share in shaping legislation.

No, Mr. President, it may as well be understood that the vaporings here and elsewhere about cloture have had no sort of influence on the result of this debate; and I state without fear of successful contradiction that nobody who has advocated it had the slightest idea that it would pass, even if there should have been no discussion respecting the proposed change in the rules.

Ever since this measure was first reported, the opposition to it has been based solely upon the belief that unconditional repeal, unaccompanied by affirmative legislation, would bring suffering and disaster to the whole country, and not upon the destruction of the welfare and prosperity of the silver States only, which would necessarily follow the passage of the bill. It was from the outset distinctly understood that if the support of friends on the other side of the Chamber should be withdrawn, while we felt that an irreparable wrong would be inflicted upon us by unconditional repeal, we should nevertheless cease to oppose the vote. The time has come when we are left alone. Party exigency and other controlling motives have led to an acquiescence by the other side in the inevitable result. There is not the slightest criticism to be offered to such a con-

clusion. For two months we have fought together for the maintenance of the double standard, and we have lost.

Some of the criticism to which we have been subjected by Democratic Senators is misplaced. We have been told by some of them that our course has been obstructive and revolutionary. This sounds droll to those of us who witnessed the contest over the Force Bill. Senators who are vaguely understood now to favor cloture, and who have denounced us, filed out solemnly, again and again, into the cloak-rooms, or ensconced themselves in committee-rooms to avoid aiding to make a quorum. That struggle lasted as long as has this, and the organization of speakers and the machinery of contest were perfectly equipped and oiled. A Senator on the other side has spoken critically of the speech of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen] because it occupied fifteen hours. I remember one speech on the Force Bill, that of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Faulkner], which consumed twelve hours. The distinction between the two is slight, and the able address of the Senator from Nebraska will not suffer by comparison with any other, long or short, which has been uttered in this Senate.

I do not refer to these Force-Bill days by way of criticism, but only to emphasize the fact that fine distinctions breed nice differences, and to insist that in view of the few months that have passed since that somewhat memorable event, and the character of that contest, the utterances of some of the Southern Senators have been uncalled for and out of place. Most of them stood nobly by their Western brothers, but a few of them developed bitter hostility toward our section and our interests. We who are from States where silver is produced claim and have claimed no especial consideration growing out of the fate of that measure; but I confess we had expected that the struggle for very existence which we have made on this floor would bring us sympathy and not denunciation from representatives of a section which not long ago made an appeal on similar grounds, and did not make it in vain. I have not been many years in public life, Mr. President, but I have been here long enough to hear us denounced by certain Southern Senators as obstructionists, because we stood for the vital interests of our people, as well as for what we conceived to be for the interests of the whole country; long enough to hear it proposed that the doors of the Senate should be opened to expel a Senator who, in the exercise of his constitutional rights, sought by withholding his vote to postpone, if only for a day, the dire suffering

which must be inflicted upon his State by the passage of this bill.

One Senator attempted to hold up the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Peffer] to ridicule, and told us that those of us who stood for the double standard were following that Senator and the doctrines of his party. The Populist party hold tenets to which I cannot lend my approval, and many of its doctrines seem to me to be wild and visionary. I would infinitely rather stand, however, in the place of the Senator from Kansas than in that of the Senator who made him the target for his derision. The Senator from Kansas, at least, swears in the words of no master, "*nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.*" Nor has he felt called upon to recant the utterances of former years, or found it expedient to change front on this great question. And however much some of us may hereafter differ with the Senators who belong to the Populist party, the sincerity and courtesy and ability which they have displayed in this contest entitle them to the gratitude and esteem and respect of every man who believes that the prosperity of our country must rest upon the standard of silver as well as of gold.

The course and period of this debate, long as it has been, have been supported from its commencement by a majority of this Chamber. There has never been a moment when we have not been encouraged to continue by a clear preponderance in numbers of the members of this body. Democratic Senators have told us that they must vote against us, but that we must win in the end. Over here on this side we have been assured that threatened interference with the tariff was the real cause of existing troubles. For a time we were encouraged to act as a buffer to the threatened appearance of the bill to repeal the Election Law, and throughout there has been hope that we might succeed in order that while the struggle lasted the inability of the Democracy, the dominant party, to control the action of the Senate might be used to its discredit; and that should a settlement be forced odium might be cast upon the Democratic party for suffering or permitting it. Except, however, as we might be used as an instrument of party political success in the Eastern States, we have been, with the exception of the support of the courageous Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cameron], absolutely friendless on this side of the Chamber, and all talk of sympathy for our section has been a pretence and a sham.

When there is a national election we are coddled and considered; we are invariably given a beautiful plank in the party

platform, and in national conventions we are treated with consideration. At all other times, and on all other occasions, our interests are treated with contempt. When some question of the tariff arises we are urged to stand with the party which made labor free and seeks to ennoble it. When some mud bar at tide-water in Connecticut or Oregon or Delaware is to be removed, or some unknown estuary of the sea made navigable, we are urged to stand by the flag and an appropriation. When we hesitate about the exclusion of foreign-built ships from home protection and ownership appeals are made to our patriotism. But whenever the welfare of our own States is involved we are treated with contumely and disdain. Out of all the millions of annual appropriations no dollar blesses our great section, and now you are to deprive it of its chief industry because a contracted currency appeals to Eastern greed and meets British approval. We are not to be driven from the Republican party. We believe that we stand for its truest principles; but for one I am tired, heartily tired, of the policy which is being followed, of using us when we are needed and treating the reasonable and proper claims of our people with scorn and neglect.

The immediate contest, Mr. President, is practically ended, and the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act will be unconditionally repealed. The real struggle has only begun, however, and will not end until silver shall be rehabilitated as a money metal and a standard of value. Some of us may give place to others as the fight progresses, but whoever shall represent our States will stand ready to sacrifice everything that life holds dear in the battle for the interests of the people.

For Colorado these are grave days. I speak only for my own State. I am advised that an adjoining State, Wyoming, desires repeal. The Senator from Minnesota made proffer of its vote, and his authority has not been questioned. But I know my own people, and I know as no other member of this Senate except my colleague can know, the import and meaning to Colorado of the vote which shall be had upon this measure. We came into the Union of States in the centennial year, and in the galaxy of Commonwealths we are usually known as the Centennial State. We were fitted for statehood by population and resources. Our people came from all the States in the Union; they found a desert; they have made it a garden. They were encouraged to search for the precious metals, and they poured millions of gold and silver into your Treasury. They built cities, founded schools and colleges, erected

churches, and established happy and peaceful and contented homes.

The action you contemplate is as if you should take a vast and fertile area of Eastern land, destroy the structures upon it, and sow the ground with salt, that it might never again yield to the hand of the husbandman. These are indeed grave and sad days for us. Your action drives our miners from their homes in the mountains, and compels the abandonment of hamlets and of towns that but yesterday were prosperous and populous. We shall turn our hands to new pursuits and seek other means of livelihood. We shall not eat the bread of idleness, and under the shadow of our eternal hills we breed only good citizens. The wrong, however, which you are inflicting upon us is cruel and unworthy, and the memory of it will return to vex you. Out of the misery of it all, our representatives in this Senate will be always glad to remember that they did their duty as God gave them the vision to see it.

AFTER REPEAL

COINAGE OF SILVER SEIGNIORAGE

THE Senate, March 12, 1894, having under consideration a bill (H. R. 4956) directing the coinage of the silver bullion held in the Treasury, and for other purposes, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It would personally be very gratifying to me if some arrangement could have been made whereby the amendments which the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Allison] has suggested might have been presented to the Senate for consideration. I have not charge of the bill; I have not shared in the responsibility of the charge of the bill. I should have been glad to have seen those amendments discussed and voted on; and yet, Mr. President, it is likewise true that the friends of this measure, if there be a majority in favor of it, have a right to see it pass. It is true that every attempt to secure unanimous consent that amendments should be offered and the vote taken within a certain specified time have failed of unanimous agreement; and failing in that agreement, it is, in my opinion, infinitely better that the bill should be voted upon as it stands.

I can bear witness, Mr. President, that every step concerning the passage of this bill was taken with order and with deliberation. The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Faulkner], in the chair, paused and answered inquiries as to the parliamentary situation, giving opportunity at every step in the progress of this measure to the stage which it has now reached for those opposed to it to have presented their objections, and there were numbers of Senators on the floor of the Senate opposed to the passage of the bill, as it appears now, who sat mutely still and made no protest against the announcements which were made.

There is another reason why it may be well that this bill

should stand at the stage which it has now reached, and that is that we may have an illustration of the truth that candor and sincerity and frankness are as important in matters of public legislation as they are in matters of private conduct.

When this bill came over from the House of Representatives, those having it in charge presented it to this body under the idea and the belief that it would be duly sent to the proper committee, deliberated upon, and, if approved, returned here for passage. There was no concealment of the fact that the enemies of silver and the enemies of this bill intended to use it as a buffer, as an obstacle, as a football, as an impediment to prevent the consideration in this Chamber of the great tariff bill, which has been recently referred to the Finance Committee. It is no secret that there was practically an understanding that this bill should be kept before the Senate, that it might oppose and resist any attempt to reach a consideration of the tariff bill.

When the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman], who it seems was perhaps not wedded to such a course, saw fit to move its reference to the Finance Committee, when the objections now raised by the Senator from Iowa and the objections raised by other Senators could have been made, he received only seven votes in support of his motion, four of which came from the other side of the Chamber; and the Senators on this side, now so extremely anxious that this bill should be modified and amended, that its grammar should be accurate and its purpose undoubted, that it should be so framed as to pass the scrutiny of scholars and of courts, voted against sending it to the committee, whose duty it would have been to put it into shape.

In view of these facts, I do not think it a mistake that this bill shall stand as it is, to serve as an example and as a warning.

The bill itself has no particular value to those who adhere to the doctrine of bimetallism. The bill is crude, is roughly drawn, is extremely ungrammatical, is very clouded, is open to scores of objections—objections which I believe I can show would all be brushed away if a judicial decision were called for or if a Secretary of the Treasury were called upon to pass upon the bill.

The bill is not what it should be; but, Mr. President, it serves one purpose, and only one so far as the friends of silver are concerned, and that is, it coins into money a great mass of bullion now in our Treasury. We have heard for years from the other side of the water talk from France and from England

and from Germany that the great mass of bullion now in the Treasury of the United States was a menace to bimetallism in Europe, because the United States might dump it upon the world. The coinage of the silver proposed by this bill prevents that. It is good money; it is better money than most, for it has back of it the credit of the Government and the silver bullion; it is money which it is better for the people of this country should be issued than that we should borrow money and pay interest upon it. It is a better policy that we should take that which belongs to us in the Treasury, make it into money, and pay it out to meet our deficit, than that we should borrow money, with or without authority of law, and bind the people of the United States to pay interest upon the sum so borrowed; and, although it is a thankless task for us to deliver to an unwilling Administration $55,000,000 to meet a needed deficit, it is, in my opinion, infinitely better that it take its money in this way, than that the Secretary of the Treasury shall continue to issue more bonds to meet debts which he will soon be called upon to pay.

The bill itself, as I say, is crude and imperfect, and yet, Mr. President, in friendly hands it is not difficult to construe. It makes a vast difference whether you look at a measure of this kind with the idea that you wish to defeat it, or with the understanding and idea that you wish to comprehend it.

The Senator from Iowa said he would state without fear of contradiction that the first section of the bill authorizes the issue of $110,000,000 as seigniorage. In my humble opinion the section means nothing of the kind, and cannot be construed or tortured into such a meaning. It says:

"The sum of $55,156,681 and such coin or the silver certificates issued thereon shall be used in the payment of public expenditures, and the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, if the needs of the Treasury demand it, issue silver certificates in excess of such coinage: *Provided*, That said excess shall not exceed the amount of the seigniorage as herein authorized to be coined."

The clear and palpable meaning of the words "in excess" is "in anticipation of; in excess of the coinage; in advance of." Nor does it require a forced construction of the word "exceed" to find that meaning. It is derived from "*ex*" and "*cedo*," "to go out; to go before; to go beyond; to transcend." The anticipation may authorize the issue, but the proviso that the coinage

shall be limited to the amount of $55,000,000, in my opinion, is as clear a limitation upon the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the amount of the seigniorage as the English language could afford. While we might change the words "in excess" to "in advance of" or "in anticipation of," the words stand clearly defined, and limit the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury.

MR. HOAR. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

MR. WOLCOTT. With pleasure.

MR. HOAR. Suppose in the fourteenth line where it now reads, "issue silver certificates in excess of such coinage," the word "not" should be inserted, so that it would read, "issue silver certificates not in excess of such coinage," would it make any difference in the Senator's opinion in the meaning of the bill?

MR. WOLCOTT. Oh, yes.

MR. HOAR. I understand the Senator's argument to be that it would not.

MR. WOLCOTT. Then, the Senator misunderstands my argument entirely.

MR. HOAR. If I understand the Senator, the whole bill means anticipation of such coinage, but not to be in excess of it. So that the word "not" inserted in that line would make the bill mean exactly what the Senator says it means now.

MR. WOLCOTT. If we should put "in anticipation of but not in excess of," it would be clear. I am not responsible for the failure of the Senator from Massachusetts to comprehend this bill. I hope he does not consider that I am responsible for his failure to comprehend its meaning.

Mr. President, passing to the second section of the bill, we find that it provides:

"After the coinage provided for in the first section of this act, the remainder of the silver bullion purchased in pursuance of said act of July 14, 1890, shall be coined into legal-tender standard silver dollars as fast as possible, and the coin shall be held in the Treasury for the redemption of the Treasury notes issued in the purchase of said bullion. That as fast as the bullion shall be coined for the redemption of said notes, the notes shall not be reissued, but shall be cancelled and destroyed in amounts equal to the coin held at any time in the Treasury, derived from the coinage herein provided for, and silver certificates shall be issued on such coin in the manner now provided by law."

This bill may bear the construction that as to Treasury notes redeemed in silver those Treasury notes shall be cancelled and silver certificates issued in lieu thereof. It may not bear that construction; but it occurs to me, Mr. President, that even if the bill means the other, if it means that all Treasury notes of the United States returned under the Sherman Act shall be cancelled and silver certificates issued in their place, that issue is one which the enemies of silver and the opponents of the pending bill might well welcome.

There has been constant complaint that silver was bearing too much of the burden of our currency. If, then, you can lift $150,000,000 of Treasury notes, which your insufficient supply of gold has had to stand sponsor for, and make silver alone its backer, is the country not the gainer? Are your Treasury notes not then rendered more valuable? Is not your gold monometallism made more stable? Is not your supply of money redeemable in gold, backed by a greater proportionate security?

There is talk about the inferiority of the silver certificate. It has no inferiority in fact. The whole world over the silver certificate is exchangeable for as many sovereigns, or as much gold, or as much gold exchange as a gold dollar, or a Treasury note, or a gold certificate. It may be that if it shall be sufficiently attacked in this Chamber and elsewhere by its enemies, it may be finally discredited. The bankers of the country were able to create a panic respecting the Sherman Law, and it is possible that Senators and others may create a distrust of our silver certificate; but up to this time such distrust has never existed. It is as strong to-day, as valuable to-day in the markets of the world as the gold dollar, or the gold certificate, or the Treasury note. It is not an inferior money, it is superior money; and, Mr. President, if, as I say, the support of gold is withdrawn from it, wherein is the objection? I ask any Senator what is the objection? We have not gold enough to meet our Treasury notes and our gold certificates; and where is the objection to having $150,000,000 of silver certificates receivable for customs dues which are backed by silver, and not by gold?

It occurs to me that the objection which has been made as to this clause of the bill is an objection founded in opposition to the measure, and not founded upon any well-grounded apprehension of danger to the public interests.

There is still another and stronger reason, Mr. President, why this measure should stand at the stage which it has now reached, and that is, that it shall make way for other legislation,—that

it shall not stand in the road of the tariff legislation for which the country waits. If there is one question more than another which needs speedy action it is our tariff legislation, and it is impossible for me to understand how any patriotic citizen can desire, in view of the present awful financial situation, that the discussion upon the tariff should last a day longer than is absolutely necessary. We were told at the time of the bankers' panic and when Congress was first called together at the last session that the Sherman Law was the cause of the panic and of our troubles. When it was found that a majority, answering the demands of the Administration, was ready to repeal the law, Senators upon this floor and elsewhere, casting an anchor to windward, began to claim that it was the threatened tariff legislation which produced the hard times. They talk of it now as if threatened tariff legislation was what had brought on the impoverishment which exists throughout our country.

Mr. President, one would imagine, from hearing the talk, that the McKinley Law had been repealed. Senators forget that these hard times exist and the McKinley Law exists with them. We are not proceeding under Free Trade; we are proceeding under the McKinley Law; and yet Senators claim that the threatened legislation makes the hard times. If that be so, how infinitely better it is that that threat be either proved to be baseless or else the real condition be disclosed to the American people.

Since last spring we have seen five hundred and ninety-eight banks close; we have seen eight hundred large manufactories close their doors; we have seen fifteen thousand mercantile houses go into bankruptcy; we have seen the Northern Pacific, the Reading, the Erie, the Union Pacific, and sixty-seven other railroad systems, comprising nearly twenty per cent. of the railroad mileage of the country, pass into the hands of the Federal courts, which are now running them. You cannot tell me that that is caused by threatened tariff legislation. If it is, let us have the tariff legislation and see what is left, if anything. Our present troubles do not come, Mr. President, from tariff legislation. The issue is blinded, the people are befooled, and we are entitled to have it settled as to whether or not it is the monetary policy of the country or tariff legislation threatened, or to come, or at present existing, which produces the awful condition in which we now are.

The people of our section are in a large majority Protectionists. Of late months there are many of them who all their lives

had been Protectionists who have come to the opinion that if we follow Great Britain in financial policy we should likewise join her as to our economic methods; but the majority of our people still cling to the belief that American labor and American manufactories should be protected. The McKinley Law has brought us no especial benefit. Our condition under the proposed legislation will be even worse. We are interested only in lead and in wool. We are cut down somewhat on lead in the proposed tariff bill, and the duty on wool is swept away. But we are accustomed to adverse legislation. Our people believe, however, that it is time we had a chance to ascertain what it is that causes the trouble. They believe that the tariff legislation should be got out of the way in order that it may be demonstrated to the world that the action of this Government in demonetizing silver and failing to enact a law for its free and unlimited coinage and in joining the countries of the Old World simply means, inevitably means, the degradation of labor, the impoverishment of the tiller of the soil, the ruin of the debtor, and the retarding of progress and of civilization throughout our country.

COINAGE OF STANDARD MEXICAN DOLLARS

The Senate, April 9, 1894, having under consideration the resolution of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Wolcott), coming over from the previous day, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States, with a view to encourage and extend our commercial relations with China and other Asiatic countries, be requested to enter into negotiations with the Republic of Mexico, looking to the coinage by the United States, at its mints, of standard Mexican dollars, under some proper agreement with the said Republic of Mexico as to seigniorage, method and amount of said coinage; and that he be further requested to report the result of his negotiations to the Senate"—

Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: When this resolution first came up for hearing it was unavoidably crowded over. I was necessarily detained from the Senate on Friday last when the resolution came up again in due course, and the remarks made by my colleague [Mr. Teller] and others leave but little to say upon this ques-

tion. There are, however, a few suggestions which I desire to make.

The resolution does not in the slightest degree touch or affect the general question of bimetallism. It is simply a suggestion to a friendly sister republic that our idle mints in the West might be utilized upon fair terms for the coinage of the only dollars which have secured the confidence of the Orient as the medium of commercial exchange, to the advantage and profit of the three different nations concerned. If the Seigniorage Bill had become a law this resolution could not have been introduced, because our idle mints would have been busy. The veto of the Seigniorage Bill leaves us free to act.

While the Seigniorage Bill was utterly unimportant, the lessons of its veto are many. It was unimportant because the only end it could hope to accomplish in the interest of bimetallism was the coinage into dollars of the idle bullion now lying in the Treasury. It has been claimed by European countries that the vast mass of bullion in the Treasury of the United States might at any time be dumped by this country upon Europe, and therefore that it stood as a bar and an obstacle to the shaping of the silver question upon some renewed basis looking to international bimetallism.

The Seigniorage Bill proposed further to provide for this country some $55,000,000 or more of adequate good, lawful money, which a great many people of the country thought would be better to fill the gap caused by the impending deficit than that money should be borrowed by the people of the United States and interest paid upon it.

Although, however, the measure was unimportant, yet its veto left a deep impress upon the country, and has shown in a clear light the position of the different sections of the country respecting our financial policy. Last summer in this Chamber and in another, members rose in their places and declared their undying faith in the friendship of the President of the United States for silver.

We were told by Senators upon this floor, including members of the Finance Committee, that as soon as the infamous Sherman Act should be brushed aside, the first moment would be utilized in reintroducing a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, for which the President of the United States would undoubtedly stand as sponsor. That position has been somewhat cleared. If any one thing has been made clear to the minds of the people of the United States by this veto, it is that

its Chief Executive is the consistent and implacable and eager enemy of silver. He has been consistent throughout, and he has had the courage of the convictions of the national banks and the trust companies of the United States, to all of which the name of silver is a stench and an offence.

The veto has further shown us that the silver sentiment of the country is local and not political. In the New England States and in the Northeast both parties have vied with each other in adulation and praise of the President's action, while in the rest of the country the veto has been viewed with sorrow and with indignation. In the New England States and in the Northeast the unanimous feeling is that the President of the United States is infinitely better than his party. So universally is this the prevailing sentiment that the Democracy of that section apparently intend to indorse the openly expressed contempt of the President of the United States for the Democratic party at large by voting overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican ticket; while in the West and South, irrespective of party, there is a prevailing and a unanimous sentiment that the President of the United States has betrayed not only the platform of his party but the interests of his people, and that he has treated the just claims of those great States of the Union which are devoted to mining and to agriculture, which are borrowers and not lenders, with scorn and with derision.

The veto has further taught us that during the incumbency of the present Executive there is no hope whatever for the cause of bimetallism. And the self-respect of those of us who believe that the day of prosperity will never come to this country again until silver is rehabilitated and restored to its place as a money metal should require of us that we advocate and vote for no makeshift and no temporary expedient. If the lesson is to be learned it may as well be learned during the present Administration as at any other time; and we owe it to our own dignity, and the respect due the cause, that we oppose upon this floor every measure which does not follow upon the lines of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 15½ or 16 to 1.

I speak especially for those of us who believe that the United States alone can undertake and maintain the double standard. There have lately arisen in the Eastern States a number of bimetallic leagues and societies, which in their way are doing an infinite amount of good. They are educating the people to believe that the welfare and the prosperity of the world must hereafter rest upon the use of silver as well as gold. They are

of no immediate benefit to us who believe that the United States alone could maintain the double standard, and in a way they are an enemy within our gates. But the lessons they are imparting, the beliefs that they are inculcating, that prosperity will never return until silver is restored as a standard of value, are doing an infinite amount of good throughout this country; and I, for one, am ready to say to them that during the present unfortunate Administration we do not propose to advocate or vote for any half-hearted measure which does not reach the principle of bimetallism, and which does not look to the re-establishment and the reinstatement of silver as a standard of value equally with its sister metal.

Whatever may happen, Mr. President, we want no further dallying with so-called seigniorage bills. We have been lately told through the public press that in another Chamber a measure has been introduced which shall reconcile all parties, which shall convince their silver-loving constituents at home that its advocates are at heart the friends of silver, which shall couple with seigniorage that grotesque suggestion of the President in his veto message, that if the Congress of the United States would let the Government borrow what money it wanted on its interest-bearing bonds, then the country could afford a further issue of silver money which requires no redemption, except silver itself.

Such a suggestion, Mr. President, is too paltry to be fairly considered. If we are to have bonds, let us meet a bond issue like men. I, for one, need no sop thrown to me of a seigniorage bill in consideration that I shall give the Secretary of the Treasury my vote to issue unlimited bonds to meet unknown and uncertain deficits. We will cross that stream when we reach it.

This resolution, then, is not introduced because it has any relation whatever to the future of the silver question in the United States. It has no sort of connection with the great principle of bimetallism.

China, like all other nations doing business on a silver basis, and owing no debts the principal and interest of which are payable in gold, is in a most prosperous and happy condition, with a rapidly increasing commerce and largely increasing exports. There has not been a period in the history of that nation when its internal affairs and its foreign commerce were in as good a condition as now. That condition has been largely facilitated by the attitude of Great Britain toward India, to which I shall

hereafter refer, but it is a fact that the trade of China, internal and with the outer world, was never as prosperous as now.

That country, with its population of upward of 400,000,000, is dominated by precedent; its methods of agriculture, of manufacture, and of transportation have remained unchanged through all the centuries. When she first opened her ports unwillingly to foreign nations the Mexican dollar was adopted as the standard of value and its adoption has remained unchanged. Almost every other nation of the world has endeavored to introduce its dollars in competition with the Mexican dollar, and has failed.

The English Government for a time, at Hong Kong, started the coinage of a British dollar, and coined some 10,000,000 of them. Some of them were used in circulation, some of them as buttons, as bangles, and as ornaments; but they made no general impress upon the country, and their coinage was withdrawn.

The French nation commenced the coinage of a dollar with which to transact its commercial business with China, but it was compelled to withdraw it.

The Japanese Government now coins its "yen" with not quite so much silver in it as had the Mexican dollar. It has also something of a circulation, but an extremely limited circulation, in China.

Our trade dollar, of which we issued some 35,000,000, never became general in use throughout the Chinese Empire.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] inadvertently made a suggestion the other day which is not in accordance with the fact, that the Chinese Government stamped the "yen" upon the coin, and it then became currency. The "yen" is the name of the Japanese coin. It was the custom at the time our trade dollar was introduced in China for each business house receiving a dollar to stamp its "chop" or business mark or device upon the dollar, and then it would circulate to the next business house, which, in turn, would stamp its "chop" or mark upon it.

After circulating a few times, it would become defaced, disfigured, and light in weight, when it would be rejected by the banks, and after its rejection by the banks it would be coined into bullion. The bullion afterward found its way into India or was hoarded, as was the custom in those years, as among the assets of the retiring Chinese merchants who were in the habit of running their silver into bullion and preserving it as part of their treasure or assets or fortune, but in all these attempts nothing has taken the place of the Mexican dollar. The Mexi-

can Government started to change the emblem on its dollar, but that change was unacceptable to the Chinese Government, and the old Mexican dollar still stands as the standard of circulation in that country.

Disraeli has said that every precedent embalmed a principle; and it may be, Mr. President, that back of this precedent, which seems to us meaningless, the fact that while other countries coined a dollar for foreign circulation only, the Mexican Government has issued to China no dollar which it repudiates at home, may have had much to do with the fact that the Mexican dollar has remained the standard. This Mexican dollar is a dollar of 377 grains fine, known as the dollar marked with the cactus, the eagle, and the snake.

To meet this universal demand, the Mexican mints are more than overcrowded. The Mexican Government charges a seigniorage of 4.40 per cent. on every dollar which it coins. It charges an export duty of 2 per cent. on all silver exported from the country. So that those producing silver in Mexico must either coin their silver at the mints of Mexico and pay its Government 4.40 per cent., or they must pay the Government 2 per cent. duty for exporting it.

The Republic of Mexico produces some $50,000,000 annually in silver. Of this amount some $5,000,000 or more are exported in bullion in small amounts to meet the local demands of trade and commerce. Some $20,000,000 of the product of Mexico goes in matte to the great refineries of Swansea, in England, and is there coined.

It is within my memory, Mr. President, when no dollar of silver was ever produced in this country to any commercial extent. Since that time, in the last twenty years, we have built our refineries, our smelting works; we have adopted different processes, and we now smelt our silver into bullion, but $20,000,000 of the product of Mexico still goes to England in the form of matte.

The capacity of the Mexican mints is but twenty-five to twenty-six million dollars. Of this amount of twenty-five or twenty-six million dollars but $1,000,000 stays in the Republic of Mexico; all the rest of it is exported. The exportation is almost entirely to Japan, India, and other parts of Asia. Of this export about $7,500,000 on an average for the last ten years goes by way of San Francisco, a little less amount goes by way of England, from Liverpool and London, direct to Asia, and the rest of it probably goes abroad in the pockets of

returning Chinamen or through Chilean or Peruvian ports. Of the amount that is coined there is already, owing to this demand, not only a scarcity of Mexican dollars, but a scarcity of silver in Mexico for coinage purposes. I saw in one of yesterday's newspapers, the *New York Tribune*, I believe it was, a telegram from Boston saying:

"A despatch to the *Herald* from the City of Mexico says: 'Silver bars refined in the United States from Mexican ore are arriving here for coinage into dollars. Eighty-eight bars have been received, and more are expected. German bullion dealers are talking of sending bar silver here for the same purpose, owing to the increasing demand for Mexican dollars in China, where a scanty supply has hindered trade operations.'"

The fact that the supply is insufficient is shown not only by the importation of silver into Mexico for the purpose of being coined, but it is also shown by the fact that certain quantities, not large, of bullion are exported to China.

We hear much of Chinese mints. There is a mint at Shanghai known as the Royal Chinese Mint. Its business, its surroundings, are all shrouded in the greatest mystery. It is in the hands of local mandarins under some contract with the Government. Our consul made a report upon it last year. The only information he could obtain was that there were coined in the mint about 3,000,000 ounces of silver, and out of that amount there were 19,000,000 ten-cent pieces, which were utilized principally by the natives as buttons. The coinage of the Chinese mint, however, amounts practically to nothing.

China produces no silver. This bullion goes to China because there are not Mexican dollars enough to do the business, and it is from the fact that Mexican dollars in London and in New York bring a premium from a half per cent. to three per cent. that the demand is for the Mexican dollar, and the supply is insufficient. The effect of the enlargement of the facilities of Mexico in the coinage of its dollars must be to enlarge our commerce as well as to facilitate the world's commerce with China.

MR. HIGGINS. Will the Senator answer a question at this point?

MR. WOLCOTT. With pleasure.

MR. HIGGINS. I ask if the premium on Mexican dollars is not owing to the Chinese demand?

MR. WOLCOTT. It is owing to the Chinese demand—not the Indian, but the Asiatic demand for dollars.

MR. HIGGINS. They are not to be used in this country?

MR. WOLCOTT. They are wholly for shipment to Asia.

Our commerce with China is already great. Our exports to China last year were $3,900,000; our imports were upward of $20,000,000; of which sum $5,000,000 was dutiable and some $15,000,000 was free.

If these dollars shall be coined at our mints at Carson City and at San Francisco, it will create something of an active silver market on the Pacific coast, and where the dollars are the facilities for shipment and commerce will go also. There will be a demand for these dollars from London merchants and from English and from Scotch merchants. They will send gold to this country in exchange for the dollars which will be shipped direct, and it will add much to the steamship commerce between the Pacific coast and Asia. Many of these dollars will find their way into the Indian market. They are handy; they will go up country, be remelted, and made into bangles and ornaments. There is always a certain demand in India also for Mexican dollars.

The total commerce of China has of late years assumed enormous importance. Her foreign commerce last year consisted of £27,000,000 of imports and £25,000,000 of exports. These exports are rapidly increasing in volume and in value and are very much facilitated, as I have said, by the action of England toward her colonies in India.

The attitude of Great Britain is most pregnant with interest in this country, for no matter what may be our legislation, the attitude of Great Britain toward India, the prices at which her wheat and jute and cotton are to be sold, the facilities of the exchange into English money, must ever materially affect the prices of those products in this country which we raise in competition with that great people.

The silver difficulty in India which has followed from the closing of the Indian mints is of this nature: The Indian Government collects its revenue in silver rupees; the revenue collected since last June and remaining in the treasury amounts to some 20 crores of rupees—in other words, to some 80,000,000 ounces of silver. There are some 4,000,000 ounces to the crore. The crore is an East Indian word signifying 10,000,000, and 10,000,000 rupees mean something over 4,000,000 ounces of silver. These 80,000,000 ounces of silver are now locked up in the Eng-

lish treasury in India, making a scarcity of actual rupees for commerce in India.

Now, the demand for these rupees, through sales of so-called "council drafts" in London, is the demand of English importers of Indian wheat, cotton, and jute, who require silver rupees to pay for their purchases from Indian farmers. But the Government of India by closing the mints has said: "You cannot any longer pay rupees by buying silver from America or elsewhere and coining it in Bombay; therefore you must now buy these rupees from our government treasuries, and at whatever price we fix. True, the value of the silver in the rupee is now only twenty-two cents per rupee, but we will not sell our coins, our council drafts, for less than twenty-eight cents per rupee; either take them at that price or leave and go out of business." This result has followed from this policy of coercion. China, for example, is getting silver—is getting Mexican dollars—for what she sells in Europe at their bullion value, but the Indian exporter is finding that the present artificially high price charged by the Government of India for the rupee is giving the China exporter a great advantage he never got before.

Let me illustrate this point carefully. In India the Government has fixed the value of the rupee at 28 cents, while the value of a corresponding weight of silver in China, say two fifths of an ounce, is 22 cents. Now, if we suppose 1 pound of tea in India costs 1 rupee, then the Indian grower can sell some 17 pounds of tea for the gold sovereign. But the Chinaman can afford to sell 23 pounds of tea for the sovereign. As this argument applies to most of India's exports, the balance of trade since the closing of the mints has gone strongly against India, and is greatly favoring China; and just as the rise in the Indian rates of exchange and the fall in the China rates has thrown the balance of trade against India and is favoring China, so also the fall in the rate of exchange between the silver-using countries and Europe since 1873 has tended to destroy our favorable balance of trade with gold-using Europe, by stimulating the trade in wheat and cotton from Asia at the expense of our exports of these staples.

So, following this, I desire to call the attention of the Senate briefly to an Indian opinion as to the effect which is being produced in India by the floundering policy of the English Government toward India. I read very briefly from some recent remarks by Hon. Robert Steel, who is the commercial member of the Viceroy's Council in India. In an address which he

delivered at the meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce he says:

"We may now judge of the result of the closing of the mints. The Secretary of State cannot sell his council bills. The balance of trade has disappeared. Exchange is falling, and there seems to be no chance of the downward course being arrested until we reach the metallic value of the rupee. Money is at nine per cent., and may go much higher, but the exchange banks, in view of the further expected fall in exchange, will not bring out one rupee more than the amount they absolutely require to pay for the bills they have bought. By the presence of dear money and the prospect of still dearer money trade is paralyzed. The fact is that the action of Government in closing the mints has caused silver to fall to a lower point than it otherwise would have done, and yet it appears that whether the mints be closed or open there is no chance that council bills can be sold on the scale of our requirements until exchange reaches the bullion point.

"Our trade is paralyzed in the hope of relieving the embarrassments of Government, and yet the departure from a sound currency system is making the position of Government worse than it was before. The present course cannot be persevered in long. We cannot go on borrowing gold and heaping up money in our treasuries here. The day of reckoning must come, and cannot be far off. We find English statesmen are already pressing the unanswerable charge that the Indian Government has entered into a gigantic speculation in silver. This is serious enough in itself, but when it appears that the speculation is certain to be a losing one, the clamor against it will be irresistible. What then must be done? We are, perhaps, on the eve of a crisis which may give a terrible shock to industry, to commerce, and to credit. We cannot prosper without a sound currency acting automatically. Let us open our mints, and we shall again see a wave of prosperity flowing over the land like that which followed in gold-using countries the discoveries of gold in California and Australia fifty years ago."

This, Mr. President, is an intelligent Indian opinion of the present policy which Great Britain is following toward India. She is animated naturally by her own selfish interest.

The products of India and the products of China are much alike, and whatever we can do to upbuild the commerce of Asia at the expense of the commerce of India must be to our advantage as showing England where her interests lie.

We are met with the threat that England may sell her silver bullion on hand. It has been recently suggested by the English press that the 20 crores of bullion, or 80,000,000 ounces of

silver, which England has on hand in India may be sold. If that unfortunate occurrence should take place, there is no doubt that the price of silver would be further depreciated: there is no doubt that it would add to the already untold disasters which have overtaken the world because of the abandonment of silver; but I venture the prediction that England will never take that step, for when she does that she makes valueless hundreds and thousands of millions of dollars of bonds, the principal and interest of which are payable in gold, which silver-using countries have borrowed of her. Let her sell her silver on hand in India and add another attempt to degrade the metal, and you will find every silver-using country on earth repudiate every gold payment it owes; and ninety per cent. of those payments are due to Great Britain.

The question of the production of silver is not to be settled by Great Britain and by this country by selling silver in bulk, or by attempting to further degrade and dishonor it. Many of us have taken the position here on the floor of the Senate for years, that even if we rehabilitated silver and restored the old free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, the production of silver would not be increased. We have said that the rise in prices, the rise in wages, the limited and narrowing area for the discovery and development of silver mines, would prevent in any event the further and larger development and output of silver ores. But, Mr. President, there has lately been borne in upon us a different condition of facts.

We now face another proposition. Every one of these estimates has been based upon the assumption that silver alone depreciated. But one lesson that we are painfully and slowly, but surely, learning to-day, is that not only has the price of silver depreciated or the price of gold appreciated; but that wages are decreasing, that the cost of the necessaries of life is decreasing, that the food the miner eats and the clothes he wears are growing less in cost, that the cost of machinery for the development of mines is less, that the cost of making roads is less, that the traffic upon the railroads will bear less, and out of the misery of it all there must come the inevitable fact that, as silver declines in value, so men with mouths to feed will be found to produce it for less wages.

Our furnaces are cold, our fires are out, most of our mines are closed; those which are kept open are kept open in order to prevent the timbers from rotting and the waters from flooding the mines. Yet when these miners—intelligent men who

have up to this time found work at prices which remunerated them and enabled them to add to the glory of American manhood, to educate their children, to feed them, and to own their own homes—find that the monetary policy of this country prevents their receiving these wages, and that it is starvation or nothing, we shall inevitably find that silver will continue to be produced at some price.

Great Britain, with the United States attending upon its policy, seems willing to destroy four thousand millions of existing silver coinage in order that it may prevent the output of about one hundred millions of silver a year available for coinage. She is waiting for a river to run by that will be fed by the eternal spring of man's necessities. As you degrade silver you degrade American manhood, American wages, American labor, American prices; but you will find that silver will continue to be produced as long as that metal is found within the bowels of mother earth.

This resolution, Mr. President, may come to nothing, but it is worth the trying, and out of the general impoverishment and stagnation which prevail throughout this country, I, for one, am glad to seek even some small measure of relief from countries whose faith in silver has never wavered, and whose people are prosperous and happy, because they have clung to the white metal through evil as well as through good report.

If no other Senator desires to speak to the resolution, I trust it may be put upon its passage.

BIMETALLISM AND GOLD BONDS

February 16, 1895:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution of the Senator from New York [Mr. Hill], coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Hill on the 11th instant was read, as follows:

"*Resolved* (*if the House of Representatives concurs*), That it is the sense of Congress that the true policy of the Government requires that its efforts should be steadily directed to the establishment of a safe system of bimetallism, wherein gold and silver may be maintained at a parity, and every dollar coined may be the equal in value and power of every other dollar coined or

issued by the United States; but if our efforts to establish or maintain such bimetallism shall not be wholly successful, and if for any reason our silver coin shall not hereafter be at parity with gold coin and the equal thereof in value and power in the market and in the payment of debts, then it is hereby declared that the bonds of the United States now or hereafter issued which by their terms are payable in coin, shall nevertheless be paid in standard gold dollars, it being the policy of the United States that its creditors shall at all times be paid in the best money in use."

After Senator Hill had spoken to the resolution Senator Wolcott made the following remarks:

MR. PRESIDENT: I am somewhat surprised at the remarks of the Senator from New York in view of his insistence during the last few weeks that our time should be spent in pertinent discussion, in the discussion of measures which had some chance of being deliberated and voted upon. No Senator is more aware than is the Senator from New York that he is threshing old straw.

The House of Representatives on yesterday forever disposed, so far as this session is concerned, of the subject of the indorsement of gold bonds. Notwithstanding the frantic efforts of an Administration, with all its power and its patronage; notwithstanding the efforts of the leaders of both political parties, the House of Representatives by a decisive vote refused to sanction the policy outlined and approved by the proposed resolution of the Senator from New York.

The Senator is equally out of date, Mr. President, in his reference to the legislation of the special session which dealt with the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act. He speaks of the Senators who voted for repeal as bimetallists as if he would class himself as one.

Mr. President, there was no genuine bimetallist who voted for repeal, unless it be two or three Senators who voted in the belief and in the shadowy hope that the promises which the Administration gave would be carried out, and who sincerely trusted in the declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act would be followed with some measure for the fuller recognition of silver, but the Senator from New York was not one of them. There were some Senators who voted for repeal upon that declared

assurance; and I think I violate no confidence when I state that no one of those Senators, in view of the disastrous occurrences of the last year and a half, if it were to be done again, would ever vote for the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, bad as that act was in principle and in practice.

But, Mr. President, the class of bimetallists to which the Senator from New York belongs is the bimetallist upon a gold basis. He wants the use of the two metals, and he wants them measured by the value of gold. He does not want them measured with the double standard or with the equal representation at the ratio declared by law. He is a bimetallist, because he is a gold monometallist, and, measured by gold, he is willing that silver shall be used to a limited extent instead of paper.

Mr. President, it is a poor time to introduce a resolution calling upon this country to indorse a gold bond. The President's wanton attack upon the credit of the United States has been the most disastrous occurrence of this generation, the most significantly wanton and cruel and deliberate attack upon the credit of our country that could be inflicted upon it.

But a few weeks before, when $50,000,000 of bonds were offered at 3 per cent., $185,000,000 in the United States alone was subscribed for them on that basis. Following that fact, with the knowledge that there were $135,000,000 waiting here to invest in our bonds, payable in lawful money at 3 per cent., the President of the United States entered into a secret negotiation with the Rothschilds of Europe, whereby he proposed to give them a long bond at an excessive rate, so that he could make an apparent showing to the discredit of our country and its finances. But before the bonds are even issued the reaction has come. The subscribers to that syndicate are called upon to pay only ten per cent. of their subscriptions, and the balance they will never be called upon to pay. The syndicate are already offered for the bonds 112½. There have been, and I have eminent authority for the statement, in the city of New York alone more than $130,000,000 tendered to the syndicate for the bonds at 112½. I have the authority of the president of one of the leading banks of New York that within the next sixty days the price of those bonds will rise to 120.

Mr. President, if there ever were bonds which ought to be paid in silver or depreciated money, if it could be found, it is this issue of bonds which the syndicate has purchased notoriously

at less than their worth, including in their contract a statement of their estimate of the difference in value between gold and "lawful money." When they look the American people in the face and say to them: "If you will pay your bonds in gold we will take them at 3 per cent.; if you will pay them in the worst you have we will pay you 104.49 for your bonds that shall net us 3¾ per cent.,"—I say if there ever were a people who are not entitled to consideration it is the Rothschilds of Europe and the President of the United States, who has sought to blacken our credit.

Mr. President, the resolution is not divisible. It is the same preface that came in the proclamation which called us together in special session. It is the same preface which called our attention at the opening of this session to the necessity of legislation. It is the universal preface of the man who is seeking to discredit silver by prefixing the statement that we ought to maintain the coins at a parity and follows it by an endeavor to induce us to legislate one out of existence and to put the other at a premium.

The people who stand for the coinage of silver do not stand for it because they are unpatriotic. They do not stand for it because they come from the section where silver is produced. They stand for it because they believe the suffering and the poverty which are now going on the whole world over must continue until the world sees that until silver as well as gold is restored as a standard of value there can be no prosperity. You will have no prosperous railroads with wheat at fifty cents. You will have wheat at fifty cents or less as long as you have India to compete with. You will have no prosperity in this country while you have gold as its standard and an insufficient supply of it. You will have prosperity only when throughout the world there is a recognition that silver is a metal as sacred as is gold.

The world is moving. To-day's paper contains a significant discussion in the Reichstag, in Berlin, wherein Count Bismarck declared that the policy of the German Government should be for the bimetallism of silver, and referred significantly to the fact that the leader of the Conservatives in the House of Commons is likewise a bimetallist. We are marching toward it, but if any act on earth could destroy the possibility of international bimetallism it has been the conduct of the President of the United States in his foreign dicker and trade with the house of Rothschild. But it brings its recompense, for if there

is anything that will arouse the American people to the belief that we alone can undertake the management of our finances without the help of foreign bankers it will be that same disgraceful and dishonorable contract, the terms of which are degrading to American manhood.

TURNING TO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT

February 23, 1895, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, which I ask to have read, as follows:

"Whenever the President of the United States, upon invitation of the Government of Germany or Great Britain or any of the Governments of Europe or otherwise, shall determine that this Government should be represented at any international or other conference to be held with a view to secure internationally a fixity of relative value between gold and silver as money by means of a common ratio between those metals, with free mintage at such ratio, he shall be authorized to request the attendance of the commissioners to be appointed as hereinafter provided, to attend such conference on behalf of the United States.

"The number of such commissioners shall be nine. The President of the United States shall appoint, by and with the consent of the Senate, three of said commissioners prior to the adjournment of this Congress; the other six members of said commission shall be a joint committee of this Congress, three of said committee to be members of the Senate and three of the House of Representatives. If after the adjournment of this Congress there shall be any vacancies in said commission so appointed, by death, resignation, or otherwise, such vacancies shall be filled by appointment by the President.

"For the compensation of said commissioners and for all reasonable expenses connected therewith, to be approved by the Secretary of State, including the proportion to be paid by the United States of the joint expenses of such conference, the sum of $100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated. If such commissioners shall not be called upon to serve, no compensation shall be allowed them."

Mr. President, it was with much hesitancy, after discus-

sion with others interested in the subject, that this amendment was introduced. The chief embarrassment arose from the fact that it might be construed abroad as indicating an undue desire on the part of this country that other countries should enter into some agreement for international bimetallism. But inasmuch as nine full months are to elapse between the adjournment of this Congress and the meeting of the next, and inasmuch as the President of the United States, if he should be called upon to act with other nations in some conference looking to an international agreement respecting gold and silver, would be powerless to act other than by the appointment of commissioners, and would be unable to clothe them with the proper authority and funds for the representation of this Government in such proceedings and in its share of the expenses, etc., it seemed wise to introduce this amendment.

It is entirely satisfactory, I think, to those bimetallists who vote for bimetallism. It should be equally satisfactory to that devoted band of bimetallists here who talk for us and vote against us, and who look with ravished eyes for English approval before they register their votes.

The method of appointment may at first seem somewhat peculiar, but it is not so. The President of the United States is to appoint three of these commissioners. He would naturally appoint one third, or thereabouts, from among men outside of public life. The last Commission and all others have been largely and properly represented by members of the two Houses of Congress. It occurred to us that the Congress of the United States was best fitted to name its membership in that body. Every member of the Senate knows that our thoughts instinctively turn to the Senators who should represent us in any international conference, men who have spent nearly a generation in the study of the great financial questions of the world, and who have illumined them with their thought and utterances, and whose presence in any international conference would be hailed with satisfaction by bimetallists all over the world. For these reasons it seemed best that the Congress of the United States should name its membership.

Mr. President, the Senate, by a decisive majority the other day, declared its opinion that bimetallism by the United States should at once be inaugurated. There was disinclination to imperil the great appropriation bills, and possibly bring about an extra session, by insistence at this time on consideration of a free-coinage measure, with the knowledge that nothing could

be practically accomplished in the way of legislation at this time and under existing circumstances; but this body did record its solemn conviction that, amid the suffering, the poverty, and the paralysis of business which have overtaken this land, the way out was not by waiting for the tardy and uncertain action of European countries, not by the abandonment of silver and the adoption of gold monometallism, but by a return to the principles laid down by our Constitution, and to the financial policy which brought this country prosperity for nearly a century.

We are for the establishment of bimetallism by the United States alone. If other countries will join us so much the better. The amendment gives this country an opportunity to act in concert with other nations, if that co-operation shall be tendered us. I ask that the amendment be referred to the Committee on Finance.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

On February 26, 1895, Senator Voorhees, chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported from that Committee the amendment in modified form as follows:

"That whenever the President of the United States shall determine that this Government should be represented at any international conference called with a view to secure, internationally, a fixity of relative value between gold and silver, as money, by means of a common ratio between those metals, with free mintage at such ratio, the United States shall be represented at such conference by nine delegates, to be selected as follows: The President of the United States shall select three of said delegates; the Senate shall select three members of the Senate as delegates; and the House of Representatives shall select three members of the House as delegates. If at any time there shall be any vacancy, such vacancy shall be filled by the President of the United States. And for the compensation of said delegates, together with all reasonable expenses connected therewith, to be approved by the Secretary of State, including the proportion to be paid by the United States of the joint expenses of such conference, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated."

On February 27, 1895, the amendment proposed was offered in Committee of the Whole and agreed to.

On February 28th, Senator Stewart moved to reconsider the vote by which the amendment had been adopted in the Committee of the Whole, when, after discussion, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is with a great deal of embarrassment that I take up even a moment of the time of the Senate at this hour, and I shall endeavor in the few words I shall say to be extremely brief and to speak with that moderation which I think is due on the part of a Senator from one of the silver States to a Senator from another silver State who has fought shoulder to shoulder with him for the six years, at least, that I have been in the Senate.

I am utterly surprised at the position taken by the Senator from Nevada. The evident purpose of his motion is, of course, to defeat entirely the proposition for our proper representation at an international conference. I need only remind the Senate that the President could, without any legislation whatever, appoint, of his own motion, as many delegates to an international conference as he chose to appoint. The advantage which we considered would come of this legislation was that the number to be appointed by the President should be three, that the Senate itself should name three, and that the House of Representatives should name three; that we should endow them with proper authority, and that we should clothe our Government with sufficient funds to represent us reputably at any international conference to be held in any of the capitals of Europe.

Mr. President, there can come nothing but good out of this international conference if it shall be held, whatever may be its outcome. The Senator from Nevada refers to the fact that the action of the delegates may be final. These delegates can act only in an advisory capacity. Whatever they do will be reported to Congress, where their action will be ratified or disapproved. To send the delegates whom we will appoint to Europe hampered by needless instructions is an insult to them and an insult to the intelligence of the nations of Europe.

The Senator from Nevada seems to be unwilling that any other country should share in the benefit of bimetallism. He says that independent bimetallism by the United States is infinitely better than international bimetallism. The result of my studies, limited, it is true, and necessarily superficial (for the study is one of a lifetime), is that the suffering and poverty

all over the world have been caused by the abandonment of silver and the appreciating value of gold. If by any act of mine I could bring all over the world some amelioration of existing conditions I should feel that I had played an honorable part in the legislation of my own country; and as a citizen of a Christian nation I should be unwilling to shut out from view the nations of the Old World.

The Senator from Nevada tells us that an international conference is a scheme of the "gold bugs," as he terms them. Why, Mr. President, does he forget that, under the most unfavorable circumstances, all through these years the bimetallist party of England, with both the great parties against it, has been struggling year after year to make its converts; that in the heart of the great creditor nation of the world where every instinct of every man who has a dollar due him is to oppose silver, these men have, unaided, fought a gallant fight with such glorious outcome that the other day in the House of Commons the leader of the party in power did not dare to oppose a motion made by a member in behalf of bimetallism? Rather than contest it in the House of Commons he yielded his opposition, and, declining to permit the vote to be taken, abandoned the position which for years the Liberal party has held, and virtually announced that the English Government would share in any international conference which might be called upon the question of bimetallism.

So in Germany, where the owners of land have gradually seen their land grow less in value; against the Government, against the great banking houses of Berlin and the other German centres, the bimetallists have steadily, year by year, fought their fight, until in spite of the opposition of the Government, the Socialists, and the Radicals, they have forced the Reichstag to agree practically to the calling of an international conference.

The Senator from Nevada refers to the Republic of France, as if that country might not favor international bimetallism! Fortunately I have just received an accurate statement of what took place in the French Assembly the other day upon an interpellation on this very subject; and with the permission of the Senate I will read it, for it is vital to the great questions which are now at stake. I read from the *Manchester Guardian* of February 12th:

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND BIMETALLISM

"We have now received the full text of the recent important

speech by M. Ribot, the French Premier and Minister of Finance, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the question of international bimetallism. The incident occurred during the discussion of the estimates for the Department of Agriculture, which afforded M. Fougeirol, a Deputy from the Ardèche, an opportunity of calling attention to the relation between the general depression of agriculture and the fall in the gold price of silver in consequence of its international demonetization.

"M. Fougeirol pointed out that the agricultural depression was common to all gold-standard countries, and urged that it was due to the fact that, with modern facilities of communication and transport, there can practically be only one price for, say, wheat throughout the world. This being the case, M. Fougeirol contended that the producer in the silver-standard country is enabled to sell his wheat at the same price in silver as formerly, his costs of production being paid in that metal, while, owing to the appreciation of gold and the divergence in the values of gold and silver, the producer in the gold-standard country must accept half the price formerly received, the silver quotation fixing the price in all markets. M. Fougeirol urged that the Government should not lose sight of the importance of the question and added that he desired also to call public attention to it. M. Ribot replied as follows:"

This is the utterance of the French Minister of Finance:

"I can not at this hour discuss fully so very grave and very complex a question, concerning which I have recently had many conversations with my honorable friend, M. Fougeirol. I agree with him that the abandonment of the mintage of silver, the responsibility for which was incurred in 1873 by the German Government, has proved extremely disastrous; but we cannot attribute the agricultural crisis in all its length and breadth solely to the suspension of the free coinage of silver. During the past twenty years there have been many causes which have contributed to lower the prices of all wholesale commodities, and especially those of agricultural produce.

"But to me it is evident that the abandonment of bimetallism, coinciding with these general causes, has precipitated the crisis, and has given it a far more grave character than it would otherwise have had. I have no doubt at all on this point, and I entirely agree with M. Fougeirol, who has studied the question with a zeal which I admire, and has made himself an expert with reference to it. I cannot immediately bring about the solution. M. Fougeirol is too well acquainted with the problem not to know that the remedy is beyond the power of any one country. He has just said that it is not France alone that suffers in consequence of the demonetization of silver; he is quite correct, and we cannot solve the question except by means of an understanding with the other great nations.

"If we attempt to settle it alone we shall have to pay all

the cost of the solution. M. Fougeirol might have told you that, in the countries which have hitherto been most attached to the monometallic system, and notably in England, a current of opinion in favor of a serious attempt to find a remedy for the existing crisis is being developed, and the action of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, for instance, in abandoning the theory of monometallism and demanding that by some means the monetary value of silver shall be restored, is a very considerable event.

"We may differ in opinion as to the precise methods to be employed, but I believe that in England and in Germany there is a genuine movement in favor of the resumption of the coinage of silver. I cannot say at what moment this progress will be sufficiently decisive to finally overpower the resisting forces, which are great. In such a position, what should be the attitude of the French Government? We were summoned in 1892 to a conference at Brussels which, unfortunately, has been without result, and has been adjourned indefinitely. Although I have been Minister of Finance for but a few days, I have already discussed this question with my colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. We are completely in accord.

"Although I believe that France cannot alone settle the question, I am of opinion that she ought not to restrict herself to an attitude of indifference in waiting. She ought to indicate in a marked manner that she desires to hasten the solution; she ought to assume an attitude which will encourage the movement of public opinion in neighboring countries. This is the policy which the Minister for Foreign Affairs will adopt, and which I have adopted. I hope that I have satisfactorily answered the question which has been put me."

So, Mr. President, does this great question press forward. In England success is almost at hand. In Germany success is practically reached. In France there is hearty co-operation. This movement has been brought about not by our enemies, but by our friends; by earnest men who have the solemn conviction that prosperity and civilization can be advanced only by a return to the double standard. We in this country, certainly in my section, believe that America alone can maintain the double standard. But for that reason shall we reject advances of other countries?

Mr. President, in the six years I have been in the Senate, I have seen wandering about these corridors day after day and week after week the same hungry faces of lean men with claims pending before Congress. I am told some of them have been here thirty years and more, seeking some payment or restitution by Congress for something they have lost. So, day after day, they haunt these chambers, and they plot and plan and dream. If they met success and Congress should give them what they seek,

they would die. So I fear it is with some of the advocates of bimetallism. They have preached their gospel, their true gospel of salvation, so long, that if the people of the world became converted their occupation would be gone and they would have to close up shop.

I am for bimetallism not because I want to fight; I am for bimetallism—and I am for waging an unceasing fight for its accomplishment—because I believe that out of the contest we can bring success. And for that reason, Mr. President, I stand for the amendment as it is. We are for American bimetallism, with or without international agreement, but if we fail to grasp the extended hand of other countries when it reaches out to meet ours, we will deserve and receive the eternal odium which should attach to us for having failed to embrace the greatest opportunity that has been since silver was stricken down.

[The motion to recommit was voted down, the ballot resulting nine ayes and fifty-two noes.]

THE WOLCOTT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

EXPLAINING the work of the International Bimetallic Commission of 1897 of which he was Chairman, on January 17, 1898, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: In the statement which I am glad to make respecting certain phases of the work of the recent bimetallic commission, I must speak, of course, entirely unofficially and as not committing my associates in the slightest degree either to my opinions or deductions. Later in the session we are certain to have ample discussion on the subject of silver, and it will probably be acrid and bitter enough. In my remarks to-day, however, I mean to avoid, as far as possible, anything which may give rise to controversy, and while the account of our negotiations must necessarily seem bare and colorless, the subject of them is one of surpassing interest and importance to every member of the Senate and to every citizen of our country.

When Congress met a year ago, soon after the national election, there was a universal expression by the Republican membership in the Senate that the pledge of the party in its St. Louis platform to promote international bimetallism by every means in its power was an undertaking to be faithfully carried out without evasion or delay.

As a result of this sentiment, and growing out of the action of the Republican members of the Senate, I spent the months of January and February last in London and Paris, with a day or two at Berlin, inquiring unofficially as to the apparent prospects of securing bimetallism by international agreement. During my absence the Act of March 3, 1897, was passed, almost without dissent in both Houses of Congress, and became a law at the close of the last Administration.

Chiefly because of my having already undertaken to ascertain

foreign sentiment respecting bimetallism, and through no special fitness of mine, the President was pleased to appoint me as one of the special envoys or commissioners under the provisions of the act.

There were three of us appointed. We were all bimetallists; our views were known to the President before our appointment; there was no one of us who did not and does not believe that the financial question overshadows all others, and that continued adhesion to the single gold standard means only disaster to our agricultural and commercial interests.

We spent six months abroad, visiting only Paris and London, returning in November last. Whatever measure of success or failure has been meted out to us, we have been hampered by no lack of authority or sanction or administrative support.

The language of the law itself has been our guide and has marked the extent and limitations of our powers. The President was authorized to call a conference with a view of securing by international agreement a fixity of relative value between gold and silver as money; by means of a common ratio between the metals, with free mintage at such ratio. Or if in the judgment of the President the purpose specified in the first section of the act, that is, if the securing by international agreement a fixity of relative value between the metals by means of a common ratio with free mintage at such ratio, could be better attained by the appointment of one or more commissioners or envoys who should seek by diplomatic negotiations such international agreement, he was authorized to appoint them.

By virtue of our appointment we were authorized to negotiate an international agreement. It seems elemental and unnecessary to say that any agreement negotiated by us could have no binding authority except as Congress enacted it into law. Not only were the authority and sanction and powers with which we were intrusted specifically set forth in the law under which we were appointed, but there were never at any time instructions given us that sought in the slightest degree to change or hamper or limit the full powers conferred upon us by law.

We have been of one mind and in entire agreement during all of our negotiations, and our efforts have been loyally furthered by our representatives abroad, who were fortified by strenuous instructions. In England especially the able and intelligent and cordial co-operation of our Ambassador was of great advantage in our deliberations.

We have had, then, a law broad and full in its powers; we have been free to act under its provisions; our views have been identical and earnestly favoring an international agreement, and we have had the hearty support of our Ambassador at the Court of St. James. Further than this, from the day of our first entering upon the fulfilment of our duties until now the President of the United States has extended to the mission his unswerving support in all its efforts to bring about an international agreement. There has been no moment that we have not known that back of our efforts was the earnest desire of the Chief Executive to carry out in its integrity the provisions of the platform of the Republican party pledging it to every effort to bring about an international bimetallic agreement.

Since the demonetization of silver by the United States in 1873 there have been three international conferences held in the endeavor to secure the restoration of bimetallism. All of these conferences have been failures. There are eighteen nations of Europe, each emitting coinage of its own, and all of them basing their circulation upon the standard of gold alone. Two of them, Russia and Austria, have since the last conference lowered by law the gold value of the silver in their current silver coins and the value of the paper based on silver; one of the countries has closed the mints in India, its chief colony, the largest absorbent of silver in the world; and, outside of Europe, the Empire of Japan has inaugurated a new ratio between gold and silver of 32 1/3 to 1.

All of these important and independent changes in coinage laws, added to our experience drawn from former attempts, made it evident to us that if a fresh conference were called without a prior understanding first having been reached between some, at least, of the leading commercial nations of the world, another failure would be inevitably recorded. In reaching a conclusion as to what countries should first be asked to join in the endeavor to secure a preliminary understanding, events of the preceding year much simplified our course. Three European countries, France, Germany, and Great Britain, had within a few months of each other, in language nearly identical, made legislative record of their desire to bring about by international agreement a fixed parity of exchange between gold and silver. It seemed wisest to us, therefore, to ascertain preliminarily whether among these countries some understanding might be reached.

We turned first, naturally, to France. Our sister Republic

had for nearly half a century practically alone maintained for the world the parity between the metals. Her interests were largely agricultural. Her people were accustomed to the use of silver as money. Prosperity had attended her financial policy. And, above all, there was at the head of her ministry a far-seeing and courageous statesman who had never faltered in the expression of his belief in bimetallism as the only policy which could stop the steady appreciation of the value of gold and the necessarily equally steady decline in all other values, and the only policy which could overcome the paralysis of agricultural interests, the products of which were compelled to compete with those of the silver-using countries.

It is necessary to remember that in the French Republic, as in our own, the sanction of Parliament was necessary to the consummation of any agreement; and any preliminary understanding could only embody the views of the Ministry. France, also, was bound by certain obligations toward her associates in the Latin Union, obligations which she was careful to observe.

The question of bimetallism was viewed in France as essentially an international one. We had before us the resolutions passed by the English House of Commons. We had also the distinct and unequivocal utterances of the 17th of March, 1896, made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, stating the minimum of the contributions England would make toward an international solution of the question, and conveying the intimation that more would be done if possible, but coupled always with the assertion that England would under no circumstances change her existing gold standard. And it was felt that before any definitive action should be sought among the other countries of Europe the exact attitude of England should first be ascertained.

It was agreed, therefore, that France and the United States would together present the question to the English Ministry, and would together inquire as to the character and extent of the contributions England would make toward international bimetallism. The position of the French Government upon the whole question was fully and clearly stated in the instructions which the French Government gave Baron de Courcel, the French Ambassador in London. Copies of these instructions were read to us and were sent by cable to the French Ambassador in Washington and by him read to the Secretary of State. These instructions embodied the preliminary understand-

ing already arrived at by France and the United States, and stated unequivocally the desire of France to secure the restoration of bimetallism by international agreement at a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold.

The importance of this preliminary understanding with France must not be underestimated. While France represents less than 11 per cent. of the total population of Europe, in the volume of her currency she stands first, and furnishes more than 23 per cent. of the gold, silver, and paper circulating as money in Europe, her proportion being upward of 25 per cent. of the gold, 40 per cent. of the silver, and 6½ per cent. of the uncovered paper. The volume of a nation's currency is not determined by its population, its wealth, and its commerce alone; custom and the habits of its people are powerful factors. Other European countries, comparatively small in area and in the number of their people, furnish large percentages of the money in use, and I think I may say with positiveness that had England even adhered to her assurances of the 17th of March, countries representing more than half of the total money of Europe and the United States would have agreed, prior to a conference, that upon terms to be settled at such conference they would reopen their mints to the unlimited coinage of both gold and silver.

When we reached London and came to consider, jointly with the French Ambassador, the situation in England, there seemed at first but few difficulties in the way. Not only had the House of Commons declared unanimously by resolution on the 17th day of March, 1896, as follows:

"That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver since the action of the Latin Union in 1873 has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver"—

but on the same day both Mr. Balfour and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach clearly and unequivocally stated the position of the English Ministry—the same ministry through whom we were to negotiate.

Mr. Balfour said:

"The whole trend of civilized opinion is in the direction of a double standard.

. . . . . .

"It appears to me that under this system we are pledged, and the House is pledged, after the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to do as much or more for the bimetallic system, and for the rehabilitation of silver, as it is in the power of any foreign country to do. With this resolution we go to foreign nations and tell them that, though you can hardly ask us to make this great change in our habits, we will do for you as much as you can do for yourselves; we will make this great contribution to a bimetallic system; we will go back upon the deliberately arranged method of providing a currency for India; we will reopen the Indian mints; we will engage that they shall be kept open, and we shall, therefore, provide for a free coinage of silver within the limits of the British Empire, for a population greater in number than the populations of Germany, France, and America put together.

. . . . . .

"I am glad, then, to think that the resolution will be carried by a large majority, and I hope it will be understood abroad —in Germany, in France, and in America—that this country is perfectly prepared to bear its fair share in any system which may, once and for all, put the international currency of the world upon a basis just both to the debtor and to the creditor, and a basis far less liable to change than either a monometallic gold basis or a monometallic silver basis can possibly be expected to be."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, himself a gold monometallist, said in terms:

"I therefore do believe that in the matters which I have alluded to there are, as this motion states, evils affecting this country and our Indian Empire in the present low value of silver, and we are perfectly ready, as we have always been, to join with foreign countries in conference as to the best way in which those evils may be alleviated.

. . . . . .

"What is the policy which, as a Government, we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference, with other countries upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the gold standard in the United Kingdom.

. . . . . .

"We cannot, therefore, alter the gold standard of the United Kingdom; but, with that reservation, we are prepared, in the words of the resolution, to do all in our power to secure, by international agreement, a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.

. . . . . .

"If it be possible for other nations to join in a bimetallic agreement which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian Government would be prepared to assist by reopening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavor, by other minor means, to promote the increase of silver in coinage and thus aid in an international agreement on this great question."

Not only so, but our own Ambassador, in May, but a few weeks before our arrival, and while we were already in Paris negotiating with the French Ministry, had, in an interview with Lord Salisbury, been told that the English Government still adhered to the policy outlined in the speeches of its ministers in the House of Commons.

We were not, therefore, intruders. We could present ourselves with the certainty of that reception which must follow direct and open invitation. And the welcome we had the right to expect we received. From the day we reached England until we left it finally in October, our official treatment was everything that could be desired. The English Ministry, in terms, asked the French Ambassador and ourselves to suggest wherein, in our opinion, England could materially contribute to a solution of the question, and at the same time retain for her own people the gold standard. What are termed the "proposals" were not volunteered, and were made only by way of suggestion at the explicit request of the English Ministry. When they were received they were treated with full consideration, as were the representatives of the two Governments conducting the negotiations.

It is not surprising that another view should have prevailed in this country, a view based on the intemperate and hostile and somewhat brutal utterances of the London press respecting the proposals of the French and American representatives. The newspapers of London, like the newspapers of many of the capitals of the world, are dominated by and allied with the banking element, and reflect their views and often their expressions. The business of money loaning is an engrossing pursuit, not always tending to the cultivation of the amenities of life, and it is not to be wondered at that the London newspapers, voicing that industry, should, in their hostility to a policy of which they disapproved, forget for the moment that courtesy which is due to the stranger within the gates, especially when he comes upon invitation, and that they should be led to characterize proposals

as "impertinent" which were made only upon request of their own Government.

In response, then, to the request of the English Ministry, a number of suggestions were offered as indicating channels through which England might aid in a favorable international solution of the money question. It was natural enough that in England any change of economic policy would meet with great opposition. In the other leading commercial nations of the world, merchants not past middle age could recall the time when bimetallism prevailed and grains of silver were as much a standard of value as grains of gold.

In England the business men of to-day and their fathers and grandfathers before them, have known only gold monometallism, and when we approached England we realized perfectly that in furtherance of any settlement of the question English mints would not be opened to the unlimited coinage of silver for use in England as money. Short of this, however, England could be a most important factor in bringing about the result we desired. The vital point in all our negotiations with Great Britain was, of course, India. Everything else was of comparatively slight importance; but if certain countries were to open their mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, England, by enlarging her use of that metal, might divert at first silver which would otherwise be offered for coinage at the open mints, and her action in this regard might tend to establish public confidence in the proposed financial policy.

Mr. President, it may be of some interest if I explain briefly some of these proposals. One of them, which was not perhaps generally understood here, was the proposal that there should be some contribution based on the Huskisson plan, or something similar. The plan takes its name from a communication of William Huskisson, one of the ablest financiers that the world has known, who in 1826, after England had gone to the gold standard, suggested that, all other countries but England being upon the silver standard, it was essential for the prosperity of England that she should have silver included in her money, but he did not want it to interfere with her token silver coinage, which was legal tender for forty shillings only. He therefore made the suggestion that the mint should be made a bank for the reception of bullion, and that silver bullion should be received there and certificate given to the person presenting it, stating its weight and fineness and its value at a blank ratio; but further on in his recommendation he said there was but one

ratio to adopt, and that was the ratio adopted by France of 15½ to 1, and then providing that these certificates should be redeemable only in silver of that weight and fineness, but should pass current in all transactions.

In his suggestion, in order to overcome its possible interference with token silver, among other reasons, he provided that the amount of silver to be deposited should be not less than 200 ounces and the certificates to be issued should never be less than £50. This was followed soon afterward by the Duke of Wellington's proposition of a similar character, suggesting instead of a minimum deposit of £50 that it be raised to £200.

The next suggestion was a proposal that the Government should enter upon the coinage in England of rupees and standard silver dollars, and make the latter legal tender to whatever amount silver might be made a legal tender within Great Britain. The principal value of any such suggestion could be sentimental only. The mints would never be used unless they were needed, and if needed, there was every reason why they should be used.

England had already, in December, 1894, entered into an agreement with two banks in the Straits Settlements, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, and the Bank of India, Australia, and China, whereby she agreed to coin for the Straits Settlements all the British dollars which might be requested, which should be of the same weight and fineness as Mexican dollars, at a seigniorage of 1 per cent., but the amount to be coined in any year to be not less than $5,000,000. Since that time she has coined some 16,000,000 British dollars, and the suggestion was made that they be made tender in Great Britain to the amount to which silver should be made a legal tender, and at the nominal value of 4 shillings. With a coinage value of 4 shillings 4 pence, if the parity was maintained, they would never be presented, and the value of this concession would be sentimental, but go far to establish confidence in the coin in the Straits Settlements, where they would circulate.

These two suggestions, the Huskisson plan and the one I have just stated, were made at the solicitation and request of certain gentlemen on the other side of the water who believed these contributions to the plan to be valuable. The other contributions of which we have heard so much were by no means new. The suggestion of the holding of one fifth of the reserve in the issue department of the Bank of England in silver was passed upon favorably long ago. As everybody knows, the per-

mission to so apportion it was included in the charter of 1844, and as far back as the conference of 1881, when there seemed some prospect of our reaching an international agreement, our Minister to London, then Mr. Lowell, inquired of the English Government whether or not, as a contribution to an international bimetallic agreement, England would consent to put one fifth of her reserve in the coin and bullion department of the bank in silver, and Lord Granville wrote to the authorities of the Bank of England and received an affirmative answer—that they would make this contribution.

As Mr. Lowell had not made the inquiry at the request of our Government, a report was not made upon it, but later on the Ambassador of Italy in London renewed the request of the English Government and received the formal answer, which is published in the proceedings of the conference of 1881, expressing the willingness of the Bank of England to make this contribution toward an international settlement of the question. All the gold members, every one of them, of the gold and silver commission of 1886, which made its report in 1888, reported that this concession ought to be made and could be made, and in December, 1891, Mr. Goschen, a member of the present Cabinet and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech before the Chamber of Commerce of London, declared that the policy of keeping one fifth of the reserve of the issue department of the Bank of England in silver ought to be carried out.

The other contribution, Mr. President, the calling in of the 10-shilling gold pieces and issuing silver in their place, would have provided for some £23,000,000 worth of silver, a material contribution to the further and enlarged use of silver.

The other suggestion was as to the 20-shilling notes. Both of those suggestions were recommended in terms in 1888 in the report of the gold and silver commission of 1886 as a concession which should be made if any attempt were made internationally to settle the silver question by the inauguration of a bimetallic system, and the 20-shilling notes were specifically recommended by Mr. Goschen.

Thus, Mr. President, speaking very briefly and very hastily, I have covered the other suggestions that were made to the English Government when we were requested to indicate what contributions England could make. All other proposals, however, were of infinitely small importance compared with that respecting the reopening of the mints of India to the unlimited coinage of silver and the repeal of the order permitting gold

to be paid for Government dues and to be exchanged for Government rupees.

This great dependency has a population of 290,000,000 of people for centuries accustomed to measure all other values by silver. Since the days of the Mogul dynasties, I think, she has known no other standard but silver. Again and again attempts have been made to put gold into India. The mohur, the exact weight of the rupee, but a gold coin, and worth fifteen times as much, has been made legal tender and been authorized by law to be received in payment of Government dues, but it never passed into circulation. Another gold coin, known as the pagoda, worth about $1.75, but differing in value in the different provinces of India, has been sought to be introduced, but was invariably refused general circulation. Up to 1835 each separate province in India issued its own silver rupees, of varying weight and fineness, and in 1835 a law was enacted providing that the Madras rupee, the present rupee, should be the standard and destroying the legal-tender quality of gold.

Later gold was, by order in council, made tender to the equivalent of 10 rupees, but nothing apparently was done about it. It never was acted upon. But silver was the invariable standard in India until June 26, 1893, when the mints of India were closed to the coinage of silver, in accordance with the recommendation of the commission known as Lord Herschell's commission.

There is estimated to be in India silver to the enormous amount of upward of seventeen hundred and fifty million ounces. Of this there is coined into rupees and in circulation as money about 570,000,000 ounces. There is coined into rupees and hoarded about 150,000,000 ounces. There is in bullion, hoarded, and in bangles and other ornaments, easily convertible into bullion, more than one thousand million ounces.

Contemporaneously with the closing of the India mints an order was made providing that sovereigns and half sovereigns of current weight should be received at all the treasuries of British India and its dependencies in payment of sums due to the Government and in exchange for Government rupees as the equivalent of 15 rupees and of 7 rupees and 8 annas, respectively. This announcement was accompanied by a public statement of the Viceroy that it was intended to introduce a gold standard into India, but that gold would not be made a legal tender for the present.

The effect of this action, of course, was to limit the maximum

value of the rupee, measured by gold, to 1 shilling and 4 pence (1/4), and practically to attempt to declare the ratio between gold and silver in India to be 1 to 22 and a fraction; a ratio which was nearly, but not quite, maintained from the date of the closing of the India mints until last week, when India exchange was quoted at 16⅛ pence. I hope at a later time to be able to discuss in the Senate the effect of this action of India upon the possible future action of the United States, and also the remarkable action which the Chamber of Commerce of the Straits Settlements took last month in petitioning the English Government to give them an entirely different ratio; to put them upon a gold basis and give them gold pieces of one tenth the value of the sovereign—fifty cents—and make it the equivalent of the silver dollar. But to-day I do not care to go into that branch of the question.

There was both in England and in India bitter opposition to the closing of the India mints, not only from bimetallists but from merchants, bankers, and others having relations with that country. The measure was declared by some authorities to be temporary and grave doubts were expressed on every side as to the wisdom of the policy. There has ever since been a widespread impression that the India Government would be glad to retrace its steps. Many English gold monometallists of wide influence believe the policy to have been a mistaken one and would be glad to see the India mints reopened, if they could be without stimulating the cause of bimetallism and as a separate and distinct action. There was a general opinion, not limited to England, that the India Government would be quick to avail itself of an opportunity to reopen its mints and would welcome any international attempt toward bimetallism that would raise the value of silver, and would be glad to co-operate in such an attempt.

This belief found expression in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of March 17th, and I am sure that I violate no confidence when I say that the answer of the India Government protesting against reopening India mints was as much a surprise to the English Ministry as it was a disappointment to us. While the protest was not final and while the English Government in London could have overruled the objections from India, yet such action would have been contrary to all precedent. As a matter of fact, the home Government, it is said, unanimously upheld the report.

Frequent statements in our papers assert that the answer of

India was dictated from London. It may be that the blind and unreasoning fury of the city of London directed against any suggestion of contributions or concessions to an international settlement of the currency question which should recognize silver, and which threatened a panic and the overthrow of any ministry which attempted it, may have rendered the reply of the India Government not wholly unwelcome; but the policy outlined in the letter of September 16th, signed by the Viceroy and his associates, must stand as the deliberate and uninfluenced judgment of that Government.

To us the India situation is inexplicable. Millions of people, most of them extremely poor, have for years invested all their savings in silver. These accumulations a few years ago were worth a thousand millions of dollars and more. To-day they are worth less than half that sum. By the closing of the India mints and the artificial gold value given to silver India is at a great disadvantage with the neighboring countries, the exports of which are stimulated by the higher premium on gold, and they are robbing India of much of her manufacturing and export trade. The present policy inflicts upon India as well the evils of an insufficient and steadily lessening currency, evils which the vicissitudes of that dependency during the last twelve months have served to emphasize.

The world has heard much of the famine in India and of the great funds subscribed for its victims. It has not been, however, so generally known that the famine was one of money rather than food; that the contributions were chiefly forwarded to India in the form of money and not grain, and that during the whole period of the famine rice was abundant where men were starving, and its price was but a trifle over a cent a pound, less than the price of wheat in England. For all these evils—the loss in the value of the savings of the people, the disadvantage of a different purchasing value for silver in India from that which prevailed in China, the evils of an insufficient volume of money, and the enormous injury which commerce suffers through violent fluctuations in the rate of exchange—we offered what we believed to be a remedy. Our offer was refused, and the refusal must be considered as final until the failure of the experiment upon which the India Government has entered shall be demonstrated.

The English ministers have published, of their own motion, the résumé of the interviews which were held in London, and with it the correspondence between the home and India Govern-

ments. The story of our English negotiations is not wholy told in this publication, but it covers them generally.

There was one oversight in communicating the so-called proposals to the India Government. It was distinctly understood at all our interviews to be a condition of the assent of any country to an agreement that it should be entirely satisfied that the plan proposed, because of the adhesion of a sufficient number of other nations, or otherwise, would secure the maintenance of the parity proposed. Had this been fully understood it is possible, though not probable, that a somewhat different answer would have been returned from India.

Any statement respecting our negotiations would be incomplete if it contained no reference to the unusual and largely unforeseen obstacles we encountered.

First among these came the remarkable drop in the price of silver, which fell between March and September from 64 cents per ounce to 51.7 cents, and fluctuated violently during a still longer period. Nothing could from the point of view of sentiment have so discredited our attempts to restore silver to its old pedestal as this extraordinary decline in its bullion value; and it was but little compensation to us to know that the fall came chiefly through the action of the smelters of the United States, who became apprehensive and, contrary to custom, sold not only their stock of bullion on hand, but sold also for thirty and sixty days' delivery. It was wildly charged that there was a conspiracy to lower the price of silver, but a reasonably careful investigation puts the responsibility for the unusual decline at the door of our own smelters, aided perhaps by a small pool in New York which helped depress the price.

It was also unfortunate that coincident with our negotiations tariff legislation in the United States was necessary. We steadily declined to discuss bimetallism and tariff together, or to make one in the least degree dependent on the other. The French Ministry did not attempt to make the one control the other, and every civilized nation recognizes that the question of tariffs is one to be determined exclusively by the country imposing the duty. Future negotiations, however, respecting bimetallism must to a certain extent take account of tariffs. Radical tariff changes the effect of which is to destroy the industries of a friendly nation breed hostility and ill-feeling, and an alliance that would ordinarily be welcomed becomes unpopular and undesirable.

While we were in France, during the very period of our negotiations, such really unimportant but frictional enactments as

those imposing a duty on works of art and limiting the free luggage of a passenger returning from Europe to $100 in value, both of which bear heavily and almost exclusively upon French artists and French merchants, were ingrafted upon our tariff laws, causing no end of complaint; and had legislative action in France been necessary in the line of our negotiations, it would have been made evident that certain of our tariff provisions had strained somewhat the traditional friendship between these two nations.

We were advised also that there was much ill-feeling in Germany growing out of certain of our tariff changes. It is not the amount of duty imposed, but it is the sudden and radical changes in tariff laws which stir unfriendly feeling. In what I have said as to the effect of tariff changes upon the sentiments of foreign nations toward us I desire to exclude Great Britain. That is the one country where sentiment plays not the slightest part. Her adoption or rejection of a proposed international policy is always dependent on whether English interests, intelligently and selfishly considered, would be the gainer or the loser thereby. No other country has the right to find fault with this course, which seeks always the main chance, knows no traditions of friendship or of enmity, and looks only to England's gain, and it is worth something to any country dealing with her to be under no sense of obligation.

We were also somewhat embarrassed by the statements of representatives of New York bankers in England, who sought access to English officials and assured them that any sentiment which had formerly existed in the United States in favor of bimetallism was dead; that the mission was sent solely as a sop to a few far Western Republicans; that the country generally favored the gold standard, and that the President of the United States shared this view. The statements were untrue, of course, but in support of them these people assumed to present interviews and statements of the Director of the Mint, a hold-over from the last Administration, the late Comptroller of the Currency, an equally precious legacy, now out of the public service and translated to a Chicago bank, and pretended statements in letters from and interviews with the Secretary of the Treasury, to the effect that there was no chance for international or other bimetallism and favoring the permanent adoption of the gold standard.

Nobody in Europe cared a rap what the two minor prophets thought or said, as nobody in this country cares, but the alleged statements of the Secretary of the Treasury were a different

matter. We insisted that the letters must be forgeries and the interviews fictitious, and I trust they were, for it was inconceivable that a member of the Cabinet would seek to undermine the efforts of a mission appointed by the President and whose efforts he was cordially and zealously seconding.

We were also attacked from time to time by statements from extremists in the other direction, insisting that our efforts were sham and pretended; that we had no hope or expectation of success; that the President was secretly opposing us; that it was a disgrace to our country that we were permitted to invite other countries to join us in open mints; that it was humiliating that we were even consulting any other country on the subject; that failure was inevitable, and the sooner we came home the better. It was a new and somewhat ludicrous view of the silver question that made it humiliating that this country should invite other countries like France to join us in open mints, or that made it unimportant to ascertain the attitude of India, with her thousand million ounces of silver in bullion and ornaments changing hands in the bazaars at bullion value, and her 570,000,000 ounces of silver in silver coins doing duty at the ratio of about 22 to 1.

This attitude was by no means universal, and I beg to make especial exception of the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Jones], chairman of his party's national committee, who, from the first suggestion of an effort to secure an international agreement, while not believing it feasible, has ever lent the project all possible support, and sought only to strengthen the hands of the mission. It is unfortunately true, however, that the bitterness of the last campaign so blinded the vision of many men that the thing they believed to be impossible they came to hope would be impossible.

All of these occurrences, however, disturbing as they were, did not probably affect the outcome, so far as there has been up to this time an outcome of the negotiations.

Upon receipt of the formal answer from Great Britain we returned home, after having first proceeded to Paris, where we consulted at length with the French Premier, M. Méline.

This, Mr. President, in brief, is the statement of our negotiations up to this point. The situation summarized is about this:

England finally and explicitly refuses to open English mints to silver or to alter her existing gold standard. She declines to open India mints to the coinage of silver, basing her refusal specifically, first, upon the lack of certainty that France and the United States could together maintain the parity between gold

and silver at the ratio suggested, and, second, upon the proposed ratio of 15½ to 1. We are invited to make any further proposals which shall take into consideration these objections, but it is apparent that for the time being it is useless to count on any co-operation from Great Britain toward a bimetallic agreement.

France actively desires to see silver restored to its old position as a standard of value equally with gold. She insists, however, that the problem is one which demands international action and the co-operation to some adequate extent of other leading commercial nations of the world. Questions of possible future negotiations between France, the United States, and other countries and the question of change of ratio are for the moment held in abeyance. While we hope for continued joint action, France owes no further duty to us. She stood shoulder to shoulder with us in our attempt to secure from England even the concessions she voluntarily offered a few months ago.

In days when the influence of the money-lender is potent in almost every capital of the world and dominates courts and national policies, the Ministry of France stood fearlessly by the interests of the whole people and counted the welfare of its hundreds of thousands of small holders of land dependent for their existence upon the fruits of the soil as paramount to that of the powerful class which wants money dear and grain cheap. Whatever may be the final outcome of an effort through methods of diplomacy to secure some international action in favor of silver, the people of these United States will always remember gratefully the attitude of France upon this great question.

It is my sincere conviction that an international bimetallic agreement is still feasible, by the terms of which certain countries will join us and open their mints to the unlimited coinage of silver, and others will contribute to the plan an enlarged use of that metal as money; and I say this the more freely because I shall give way upon the Commission to somebody more fitted for such negotiations and better able to give them his constant time. This result cannot be brought about without the expenditure of both time and patience, and the persons intrusted with the duty of negotiation must have back of them the hearty support of the President and of Congress.

It may also be necessary, in my opinion, to make concessions in the ratio, bringing it somewhere in the neighborhood of 20 to 1, more nearly approximating the ratios recognized by Russia, Austria, and India. There are many countries unvisited where there is a strong bimetallic sentiment, and which would undoubt-

edly co-operate in some fair plan. The Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, in a recent speech, stated that it was reported that the German Emperor had said he was extremely sorry and disappointed to hear that the India Government would not reopen India mints. I trust this may be true, and, in any event, there are many promising fields as yet untrodden, and many avenues through which we may hope for success.

The cause of bimetallism is not dead in Europe. It is a living, vital, and growing force. Wherever the possession of land is accompanied by the possession of intelligence you find a bimetallist, and in countries where rank and ancient lineage are still associated with ancestral holdings, devotion to the principles of bimetallism is not yet discreditable; nor are its advocates classed as clods or cranks.

Here, Mr. President, I should naturally end this account of our negotiations, negotiations which are still pending and undetermined. The extraordinary statements, however, lately made by the Secretary of the Treasury, which, unexplained, must seriously affect the future of any further attempts toward securing international action, require some reference at this time.

When Congress convened on the 6th of last month, the President, in his references to the subject of international bimetallism, spoke earnestly and anxiously of his desire to see an international bimetallic agreement consummated. His assurances gave renewed hope to bimetallists all over the country, and seemed a final and conclusive answer to those who had claimed that the President was not in earnest in his efforts toward international bimetallism. For myself, I needed no such proof. I had again and again been made to know how genuine was the President's devotion to this settlement of the vexed question. Within a fortnight after this, with no event meanwhile which would change existing conditions, the Secretary of the Treasury, in support of a bill which he has prepared respecting the currency, said to a committee of Congress:

"The objects I have in mind in the series of provisions offered by me are four in number:

"1. To commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard, remove, so far as possible, all doubts and fears on that point, and thus strengthen the credit of the United States both at home and abroad."

. . . . . .

The two statements are utterly at variance and contradictory

to each other. They cannot be reconciled. This is not the proper occasion to analyze the bill of the Secretary. It will reach limbo long before it reaches the Senate. He proposes to capitalize the premium on our bonds sold recently and to make them, with others to be issued, a security definitely payable in gold.

The Secretary forgets that only a few months ago, when the country was in dire distress, we were compelled to pay nine millions of dollars for the privilege of keeping the word "gold" out of some of these very bonds. He ought not to forget, for the bank of which he was president, it was said, got some of the bonds and received some of the proceeds of that deplorable transaction. But I do not intend to discuss the bill, which the President's message specifically does not indorse, and it is premature to criticise the Secretary's Republicanism, for his advent into the party and the Cabinet were practically contemporaneous. We must accept the situation.

In my opinion, the great majority of the members of the Republican party are bimetallists. The fact that they are misrepresented by a Cabinet officer is not pleasing, but it is endurable. The selection of the members of his official household is the President's own affair; and so long as he stands upon the question of bimetallism where he has ever stood, there is no serious ground for apprehension. But even in the inconceivable event that the Chief Magistrate of this people should in the exercise of his judgment determine to countenance the final fastening upon this country of the burdens of the gold standard, I trust we may still find warrant for faith and hope in the pledges of the party and the wisdom of its counsels.

We will cross our bridges when we come to them. The time when this country will submit to the final imposition of gold monometallism is far away. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the ability of this country to maintain alone the parity between silver and gold, there is no question that the concurrence of other nations would help and not hinder the cause of bimetallism in the United States, and efforts to secure it ought to receive the cordial support of every citizen who is opposed to gold monometallism.

International bimetallism is not a myth, a chimera. The people of Europe are, even as we are, struggling to keep their heads above water, and seeking blindly for that which may make for prosperity and for progress. The evils of falling prices and dearer gold bring poverty and disaster to them as to us. It is said that the influence of money grows year after year.

So also does the influence of those great masses who toil from dawn till dark upon soil which God made rich and the unwise laws of man make profitless.

"With useless endeavor
Forever, forever,
Is Sisyphus rolling
His stone up the mountain!"

And every year of added burdens and lessened prices swells the ranks of those who refuse longer to believe that overproduction, cheaper transportation, and labor-saving inventions can account for the steady decline in values since the mints were closed, nearly a quarter of a century ago. Dollar wheat is dollar wheat the world over; but it does not tell the same story in France and Germany, where drought and flood have left only starvation in their wake, that it does here where the misfortunes of the Old World have brought prosperity to the New.

Much of the recent legislation in Europe looking to the increase of gold holdings, and the depreciation of silver, finds its origin in the exigencies of a situation where readiness for war is the paramount necessity. There is hardly a statesman in Europe who believes the last word has yet been said upon the question of the remonetization of silver, and hardly one who would not welcome an effort to settle the question internationally. Only a few days ago, just before Christmas, in a debate in the French Chamber, M. Méline again declared from the tribune that the French Government was at one with the United States on the question of bimetallism!

In the face of such a declaration it is as cowardly to abandon hope as it is false to talk about failure. International bimetallism is to the gold monometallist a stumbling-block, and to the silver monometallist foolishness, but it is nevertheless a splendid possibility. Its accomplishment would be the greatest blessing that could befall our people, and to achieve it we might well afford to sink for the time the hostilities of party and the bickerings of faction.

SECOND SPEECH ABOUT THE BIMETALLIC COMMISSION

In response to Senator Allen of Nebraska, Mr. Wolcott, June 3, 1898, said:

MR. PRESIDENT: If I had had my way, I doubt very much

if I should have in any degree brought into the discussion of this bill any question of bimetallism; but in the judgment—possibly the wise judgment—of others, through amendments regularly introduced, the discussion respecting the general subject of bimetallism has consumed most of the afternoon.

I should not now have taken one moment of the time of the Senate had it not been for the somewhat offensive suggestions of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen], not uttered upon this floor for the first or the second or the third time. He has declared himself to have been one of the four eccentric men, as he terms himself and his associates, who voted against the Commission established for the purpose of endeavoring to ascertain what could be done abroad on the subject of international bimetallism; and he has again referred to the fact that by the resolution which appointed the Commission the sum of $100,000 was appropriated to pay the expenses of that Commission, and he says that money might as well have been thrown away.

Mr. President, it is not pleasant to a man conscious of his own self-respect and desirous of preserving the dignity of his position to hear such suggestions; but it may relieve somewhat the Senator's conscience if he is informed that the three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States proceeded to Europe in the fulfilment of their duties and spent over six months there, doing such travelling in pursuit of their mission as was essential, and no more; that they took with them from here a skilled and competent secretary; that the total expenses of the Commission of these three members from the time they left until they returned, including the expenses of their secretary and every possible outlay and charge to the Government, was only $16,000. No member of the Commission went abroad except at the sacrifice of thousands of dollars of his own money.

It is undignified and it is unbefitting that a Senator of the United States should rise upon the floor and suggest that in the appropriation of the money there was misconduct on the part of the Government, or voice an imputation that the Commissioners spent money of the people of this country which they were not justified in expending. Outside of the actual travelling expenses to and fro upon the ocean, there was no member of the Commission who spent $3000. It was much below the sum ordinarily charged to the Government in such cases, and was but the slightest possible percentage of the actual and necessary

expenses of the Commission. Mr. President, I am tired of hearing that sort of suggestion, and I hope it will end here.

If the Senator from Nebraska has further curiosity upon the subject, he may proceed to the State Department, and, at his leisure, he may investigate the accounts, which have been regularly filed by the Commission and duly certified to, which stand upon the books of the State Department as showing the expenses of the Commission. It is possible, Mr. President, that when the Senator shall have done so he may correct his statement, which has been sent by him broadcast over the country again and again, and has been published in those "patent insides" in the West, which constitute the bone and the sinew and most of the brain of the Populist party.

The Senator from Nebraska says he always knew that any attempt to obtain international bimetallism would be a failure. I suppose the sapient Senator from Nebraska and his fellow-Populists at some crossroads in the western part of his State, who know where Europe is on the map, and know but little else of the countries of the world, got together and determined that no country but the United States was intelligent enough to have ideas upon the money question. They were unaware of the fact that the great leaders of thought in England, in France, and in Germany were, for more than a generation before the party of which the Senator from Nebraska is such a shining light was ever heard of, bimetallists from conviction and from principle; and from that day to this they have preached it as the one doctrine that can bring prosperity to the people of the world and can advance civilization.

When this Commission went abroad it met those men.

Fortunately, Mr. President, the silver parties of Europe are not hampered with the long-haired cranks who want silver only as they want tin or paper or anything else that adds to the circulation and gives people more money. They have the producers there belonging to that party, not the men who work only with their tongues and want to share the money of the people who have been able to earn it.

The Commission went abroad and met the leaders of thought, the men who understand the question and have devoted a life to it, and they found men just as earnest as we were for bimetallism; and the Senator, who knew it would be a failure, did not know that it came very near being a success. If the movement was hampered at home, it was hampered not alone by published interviews with the Secretary of the Treasury, but it

was hampered as well by scores and scores of men who had been for "16 to 1 or bust" by the United States alone; who were so anxious to succeed themselves that they would rather defeat bimetallism than have it brought about by the nations of the world uniting in favor of it—men who would rather see the cause of bimetallism damned forever than see it brought about in a rational manner by rational men by a universal international agreement.

Fortunately, Mr. President, there are members of the Senator's party, and there are members on the other side of the Chamber, who had a broader vision and a clearer light, who stood here the friends of the Commission through thick and thin.

France wants bimetallism to-day. It may not be thought so out in western Nebraska; but they do. France wants it, and would be glad to co-operate with us in securing it on any fair basis. There are other countries of Europe outside of France waiting only to follow the lead of France and the United States, if we shall attain it.

When the Commission went to England we found ourselves upon familiar ground, with men who believe upon the question as we do, and every member of that Commission was an earnest and honest bimetallist, and wanted to bring bimetallism about; and they hoped they had accomplished it. In the early summer of 1897 there was not a member of the English Ministry who did not believe our labors would result in an international bimetallic agreement. The answer of Sir James Westland, of the Indian Council, was like a flash out of a clear sky, and as much of a surprise to them as it was to us; but following the traditions regarding the India Office since its foundation, they declined to interrupt the policy which the Governor-General and all his associates in the Council had recommended. Rather, however, than decline the invitation which France and the United States had extended to them, they distinctly in terms invited us to present some other proposition, if we could, looking to an international agreement respecting bimetallism; and that is what the Senator from Nebraska calls "a delusion and a snare."

Mr. President, the experiment now about to be tried by the Government of India will, in the opinion not only of the bimetallists of the world but of nine tenths of the gold monometallists of London, result in abject and utter failure. It will be impossible to install and impose upon the people of India the gold standard; and we are still asked if we have some other suggestion to make.

In the face of that situation, Mr. President, I say that he is an enemy and not a friend of bimetallism who stands up in this body and talks about international bimetallism being "a delusion and a snare," saying to the people of his section, "No, it cannot be brought about"; and who has no better argument to present in favor of an international settlement of this great and vital question than making untrue and unpleasant and undignified suggestions that the Commission took a large sum of money out of the funds of the people of the United States and squandered it.

LAST WORD ON SILVER

NATIONAL BONDS AND INTERNATIONAL BIMETALLISM

IN the Senate, February 12, 1900.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: The provisions of the bill under consideration have no direct relation to the question of bimetallism, and in no respect affect its present aspect or the possibilities of its future attainment. Nevertheless, in the public mind all currency measures, because of recent party issues, assume political hue and are popularly supposed to have some bearing upon what is known as the "silver question." For this reason it seems to me an opportune time, in addition to a few words respecting the scheme and purpose of the pending bill, to express briefly some views upon the general principles of bimetallism, especially as affected by recent European action, and the attitude of the political parties in this country upon this important and far-reaching question.

The bill as it came to us is radically changed and modified, and a substitute bill reported. For the purposes of this debate, and until the bill, if it passes, shall return from conference, argument is alone applicable to the Senate Bill, for when the measure leaves this Chamber it will undoubtedly bear upon it the stamp and impress which the Finance Committee of the Senate has placed upon it, and that bill alone is under practical consideration here.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Aldrich], Chairman of the Finance Committee, in opening the debate, gave us in a speech of remarkable lucidity the plan and scope of the bill. With much that he said nearly every Senator on this side of the Chamber was in sympathy. Other conclusions some of us cannot share. For instance, the first section of the bill is, as every Senator must know, surplusage, and wholly needless. I refer to the provision reciting the contents of the gold dollar and declaring that it shall continue to be the standard unit of value. Of course it will, and it would so continue if this section were eliminated from the bill. We might as well gravely pass a law providing that a yard shall continue to be three feet in length, or that in the future, as in the past, an acre of land should contain one hundred and sixty square rods. Its re-enactment changes in no single respect existing law, and its presence in the bill can be accounted for only by assuming that the Committee think men are like children and need to be frequently reassured that everything is all right, as the idea formerly prevailed in primitive communities, that the people slept better if they were aroused at midnight by the town crier ringing his bell and informing them that it was twelve o'clock and that all was well. The section has been the law since 1873, and is hardly worth discussing now.

The following section of the bill increasing the gold reserve and effectually preventing for the future the ability of banks and individuals to draw out at will the gold in the Treasury through the endless chain of the greenbacks, now re-issued as soon as received, is, in my opinion, an excellent provision and one of value in precluding the future depletion of the gold in the Treasury in those times of depression and panic which periodically overtake the country; and it should assist in avoiding the necessity of issuing additional bonds to protect the reserve.

The silver and silver certificates as provided for in the bill rest upon a footing entirely separate and apart from the other metallic money in the Treasury. Their legal-tender quality is left to them. There is a discrimination concerning them, not necessarily discrimination against them. The terms of redemption upon which they were issued are not changed; but to make them more in demand it is provided that hereafter no bills under $10 shall be issued by any of the national banks or by the Government, and the burden of all the small bills of the country shall fall upon these certificates. There is no objection to that provision. It does not injure or affect in the slightest de-

gree the negotiability, the legal-tender qualities, or the value, or the standard of the silver certificates.

There is, however, one limitation respecting them that the Committee within the next few months or year will, in my opinion, have to legislate respecting. There are now outstanding some $394,000,000 of silver certificates. There are now outstanding in small bills, including the silver certificates, an amount equal to $391,000,000, as I compute it. If the increase comes to the national-bank circulation it must come under the provisions of this bill. There will have to be some legislation within the next few months providing either for some addition to the silver fund out of which further silver certificates shall be issued, or some provision compelling the issue of small bills applicable to some other notes of issue or some other fund now in the Treasury.

The provision requiring the payment of the principal and interest of the new bonds in gold represents, I think, a mistaken view as to our national credit. From the point of view of bimetallism the provision is serious only in that it is an apparent discrimination in favor of the one metal and against the lawful money of the country. Upon the re-establishment of a bimetallic basis it can make no difference as to the terms employed or the metal named in the bond, for the two metals will be interchangeable. It is true that the Government is but following a fashion which has prevailed in this country for nearly a score of years. Four fifths of our railroad bonds, aggregating a far greater sum than the amount contemplated by this bill, the bonds of almost every industrial and manufacturing company, municipal and county loans all over the land, and countless mortgages made by individuals are, by their terms, specifically payable in gold. The framers of the bill assert that by the insertion of this clause the bonds can be floated at a lower rate of interest than would otherwise be required. It may be so. My home is somewhat west of the money-lending belt, but I cannot but express my regret that the Committee felt that the exigencies of the money market required a departure from the terms heretofore used in Government obligations.

It must, however, be a great source of pride to every citizen in this land, to whatever party he may belong, to realize the fact that these United States can go into the markets of the world and place their securities at par at a lower rate of interest than can any other Government on either continent. No other country approaches ours in this regard. England comes near-

est, and her consols, now selling nearly at par, pay two and three fourths per cent. And it must not be forgotten that these bonds are issued at a time when money is in greater demand all over the world than ever before. In Germany, where there is to-day wonderful prosperity, so great is the demand for money that her Prussian bonds, drawing three per cent., and an unquestioned security, sell in the markets at ninety-five or less, and the new Saxony bonds, also drawing three per cent., and equally good bonds, were marketed at eighty-five. It must be admitted that in the ability to place the new two-per-cent. bonds at par we are greatly aided by the provisions of the bill making them attractive to the national banks of the country; but that we can accomplish it under any circumstances is a gratifying indication of popular confidence in our institutions and our financial integrity.

The other important feature of the bill is the one providing for the exchange of the bonds for those now outstanding and permitting more favorable terms for their use by the national banks of the country as a basis for national-bank circulation.

The national banks had their rise when this Government needed support in carrying out the resumption of specie payments. By means of them we succeeded where we might otherwise have failed. Succeeding years have only more firmly implanted them as an integral part of our financial system, not to be uprooted without a more radical change of policy than any party or administration would care to attempt. The whole argument is too ancient and threadbare for me to enter into here. If this Government were new and were to outline its financial policy, most of us, I take it, would favor some plan akin to that followed by the leading countries of Europe, or the issue of all the money direct by the Government; but the national-bank system has become so intricately interwoven into our financial fabric that there seems no way but to accept the banks and to utilize them. We provide that hereafter circulation may issue to the par of all bonds deposited for that purpose, thus at once giving us some $200,000,000 of additional circulation. We favor the exchange of old into new bonds by levying but half the tax on them that was imposed when the older bonds were deposited, and by this means it is believed the exchange will be greatly facilitated and hastened. Under these favorable terms it is estimated that within the next few months at least $200,000,000 of additional national-bank circulation will follow the passage of the bill. There is no department of human in-

dustry to-day in the United States and in the rest of the world as well that is not suffering because of an insufficient volume of money and which would not be benefited by a legitimate enlargement of the currency. Under our existing gold standard there seems to be no other available method of giving us this greatly needed increase than the one favored by this bill.

There is, however, a serious objection to all national-bank circulations, both present and prospective,—an objection which the passage of this bill will sooner or later accentuate and make more apparent. The money of the world in use by the commercial nations dealing outside their borders, and having the same standard, must necessarily be fairly distributed among them. Later, I hope, to dwell more at length upon this undoubted fact. We cannot keep more than our distributive proportion of money, and any enlargement of our paper circulation must necessarily lead to the loss of some of our gold. The paper will of course remain here, but when the kiting times which will follow a large increase in our paper shall have ended, as they must, then, perhaps spasmodically, but surely, a proportionate share of the gold in the country must go abroad. Two hundred million dollars of increase in national-bank paper means perhaps a loss, on that account, of $100,000,000 of gold. We need more money, but the increase should be in the metals, and not in paper.

I have thus summarized briefly, Mr. President, the important features of the bill under discussion. It is not ideal legislation.

Looking to the currency problems of the whole world, all legislation of the character contemplated by this bill is to those who believe in the principles of bimetallism unwise, because under the beneficent working of the bimetallic system it would be unnecessary. It is but one more step to be eventually retraced. This country has less to answer for than any other of the great commercial countries of the world, for we were the last to abandon silver, and it may be that by legislation which protects us and our national credit, in the general scramble for gold and the repudiation of silver, we are really, though unconsciously, fighting the battle of international bimetallism. But our course can be justified only upon the theory that we are acting in self-defence. Upon that theory, and because alone we seem at this time powerless to restore silver to its parity with gold at the old ratio, and judging from the wisdom of the proposed legislation upon the basis that our mints are now open to gold and closed to silver, there are to my mind

advantages apparent in the provisions of the bill over existing law.

But, Mr. President, the enactment of this measure into law, without at the same time accompanying it with a reaffirmance of the position of the Republican party respecting international bimetallism, would be an apparent abandonment of the principles and policy of the party, and no language of the supporters of the bill could change or obliterate this inevitable conclusion; and the amendment reported by the Finance Committee conveys a positive assurance to the world that this country, able to hold its own among the nations of the earth, with gold as its standard, is still ready to meet and treat with the other leading commercial countries looking to an international agreement to open the mints of the world to silver as well as gold.

I realize, Mr. President, that these seem unpropitious days for those of us who cherish belief in bimetallism and faith in its final triumph. These are prosperous times. The enormous increase in the gold output has revived industry and stimulated manufactures and business and raised prices all over the world, and especially in this country, where we have had the added stimulus of an excellent protective tariff and a wise and conservative administration of public affairs. The prosperity is real, is universal, and I trust may be long continued. But the experience of generations has taught us that cycles of depression and stagnation follow periods of prosperity as inevitably as the night follows the day. We observe the injunction of that wisest of men who bade us, "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider." The reaction is sure to come; when it does, public interest will be again aroused to consider the wisdom of a policy which would do more than any other to ameliorate and lessen the hard times which seem the invariable attendant of our commercial life, and it is important that we be ready for its consideration.

The principles of bimetallism are firmly implanted in the very foundation of the Republican party. For nearly a quarter of a century, with every recurring national convention we have renewed our declaration of faith in the doctrine. The amendment, together with the law of 1897, creating a commission for negotiation with foreign governments, still in force, is in accord and in line with its former declarations, and furnishes to the United States their only hope for an honest effort toward a restoration of a parity between gold and silver. It is true there are doubt and hostility in certain quarters, but the great mass

of the voters of the country are bimetallists, provided always bimetallism can be secured without impairment of the national credit. "Truth is the daughter of Time," and sooner or later, when other experiments have failed, the principle will secure adoption by the intelligent nations of the world.

In this country bimetallism has received its greatest injury and suffered its severest blow at the hands of the Bryan Democracy. In close alliance with the Populist party, which still demands an irredeemable and inflated paper currency, clamoring for free silver at 16 to 1 by the United States alone, to the exclusion of any other settlement of the question; advocating openly depreciated money, ridiculing all idea of international agreement, associating their demands with a snarling protest against every policy which seeks the enforcement of law and order and the maintenance of the honor of our country and the fulfilment of our obligations to mankind, it is not surprising that they have so clouded the minds of men that many of them, seeing no difference between the free silver of Bryan and real bimetallism, are inclined to seek an end of the whole matter and hesitate to deal with the subject in any form.

But, Mr. President, we can be honest and win.

The failure of the Republican party to stand up for the principles it has always advocated will bring it no additional votes. The Chicago platform offers no hope for bimetallism. There are some gold monometallists in the country of both political parties. They will not vote for Bryan or Bryanism under any circumstances. Accentuating the contrast in the financial demands of the two parties by excluding all reference to international bimetallism would serve only to throw into the shadow the negations and Populistic notions and heterogeneous patchwork of the Democracy now in the saddle, which they call a platform. Our St. Louis declaration of faith and of principles elected Mr. McKinley once, and it will triumphantly re-elect him, and I must be pardoned for urging that it is bad politics as well as bad morals for us to change the line of battle in the face of a once-defeated enemy.

When I entered the Senate eleven years ago, and afterward, I believed and asserted my belief that the United States alone, unaided by any other nation, could establish and maintain for the whole world the parity between gold and silver if it opened its mints to the free coinage of both metals at the old ratio of 16 to 1; and under the conditions then existing, and which seemed certain to follow our action, I still believe it might then

have been accomplished. What was true a few years ago is no longer true. The commercial value of silver was then far greater than now; India had but just closed her mints, we believed temporarily; Russia had not declared her ratio of 24 to 1; Japan was still upon the silver standard, and the annual product of gold was normal, showing a slight but steady increase year after year, and the world's supply of metal money was grossly inadequate. To-day we face a vastly different condition of affairs, and for one I should shrink from entering upon the experiment alone and at the old ratio. Not only the hostility of the vast majority of the taxpayers of our own country, but the attitude of the civilized governments of the world, the existence in India of a thousand million ounces and more of silver, uncoined, sold from day to day in the bazaars, the uncertainty as to the future of the Orient,—all these vexed and unsettled problems might well make us pause.

It is not necessary now to discuss further that question, but it is my judgment that if Mr. Bryan were to-day President of the United States, and if a majority of Congress were of his way of thinking, they would never dare seek to impose upon this country the responsibility of entering alone and unaided upon the duty of maintaining a parity at the old ratio.

Those of us who hold pronounced views on bimetallism and who belong to and intend to remain in the ranks of the Republican party, and who, with the adoption of the amendment, intend voting for this bill, do not ask you to face that possibility or to embark upon any uncertain sea. We only ask you to declare to the other leading countries of the world your willingness to consider with them the question of the restoration of bimetallism at some fair ratio. The initiative will probably, and should, come from them and not from us; but it is our duty to leave the door open for them if they seek an entrance, and not to close it against advances which, in my opinion, are certain to be made.

Long usage and experience have taught us that the precious metals are the true basis for money. And experience has also taught us that the two metals circulating concurrently tend the one to equalize the other, to prevent the disturbances naturally caused by an abnormal over- or under-production of either, and to preserve a stable par of exchange between them.

It has also been abundantly demonstrated that whenever there is a contraction or a lessening in the volume of money, or whenever its supply fails to keep pace with the increased

needs for it, growing out of new industries, a widening commerce, the development of new countries, and the growth of population, there must follow a lowering of prices, depression in trade, poverty, and suffering.

The wonderful discoveries and enormously increased product of gold which the last three years have witnessed furnish the latest proof of the truth of this statement, so often verified as to have become axiomatic. And, Mr. President, if this great output of gold shall continue and increase, as it bids fair to do, it will go a long way toward making permanent that general rise in values which is now bringing the world prosperity.

But even so, Mr. President: if the Transvaal, when days of peace shall return in that region now devastated by war, should quadruple its output; if the Klondike and Cape Nome should rival the Rand in wealth; and if the wonderful gold production in Cripple Creek and throughout our mining regions should continue and increase, as there is every reason to believe it will, it would still be true that every civilized gold-using country which relies upon agriculture or which may compete with silver-using countries in the labor employed in its mills and manufactories would still suffer great and destructive disadvantage until at some fair ratio the two metals again marched side by side.

It is impossible for us who live in a country whose people are intelligent, alert, educated, and interested in all questions which affect the habitable globe, closely connected with each other by railways, and enlightened by thousands of printed newspapers, to comprehend the existence of the hundreds of millions of human beings who people India and Asia. If their life and habits of thought and rules of conduct are an enigma for us, ours are a far greater mystery to them. For more than one hundred and fifty years England has dominated India and has made hardly an impression upon its life and people.

The great Empire of China is to the whole world practically unknown. They know nothing and care less for our civilization. Theirs is to them grander and nobler and more complete. Honeycombed with ancient traditions and customs, from father to son they know no change. The coin that suffices to remunerate their labor to-day has been the measure of their pay for generations. Our commerce, our laws, our economic systems, have hardly touched the surface of their lives. Our commercial intercourse with them leaves no more impress upon the calm waters of their national existence than do our argosies upon the trackless seas that wash their shores, and long after we shall be buried

in oblivion those great masses of humanity will continue in their ancient traditions and usages, untouched and unaffected by our modern civilization.

Their grain with which this country actively competes, the fruit of their constantly increasing looms and manufactories which are sold side by side with ours in the markets of Europe, in small volume now, but each year in steadily increasing quantities, for gold and exchanged for silver at nearly two dollars for one, will still be produced at a cost measured by silver, not as it is valued to-day, but having nearly the same purchasing power it had thirty years ago.

The question assumes even greater importance since our acquisition of the Philippines. Here are five millions of people knowing only silver, living in the region of silver-using countries, with whom we are to deal, for whom we must furnish a means of exchange recognized by the merchants of the whole world and secured as well by the faith and credit of the United States, and we can never impose upon them a gold standard and a gold currency without destroying their ability to compete with the other countries of the Orient.

It used to be said, when silver was so largely over-produced in proportion to gold, that there was not enough gold in the world to make it certain that silver would not become the cheaper metal, as monometallists term it, and drive out the gold from circulation. Every dollar of gold added to the world's supply lessens this danger, which was apparent and not real, and the greater the supply and increase in the gold product of the world, the more essential it is that the possibility of its fluctuation should be guarded and regulated by the circulation as money of its sister metal. It is said that in the Rand alone there are upwards of two thousand million dollars of gold already in sight. Distant as the prospect may seem, you may yet find it essential to establish a parity between the two metals so that gold shall not fall in value below the ratio.

It seems to me idle to say that the question is national and not one equally affecting the other commercial nations of the world and inviting their active co-operation and approval. As long as a country is without foreign commerce, the character of her money is a matter of national concern alone. Whenever a nation deals with the other countries of the world and has debts to pay and credits to receive, the character and volume of the money of the countries with which she trades become of immediate importance in arriving at a medium of exchange.

The vast gold product of the Rand is coined in foreign mints, but an unappreciable amount of it reaches ours; and yet the increase in metallic money, because of the added available gold product, is largely accountable for our prosperity and for the recent increase in the price of both goods and wages. Our distributive share comes to us and is dependent not alone on population, but as well upon the character and extent of our industrial and commercial transactions and upon the habits of our people respecting the amount of actual money we use.

Year after year our relations with other countries are becoming more closely interwoven; we are intimately concerned in their welfare; the markets to-day reflect the advance or the checks of the British armies in South Africa; a panic in Paris or Berlin or London seriously disturbs values here, and every question affecting our financial policy is more and more an international one. We are rapidly forging to the front, not only as the greatest commercial nation in the world, but as its financial centre. If Heaven blesses us with one or two years more of bountiful crops, we shall become for all time a creditor and no longer a debtor nation, and be able to influence the world's financial policy as never before in our history.

Our foreign commerce is marching with giant strides. It needs no prophet's vision to foretell a future which shall witness our sails on every sea, our manufactures competing successfully in every land, our inventions still more generally adopted; our labor, the most intelligent and productive in the world, finding remunerative employment in the manufactured articles sold abroad; our vast agricultural areas developed to their fullest capacity, furnishing food to millions of people beyond our borders, carried on American ships manned by American seamen. Who shall say that we are not interested in the financial resources and policy of every country in the world and that it is not of vital importance that we shall aid in securing some universal international system that shall be free from sudden change and fluctuation, or that great questions of financial policy, upon which depend the prosperity and therefore the happiness of our people, are not international questions?

There have been three international conferences upon the subject of bimetallism, and failure has been written opposite each.

The conference of 1878 was held too soon after the change which Germany had made in her financial policy. That Empire refused to participate; France held aloof, and England attended only through courtesy.

The conference of 1881, called at the invitation of France and the United States, following close upon the heels of the former one, added much to the world's knowledge of the subject, but Continental politics still played an important part, and no conclusion was reached.

The conference of 1892, summoned at our invitation, at the head of which the President designated the able and distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. Allison], was doomed from the first, although at the outset it seemed full of promise. The Conservative party in England, in general sympathy with the movement, went out of power between the time when the law was enacted authorizing the representation of Great Britain and the time when the delegates were named. Mr. Gladstone, Prime Minister, was hostile, and both the English delegation and the instructions which accompanied them were unfavorable. France, content with her system, lent an unwilling ear and a tardy approval of the conference. Germany allied herself with England in the announcement that she would make no change in her standard. Notwithstanding the ability of the delegation from this country, no result could be attained, and the conference adjourned, nominally to meet again, but never resumed its sessions.

Meanwhile, in 1895, the three great countries of England, Germany, and France, either unanimously or by an overwhelming majority in their Parliaments, declared their desire to cooperate with the other Powers in an international conference for the purpose of removing or mitigating the constant fluctuations and growing divergence in the relative values of gold and silver. It was because of those resolutions by these three great powers, as well as in fulfilment of the pledge of the St. Louis platform and the principles of the Republican party, that in 1897 one more attempt was made to settle this question.

Mr. President, I do not intend to go into the facts concerning the Commission abroad or the preliminary trip which preceded it. I took the time of the Senate nearly two years ago with a very full description of what took place. But the lapse of time, perhaps, permits me to mention one or two facts which may be of interest in the Senate. The position of France has been referred to by one or two speakers during the course of this debate. The position of France was that she was bimetallic, and that under no conceivable circumstances would France make a change in her financial system. Without important concessions

from England, including the opening of the India mints, France would not proceed farther.

There was another fact which lapse of time permits me to state without embarrassment to anybody, and that is the undoubted fact that when our envoys—for there was no conference called—had their interviews with the English Ministry in the late summer of 1897, before the proposals which we had made were forwarded to India, the English Ministry were of the unanimous opinion that the India authorities would quickly avail themselves of our offers, and that the result of our proposals would be the acceptance of them. That fact is as undoubted as any fact in existence. When people talk here of the futile efforts of the envoys, they little realize how near to the achievement of success we came.

There is one further fact of greater importance in view of what I am going to say, and that is that I sincerely believe that if we had then been in a position, either in the summer before our proposals went to India, or afterward, upon their return, to negotiate with the English Government upon the basis of a change of ratio, not great, not enormous, but something of a change to meet the altered conditions, we might still then have come back with an agreement executed, and not with failure. But we were not at liberty so to do. The hostility that prevailed here would have prevented.

Mr. President, it is undoubtedly true that our final success was perhaps neither furthered nor hindered by the attitudes and actions of parties and individuals on this side of the water. But there was nothing left undone by the extremists on both sides to injure and destroy our usefulness and the possibility of our success.

I do not care again to refer to the action of Administration subordinates. Above them all was the President of the United States, and it is beyond any question that he, as well as the ambassadors abroad, cordially and zealously co-operated with the Commission, and gave us a free hand and the fullest power.

There are, however, some facts concerning the attitude of the followers of Mr. Bryan toward an attempt to secure an international agreement, not only while we were abroad but since, of which it is pertinent to speak at this time and which clearly indicate the policy of this party respecting this question.

There were notable exceptions. I spoke of some of them when I came back. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Jones] and others cordially seconded our efforts; but even on the pre-

liminary journey, before we went away, the then Senator from Utah, Mr. Cannon, felt pretty bad to think we had gone, and talked of it as the "dilettante dalliance with the question," and spoke of our "genuflections before the throne of foreign finance."

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. Daniel], always earnest in this question, always able in its presentation, still felt that our country was losing some of its republican characteristics if we should be willing to speak with people who lived under a monarchy; and he said:

"The picture of the great republican people of America roaming 'as gently as any sucking dove,' through the haunts of Lombard Street, and seeking interviews with the magnates of foreign finance with the piteous wail that the American people may take this matter in their own hands unless some dole of concession be given them, is an impressive picture which should be put into the Rotunda of the Capitol."

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. Stewart] felt very badly about it, and he said:

"I want the time to come when the sending of ambassadors to Europe to supplicate the crowned heads to allow us to legislate for our own country shall stop."

And he thought:

"It is so unpatriotic, so un-American to go to Europe to get legislation for this country that I cannot look upon it with any favor. I cannot look upon it but as a calamity."

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Pettigrew], of course, was against us. And he said, among other things:

"I do not believe we should longer be suppliants at the feet of European nations."

And then he delivered himself of that doctrine which has been again and again reiterated by the adherents of Mr. Bryan. He said: "Suppose we could not maintain the parity; what harm would it do us?" He said we would then go into the ranks of the most prosperous people of the world. He defied mankind to show us a prosperous country on the gold standard, and said our only hope for prosperity was to become a

silver-using country unable to maintain the parity between gold and silver.

Mr. President, I do not care to go into the utterances of that time. The newspapers of the opposition were filled with every conceivable attack, not only on the policy sought to be carried out, but on our good faith in making the endeavor. It has been so from that day to this. Almost every orator, almost every speaker, and almost every newspaper have sought to bring ridicule and contempt upon us and upon our efforts to secure bimetallism by international agreement.

I do not mean to speak at length of occurrences in my own State; I speak of instances there only because they are evidence of the position of the Bryan party elsewhere. My friend the Senator from Montana and my friend the Senator from Idaho had the same experiences in their States. Mr. President, the fact that I went as an envoy and tried to bring about an international agreement that would bring silver back to coinage was used in Colorado as an argument to prove that I was a traitor, disloyal to silver, unworthy of my State. I was placarded all over the State, where I have lived since the year I became of age, as a traitor, disloyal to the State I represented, all because I tried to represent her and secure if I could some recognition for silver; and from that time until only the other day, when the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Allen], who seems to be now the chief mouthpiece of the Bryan Democracy, denounced our attempt as foolish and ridiculous, there has never been a public utterance by the Bryan party except in hostility to our efforts.

Mr. President, I do not mean to refer at length to Colorado, where there is naturally deep feeling on this question. At some future time I may. But I rejoice to say that there is a radical change taking place not only in Colorado, but in all the far Northwestern States. Our people are tired of hearing only a gospel of hate and sectionalism. We do not pay as much attention as we formerly did to the prophets of despair and doom, who are eternally warning us against the wrath to come, that somehow does not come. We are getting a glimmering shadow of an idea that if we want friendships, and prosperous communities, and capital for our marvellous resources, we are as apt to get them by maintaining cordial relations with the rest of the country, even if they do not fully agree with us on the silver question, as we are by bitter words and savage hate toward everybody who happens to differ with us; and that perhaps the

cause of bimetallism is not really furthered by an alliance with people who want to tear up railroads and tear down the Supreme Court, and whose principal mission seems to be to persuade mankind that they are on their way to the poorhouse.

Life is not all cheerfulness and content; but some of it is, and we are going to take ours without waiting for Mr. Bryan, for he may not arrive. The black spectre of the "crime of '73" no longer walks abroad in Colorado and keeps us awake nights. It has "gone over the range," and we are coming out from the caves of gloom into the open sunshine of hope.

Our commonwealth is the richest in natural resources in the whole Union, but its chiefest value is in the fact that it lies in the heart of this great free Republic, one of an eternal brotherhood of States, linked together in one common and immortal destiny.

In these attacks upon bimetallism the head of the party has especially distinguished himself. All through the last campaign in Nebraska again and again he denounced as foolish and futile all attempts to secure international bimetallism. And in a speech last summer at Louisville he disclosed fully and fairly his policy. And in his organ, the *National Watchman* or the *National Something*, the speech is reported. It is short, and I must read it. In it he declares and outlines the policy of his followers in respect to bimetallism. Mr. Bryan said:

"I believe that independent action will force international bimetallism, and that it is the only way that you will ever bring the nations of the Old World to an international agreement. When our commissioner goes over there, it will not be to petition; it will be to announce the purpose of the American people. He will tell them that 70,000,000 of people have as much right to protect their property from depreciation as a handful of financiers have to legislate more value into the notes and bonds and mortgages they hold. He will tell them that, by the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at 16 to 1, we can maintain the parity between gold and silver; and he will say: 'If you people doubt it, just remember that you have a good deal of money loaned in the United States that is payable in coin, and that coin means either gold or silver; and remember that if we fail to maintain the parity, it will be because you men conspire to make one of the metals cheap, and if you conspire to decry the value of silver—if you conspire to make gold dearer merely because you want to increase the value of your dollar—we will punish you by paying you in the metal you make cheap.'"

This is the gentleman whom a great party is to choose as

its standard-bearer; a gentleman who openly announces that if he were President of the United States, charged with the protection of the nation's honor, he would announce to the Governments of Europe that the United States intended opening its mints to silver; that in his opinion the parity would be maintained, but would threaten them if they did not join us, and the experiment failed, we would pay our obligations to them in depreciated money. This is a new doctrine, Mr. President—that of bimetallism by blackmail! It is not surprising in the light of this statement that investors insist on a gold bond, and one can readily understand why Mr. Bryan occupies the most unique and remarkable position of any man in our whole political history. It is but a few months before the National Democratic Convention, and his nomination is eagerly desired by both the great political parties. The Democracy wants him, the Republican party wants the Democracy to have him, and he wants himself!

The only exception among those on the other side of the Chamber who insist that we are humiliated by a bimetallic agreement was in the address of the able Senator from Virginia [Mr. Daniel] a day or two ago. I have a copy of that portion of his speech here in which he seems to favor international agreement, not for bimetallism, but to raise silver to a par, in which he says:

"Keep all our money at par. . . . Our present stock of silver can easily be kept at par with gold, as it has been since 1893, now nearly seven years. By the simple process of preserving its legal-tender quality we will preserve its par value."

The Senator then proposes, inasmuch as the people seem to want an international agreement, that we make an international agreement with Mexico and Central and South America. I shall be very brief on this point. I cannot believe that the Senator from Virginia carefully looked over the figures of Central and South America to see what he would do. In most of those countries you could not find a piece of gold in the country if you went over it with a hoe. There is none there. In most of them silver is at a premium, ranging from 50 to 500 per cent., and in many of them the standard is silver, and there is not any of that.

In Central America to-day, with a population of 3,400,000, there is at present 30 cents per capita of gold, and in South America there is $1.91 per capita. In 1897 they coined the

enormous sum in all South America of $49. That was the total gold coinage of South America, where, with a population of 38,000,000 people, they have $1,159,000,000 of uncovered paper money. They have $30.50 of uncovered paper money to every human being there, and that includes white people, who are few in number, Indians, negroes, Zamboes, and all the cross-breeds. For the white people it will average something over $200 per capita of uncovered depreciated paper money.

How in the world any man who desires, as the Senator from Virginia I know does, to maintain the parity of the two metals and the credit and good name of the United States, can believe that the silver cause can be helped by going into a silver bimetallic agreement with the countries of Central and South America I cannot see. The mints of South America are open to gold to-day. You pay 4.61 per cent., I think it is, to coin silver, and only 4.41 per cent. to coin gold. They will coin you a dollar of gold, which is legal tender; they will coin you a silver dollar, which is legal tender, and you can take the dollar of gold and go into the same treasury and get 2.1 silver dollars. How in the world the Senator from Virginia would hope to bring about a bimetallic agreement with those countries that would do us any good I cannot see; but I do not care to go any farther into it now.

Mr. President, I do believe that whoever says international bimetallism is dead has not fully familiarized himself with the question. It is true that for the present all negotiations are in check and stopped. England, at an enormous cost to India and enormous cost to herself, is now trying upon that unhappy people an experiment which almost every economic thinker, including most of the bankers and merchants of the city of London, believes must be fraught with disastrous failure. The agricultural interests of England and the population in Lancashire are still adherents of the bimetallic doctrine. In view of the almost certain failure of the India experiment, it is not only my opinion but that of most of the economic thinkers of Europe that there is every probability that within a short period the Empire of England will be very glad to consider the question again.

The Empire of Germany has one great party, the Agricultural party, overwhelmingly and practically unanimously bimetallic. Curiously enough the hostility to bimetallism in Germany comes solely and principally from the labor people, the Socialist party. Those who represent labor inscribe in their platforms and upon

their banners hostility to bimetallism in any form; but that country has not recently been officially approached. Its writers, thinkers, representatives, express the opinion, especially in view of the great prosperity that is attending that country to-day and the great needs for a larger volume of money, which are everywhere evident, and which have reduced the price of her good securities—her bonds—to so low a rate, that she also would be glad to consider the question.

With France there would be a greater difficulty. That great Republic is becoming more and more indifferent to open mints, because she has a decreasing population and an enormous circulation per capita. The new gold discoveries are adding, if you will notice, month after month, to the preponderance of the gold reserve over the silver reserve in the Bank of France, making her present great stock of silver safer for her to carry; and there is more reluctance and less initiative to-day in the Republic of France than anywhere. But all those countries are ready for international bimetallism if some change of ratio can be made, not large, but in some measure meeting the great difference between the two metals. You must remember that there have been four or five changes of ratio in the history of silver, and that every change has been a moderate increase in the ratio. I believe that soon all those countries will be ready for negotiation; I believe also with beneficent results.

It is my sincere conviction that in our day, and soon, a genuine and united effort will be sought by the leading commercial nations to restore the bimetallic system. The amendment before the Senate informs the world that we stand ready to co-operate. If it is accomplished, it can be only through the aid in this country of the party which has ever stood for the maintenance of the national honor and the national credit; and when it comes it will come to bless mankind.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

RECOGNITION OF CUBAN INDEPENDENCE

THE Senate, April 15, 1898, having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 149) for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It had not been my intention to participate in the slightest degree in this debate until some of the reflections upon the Chief Executive of this nation were uttered yesterday; and they have led me, in view of the fact that I intend now to vote for the joint resolution of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to desire to publicly disassociate myself utterly and wholly from any of those discreditable insinuations.

In my opinion, Mr. President, the great mass of the people of this nation do not desire war, if they can avoid it; but they see no way how, under the providence of God, it may be averted. The people of these United States have stood and stand to-day loyally by the President. His position, frictional and difficult at best, has been administered by him as became an incumbent of that high office. Brave himself, he abhors war; but he abhors unrighteousness more. He has dealt in most courageous fashion with that popular clamor which would have been so easy for him to follow—a popular clamor natural and patriotic and loyal, but necessarily uninformed and unreasoning. He has

been compelled to contend with the disgraceful conduct and utterances of a degraded journalism which has, I regret to say, found influence among those in high station—a journalism which would cheerfully and gladly plunge this country into war to-morrow if it could increase its circulation a few copies.

He has had to contend with the impassioned utterances which have taken place in both Houses of Congress; utterances, Mr. President, which we have no right to criticise. The Senate is an open forum where every man is responsible only to his conscience for what he says, and if his utterances make the task of diplomacy more difficult, we must accept it as one of the features of our institutions, and we must seek to be so strong in other directions that we can overcome the evils which may grow from them.

All these influences in these long and arduous and trying and difficult days the President of the United States has met with that splendid conservatism which comes to all good men when responsibility and power are imposed upon them. He has met them not alone with the courage of a man who has known the smoke of battle, but he has met them with the fortitude and courage of the Christian who desires to save, if possible, the lives of every American committed to his charge; and, Mr. President, that confidence and that affection and that respect have been reflected for weeks in the forbearance and tolerance and courtesy of this body throughout all these trying weeks.

If there have been one or two discordant notes; if, as we stand on the threshold of war, which we have practically already crossed, there has been heard among the Senators in this Chamber a reflection upon the character and motives of him who is the beloved President of our whole people and whom the Constitution creates the Commander-in-Chief of our armies and our navies, it will serve only to emphasize and deepen the practical unanimity with which all good men look up to the President and the desire we all cherish in this awful crisis to strengthen his hand.

After weeks of diplomacy, unfortunately unsuccessful, the President turned over to Congress the two subjects which he had been considering—the subject of the barbarities in Cuba and of the disaster to our battle-ship.[1] It is a great pity that he could not longer have kept them; but the avenues of diplomacy were closed to him. It is a pity, because under our institutions and under our procedure Congress deals with these questions as

[1] The destruction of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor.

men in mass meeting. The finesse of diplomacy is unknown to us. We can speak only from our hearts and for the people we represent; and our debates, which may prejudice us in the minds of the people of Europe, are the essential and the necessary channel through which, as representatives of the people, we make known our views when public duty is devolved upon us.

If the two subjects could have been presented separately, if they had occurred separately, we might perhaps have saved the necessity of war. If the awful barbarities in Cuba, extending over three years, which have aroused the sensibilities and the pity of all mankind, could have stood alone, it is possible, though not probable, that by peaceful methods we could have met a solution of this difficulty.

For myself, Mr. President, however much of expenditure or debt or outlay it might have entailed, I would far rather have voted right and left and mortgaged the property, and thus necessarily mortgaged the labor, of every citizen of the United States to a reasonable extent, if that would have secured peace in Cuba. It might have been successfully accomplished, although it seems as if Spain would not, and could not, yield that which is the essential condition of our ceasing our insistence.

But, Mr. President, when added to that there came the awful explosion in the harbor of Havana, a friendly port, in time of peace, the die was cast. After that, what could be said? If that had stood alone, it is possible it might have been adjusted without war, but not by any method which the Spaniard has yet attempted. When such an outrage was committed, there was but one duty left, and that was the duty of exculpation, if they could exculpate themselves. If not, the only course of a self-respecting people must be to invoke the god of battle.

Mr. President, from the day of that awful disaster until now, except the most perfunctory regrets, the most formal messages to our Government and our people, there have been no steps taken either to exculpate Spain or to fix the guilt of the offenders. Mr. President, taking the two happenings together, what can result but war?

For the disaster to our battle-ship we want no money. There is nothing that can repair our wrong. Yes; one thing. If Spain would free Cuba to-day, we would offer up our two hundred and sixty sailors as an offering upon the altar of Cuban freedom.

But, Mr. President, because of that disaster unatoned for and unexplained, the determination is burned into the hearts

of the American people that war must come or Cuba be made free and independent. No other answer will be accepted.

Mr. President, this national honor which we evoke is intangible, it is inchoate, it is unwritten and unexpressed; but it has within it the force and the violence of the whirlwind and the storm. It is "that chastity of honor which feels a stain like a wound." The existence of it makes nations survive and fit to live. The loss of it, or the trading upon it, or the abandonment of it, makes nations fit to die and perish from the face of the earth.

It is for these reasons, Mr. President, that good men, hating war and loving peace, can see no way under heaven whereby war may now be avoided. At the outset it is fitting for us in advance to pledge ourselves that the statements we make to Europe and to mankind are true—that this is a war for liberty, for humanity, and for the succor of the suffering and the oppressed.

Personally, Mr. President, I regret that I cannot find in the Cuban situation an independent government such as I can vote to recognize. I wish I could. For when the time of final adjustment shall come there is danger in these days of syndicates and commercialism and reorganizations that there will be found the men who play and trade on human liberties as they do on loans and chattels, who will seek either to aggrandize this property for the national uses at a price, or seek to syndicate it in some form whereby commissions may be realized. To-day we stand approved in the minds of every humane man in Europe because we stand for humanity and liberty. And there we must stand till the end and after the end, if we would win their respect and preserve our own.

Mr. President, when the day of final settlement comes and the issue has been finally closed, we must still stand as a nation, strong, self-centred, and humane, which heard the appeal of the suffering across the shallow waters of the Gulf and could not turn a deaf ear to the cry of the oppressed and the downtrodden. There is nothing nobler at the close of the nineteenth century than a great country, with everything to sacrifice and nothing to gain, standing up for human liberty and the relief of suffering. No concert of Europe chokes our utterance or strangles our voice. As a free people we can listen to their cries and heed them. And, Mr. President, serious as is this crisis, and great as are the dangers that grow out of the steps which we have taken, I am unwilling to believe that the claim

will ever hereafter be made in the Senate or elsewhere that, having expended our blood and treasure for the sake of a suffering people, we should seize their fertile lands and annex them to our own as a recompense.

It has been said upon the floor of the Senate, and it has been heard much elsewhere of late, that unless a nation fights it decays and deteriorates; that

"Honor sinks where commerce long prevails";

that it is essential to the race that it raise its young on wars, or else it goes to decay. If that be true—and I do not believe it—it is a pitiful statement to follow two thousand years of the teachings of Christ; and if it is true, it applies to a contest with equals.

Spain has a population of 16,000,000 of people and we have nearly 75,000,000. For three years Spain has drained her resources in men and money to the same extent as if we in three years had sent a million men, who had never come back, and a billion dollars in money to a colony 3000 miles from the United States. This is the country upon which we are asked to whet our courage. It is as if we kicked a cripple whose crutch might hurt us until we took it away and invoked upon ourselves the plaudits of the world as a people of bravery and of daring.

Mr. President, we have heard on the floor of this House again and again denunciation of the Spaniards as cowards. From Alva and "stout Cortez" until to-day the Spaniard has been brutal in conduct, but courageous and brave. When we enter upon this war we do not want to befool ourselves either with the idea that we are fighting cowards or a foe our equal in numbers and resources.

No, Mr. President, this war is one which can bring us no material gain. It will bring us the loss of millions of dollars in our commerce. It will sweep our ships from the seas. It will create unrest in business. It will destroy industries. It will be followed by that lessening in morality which always accompanies the conclusion of a war. We will leave thousands of our young men dead of fever or by the bullet in the tropics in the island of Cuba, and we shall be fortunate if we are not compelled to face serious complications with other European countries.

All these things we must count in advance, and we have

counted them. And when the day of the result shall come and Cuba is free, as we must make her free, we will have fought a country which can never indemnify us by land, for we want no land beyond our border; a country which can never indemnify us in money, for she has no money. We must find our only satisfaction, and it must be the supreme satisfaction of a free people, in this, that we have poured out our blood and our treasure to relieve the cry of suffering humanity.

The war which is already upon us, whatever the phraseology of our resolutions, must be fought because it is the manifest destiny of this Republic to stand forever upon the Western Hemisphere a sentinel of liberty. It must come, because if we fail to listen to the voice of the suffering or the cry of the downtrodden upon this continent, we shall be untrue to those principles of liberty, humanity, and Christianity upon which this country is founded as upon a rock.

REVENUE FOR THE WAR

The Senate, May 28, 1898, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10100) to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is a source of much gratification that in the consideration of this bill during the past fortnight there has been little, if any, political friction or party zeal injected into it. Neither side has sought by the amendments so far introduced to this bill to give it a political complexion or a partisan character, but there has been an earnest attempt upon the part of Senators on both sides of the Chamber to make the bill that which every patriotic citizen desires it should be—a bill to bring adequate revenue to this country during the war upon which circumstances have compelled us to enter.

Nor has any amendment to the bill been introduced that could in the slightest degree be charged to be an amendment which sought delay or postponement of prompt and vigorous action by this Congress, and until the amendment, which was introduced on yesterday, concerning the Hawaiian Islands, there had been no suggestion respecting the measure which has not been directly germane and appropriate to it and to the subjects with which it deals.

Mr. President, for one I rejoice that some Western Senator, who might, because of his views on economic questions, be

charged with a desire to delay or to postpone or to obstruct, was not the Senator who introduced the amendment concerning the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands as a part of this revenue bill. Whatever may be our view as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, I think that most of us will agree that it is a measure which should stand by itself and should not be tacked onto a revenue bill, with the essential, necessary result that final action upon the bill would be postponed for an almost interminable discussion.

In the consideration of this bill the Committee on Finance had to deal, first, with the question as to how much revenue this country should gather and garner for the purpose of carrying on the war. The estimates were many and various. The Senator from Texas [Mr. Chilton], a member of the committee, has very ingeniously collated from the history of the last war the interesting fact that the average cost of a soldier during that struggle was about $1000 a year. It will be more now, rather than less. So we had at the start, then, under both calls, to face the fact that the volunteer service alone of this country would cost $200,000,000 a year. No intelligent estimate can, in my judgment, be made as to the total expenses to be incurred by this war which does not find the amount at least $400,000,000 a year, and much of the tax to be raised must remain as a permanent addition to our annual revenue.

It is true, Mr. President, I believe, that the present tariff act works admirably. Its one defect is that it does not bring in as much revenue as the increasing needs of this country demand. There is no question, viewing the statistics of the last twelve months, that this country must raise somewhere from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000 additional revenue from other sources in order to make our receipts equal our expenses, even upon a peace footing.

Mr. President, it is also true—and no Senator who has studied the question has any other opinion upon it—that because of the information we have received growing out of the preparations for the present war, it will be necessary for years to spend many millions of dollars more upon our Navy, even when peace shall come again, than we have spent upon it in the last ten or twenty years. We shall have to figure an increase of the annual appropriations for our Navy of not less than $15,000,000.

It is also true that the developments of the last few months have shown us that, even after the war shall have ended, we

must spend as a measure of precaution large sums upon our coast defences, and no estimate can be made that shall exclude an addition of at least eight or ten million dollars, to be annually expended by this country for the next decade, if not for the next twenty years, upon the coast defences of the United States.

So, Mr. President, in addition to the absolute war requirements, it was essential that this committee should provide for a permanent addition to the revenues of this country of not less than $50,000,000.

It has been often stated upon the floor of the Senate that we are now engaged in a war with a fourth- or fifth-rate power; that the war is not serious so far as the United States are concerned. Has it ever occurred to you, Mr. President, that with the exception of a conflict with Great Britain—and I am glad to realize that the possibilities of serious difficulties with that country have grown dim and remote,—there is not a country in the world where so great an army expenditure is required as in this war with Spain. No other country has colonies within thousands of miles of us, which it would be necessary for us to occupy. For the first time in the history of our land our troops have to take transports to reach the seat of war, to seek battle with the enemy. It never happened before, and it can never happen again.

No country in Europe, no matter how strong and powerful she may be, would require this country, if war existed, to furnish so great an army as Spain. Two hundred thousand volunteers are now called, and the chances are that half as many or as many more will be called before the war is over.

Mr. President, this war may not be one of speedy end. No man can mark the finality of the contest. An old and decaying power, with her vitality largely gone, is yet able to hold on in sullen resistance day after day, and week after week, and month after month, in the hope that the other nations of the world may intervene to help her, and no man can say this war will be of short duration.

Nor in any estimate of revenues to be raised, and of the means to raise them, can we exclude from our vision the possibilities of great international complications which may grow out of this war. We hear the ominous rumors on every side that this may be the last struggle of the Latin races. We know of the tension that exists among all the countries of Europe, where it needs but a match to kindle a spark and that

a flame which may spread the world over. No man can say, remote as we are from European countries and European complications, that, through the international friction now existing the world over, this nation may not be called upon to bear its share in some world-wide war which will embrace all the nations of the earth.

For my part I am unwilling to believe that any of the countries of Europe would interfere in this struggle between the United States and Spain, based as it is, not upon lust for power or aggrandizement, but solely upon principles of humanity. Least of all am I willing to believe the statements which we have been reading from time to time that the attitude of the Republic of France is one of hostility. The press of a country, I am glad to say, frequently misstates its public sentiment, and the press of France, in my opinion, does not reliably announce to the world the position of that Republic upon the existing contest.

It is within my own personal knowledge, Mr. President, that the present Premier of France, M. Méline, recently re-elected by an overwhelming majority, is personally a friend, an intelligent friend, and well-wisher of this country, familiar with its institutions, sharing in its aspirations for republican perpetuity, and in every way hopeful for continued and pleasant relations between the two Governments. He has allied himself with the agricultural interests of France. He is a Protectionist. His policy is largely the policy which now dominates this country, and for one I am unwilling to believe that complications may arise in that quarter. But from whatever source they may come, this country must be prepared and ready to endure with tranquillity and equanimity and dignity whatever responsibility the actions of other countries may impose upon us.

Mr. President, the attitude of Great Britain toward this country has already been of incalculable help to us, and the inevitable tendency of events does more than any treaty signed and sealed between powers could do to bring about between these two great countries that friendly understanding which ought to exist. It is a matter of congratulation to the people of this country that the present Premier of Great Britain and Mr. Balfour, who for a time occupied his place, while never underestimating the great and tremendous necessity for the commercial prosperity of Great Britain, have counted as far higher and nobler and better whatever tells for civilization, the prosperity of the world, and the uplifting of mankind. But if these troubles

come, we have but one duty, and that is to show the world that we are ready to meet them face to face, recognizing our responsibilities and willing to assume them.

Many of us estimated in committee that the annual war expenditures would be about $400,000,000. Upon the presentation of that fact, the committee—and I am violating no confidence of the committee—by a majority vote determined that this generation should pay $150,000,000 of that amount, or whatever amount it might be necessary to raise. Since this Republic has been created we have had five wars. In every one of them there has been a bond issue, and in every one of them the descendants of those who fought their wars have gladly and cheerfully and loyally and patriotically assumed the burden of that obligation and have been glad to pay it. We furnish the lives of our best and our bravest; we are willing to tax ourselves and to spend and to be spent for our country's prosperity and our country's honor, and posterity will never object that we call upon them to bear their fair share of the war's burdens and obligations.

We determined, as I say, that $150,000,000 at least should be raised by the provisions of this bill. It is due to the acting chairman of the committee and to every member of it to say that when that determination was reached, there was a loyal and fair and honest effort so to amend and change the bill as that its minimum should be $150,000,000. That, in my opinion, is the minimum estimate here provided. I have heard it complained of on the floor of the Senate that this was not an estimate, but a guess. It is unfair to the reports of the committee and the statements made by its members to designate them as guesses. There has been no statistician in any of the Departments who has not been called upon again and again to furnish, so far as the statistics of the country would afford, the figures that would give us some adequate idea of what could be obtained by taxation under the various sections of the bill.

There has been no report in past years of the Internal Revenue Commissioner which has not been scanned and figured and considered in determining the revenue to be derived from the bill, and the conclusion which we have reached, including the estimate of the Senator from Texas [Mr Chilton], most carefully and intelligently and conscientiously made, while in my opinion it is far too low, is nevertheless not a guess, but an estimate. The estimate of the acting chairman of the committee, most carefully and ably made—made, I may say, by the one man

in the United States who has in his own breast the greatest knowledge of the possible revenues of the country, of its methods of taxation, and the channels and avenues through which revenue by taxation may be derived and collected—is not a guess, but an estimate. He tells the Senate that $150,000,000 will be raised. In my opinion it will be far more, and my statement is an estimate and not a guess.

Mr. President, how are you going to make an accurate estimate? Our country jumped in population from 38,000,000 in 1870 to 50,000,000 in 1880, and then to 62,000,000 in 1890, and it is now 70,000,000. You cannot base your estimate of increased receipts upon increase of population alone. It is but one factor. For instance, railroad tonnage has increased four times. The vessel tonnage on the Great Lakes, passing St. Marys in vessels, has increased twenty-five times. The increase of national banks is only about 50 per cent. Deposits in savings banks have increased fourfold. There have been since the repeal of our revenue laws in 1870 new discoveries in science, in electricity, new commercial ideas, new ventures, new industries springing on every hand, and vast areas opened to cultivation and to commerce. Who is to tell, measured by the revenues of the period from 1862 to 1870, what this generation can pay? No man can estimate it in figures and say or believe that he is absolutely correct.

But an intelligent man who tries to study the great development and growth of this country in its hundreds of different branches, as it reaches out in improvement and development, may be able to form some fair conclusion of what the provisions of the bill, when enforced and when the taxes are fairly collected, will bring to the support of the Government in this critical time.

We must remember that the first half-year the machinery hardly gets oiled; that for months the revenues produced by the bill will be far less than you will afterward gather, and in reaching a conclusion as to how much we can get we have to remember that six months will not determine it. We have also to determine how conditions will be changed by war itself. All the wheels of industry may be moving to-day, and yet some international complication or some of the vicissitudes of war or some of the results of this conflict may close half of them to-morrow, and the industries of the country be deadened and revenues proportionately decreased.

But out of it all, Mr. President, and out of what seemed a

chaos of figures, the Committee on Finance has made a careful and an intelligent estimate, and it can go before the country with the assurance that the bill, even without the majority amendments, will bring a revenue to this Government of not less than $150,000,000, and it is my sincere conviction that it will bring a revenue of nearer $200,000,000.

There is no difference in principle between the amendments reported by this side of the Chamber and the amendments reported by the majority of the committee, so far as the taxation provided for in the bill is concerned. There is nothing Populistic or unfair in the amendments of the other side. It is another method of collection. It is a different method from the one we have adopted. I voted against it in committee and I expect to vote against it later; but I resent the suggestion that there is in those amendments anything which is intended or which can work, as the amendments now stand, unfairness or injustice generally to the industries of our country, and though, in my opinion, not the best method, it is as legitimate a method to increase the revenues of the country by levying upon gross receipts as it is to provide for them by other specific taxation.

But with us, with the minority of the committee, it was determined that this tax should be so levied, if possible, as to be self-collecting as far as possible and evidence its own payment. The committee determined that the great advantage of a tax was in its universality. People say that taxes by stamps or other methods are vexatious. Of course they are vexatious. But by them the attention of almost every citizen in this country is called daily and in the ordinary vocations of life and in the work of every day to the fact that he is taxed to support this country in a war which it is waging, and this is a splendid and reasonable and seasonable reminder to every citizen of this country that the responsibility rests upon him as well as upon his fellow-citizen to provide the revenues for the carrying on of the war. It is also a stimulus to patriotism.

It is easy to say there are great aggregations of wealth in this country which ought to pay all war expenses, and that the average man should not know there is a war going on. There never was anything in this country or in any country in any time worth having that did not come through sacrifice. Whether it be the ordinary relations with your fellow-citizens or your relations to your country, you are not contributing anything that has value unless you contribute it through sacrifice, and there is no such stimulus to patriotism as for every citizen,

poor as well as rich, to feel that he is bearing his share in the burden and heat of the day, and that his contribution, a mite though it be, is yet something toward the support of his Government in its day of trial and for the maintenance of the honor of the flag.

So we determined that these taxes should be made as universal as possible. Having this in view, we endeavored to impose the burden of taxation as equitably as possible. I shall have nothing to say upon the ordinary sources of taxation.

The beer tax of $2 a barrel and the tax upon tobacco were both agreed upon in committee with practical unanimity.

The tax on proprietary articles is one of which those of us who are not skilled in the technique and details of tariff bills know but little, but we are assured that the revenue from that source will reach a most adequate and important sum.

Then we went into stamp taxation generally. Every other country in the world has a stamp tax. No country is free from it. They have had it for generations in most countries, and you find a stamp required on the simplest paper in the world—almost every paper. Every country, rich and poor, finds a large portion of its revenue from the imposition of a stamp tax, and so it seemed to us that we should impose it and make it as general as possible, making the actual sum to be taxed light; and out of that who can tell how great a sum will be derived?

In my own State, for instance, where we have suffered since 1893 from the decline in one of the principal industries of our State, silver mining, important discoveries have led to enormous transactions, far greater than twenty-five years ago, and the stamps to be put upon conveyances of mining property will in our State alone reach an enormous sum. We went through with the bill as it came from the House, reducing, in almost every instance, the amount of the tax, and yet making it far more generally applicable to all the relations of life and to all the small businesses between men and men.

One or two important amendments with which I had some connection I think perhaps I may be pardoned if I dwell upon for a moment. We put on an amendment, which was not upon the bill as it came from the House, providing that every receipt of money, not of property, of whatever amount, should bear a one-cent stamp. That of itself is universal. But we went farther, and in our desire to reach fairly and adequately and properly the transportation companies of the country, we put an amendment upon the bill which will reach their revenues by

a stamp tax; not by espionage, not by investigation of their books, but by a stamp tax which will be itself an evidence of its payment and which will practically collect itself.

In the imposition of this tax, as in the imposition of a tax upon every other trade and business which we reached, it was the desire of the committee, as it must be the desire of the Senate, to raise money and not crush out industries. Whatever we may desire to do in the way of legislation to crush out people who are doing a large business, or aggregations of capital which get together for the transaction of the affairs of life, it is at least proper to say that in this particular revenue measure, the object of which is to raise money, we do not intend by its provisions to strike at any industry to the extent of driving it out of business or hampering it in the transaction of its affairs, or in any way to prevent it from paying as large a revenue as possible to the Government.

We therefore inserted a provision in the bill requiring every carrier, every transporter of goods, of freight, or merchandise—and this includes express companies, railroads, steamship companies, steamboat companies, and all other methods of inland transportation—to issue to the consignor of goods a bill of lading or a receipt or a memorandum, and upon that and upon any duplicate of it to affix a one-cent stamp. It seems small enough, but I have been at some pains to collect rather accurate data as to what the measure would bring. I applied to two or three of the leading railroad companies in the United States and learned from them the number of receipts or bills of lading which they are in the habit of issuing. We then measured it by the freight tonnage upon the railroads, and we found it worked practically the same on all the railroads on which it was tested.

It seems to be true that the average shipment upon each line of railroad for which a separate bill of lading or receipt is given is about four tons in weight, and if you take any railroad and get its gross tonnage, by dividing it by four you will ascertain the number of receipts or waybills which it issues.

There are about 800,000,000 tons of freight carried upon the railroads of the United States. Dividing that number by four, it gives you 200,000,000 bills of lading which would be issued.

These estimates, however, were not made from some of the larger roads, having close business connections with the large settled towns of the East, with small intervals of distance between, and they would add much to this estimate. I am now speaking of railroads alone. Assuming the number of bills of

lading to be 200,000,000, this tax would bring from the railroads $2,000,000 upon this item alone. I am informed that in considerably more than three-quarters of the instances, duplicates of bills of lading are issued. One goes with the goods and one is delivered to the shipper. This would add one and one-half million dollars to the amount to be derived, yielding from bills of lading and the duplicates, from railroads alone, $3,500,000.

We are informed also by railroad officers that freight is very rarely prepaid. Not in five per cent. of the cases is the freight prepaid for shipment upon railroads. Allowing that one quarter of the freight is prepaid, you will then get from the receipts from money derived from payments for freight at the end of the route $1,750,000 additional, and the most conservative estimate that can be made respecting this item of the bill brings from railroads alone an income of upward of $5,000,000, more, considerably more, than would be reached by the assessment of a quarter of one per cent. upon the gross revenues of railroads, and the tax, in my opinion, is much more easily and more fairly collected.

There should be, in my opinion, an amendment to the amendment which has been offered by the committee to release from further receipt at the end of shipment such goods as have been prepaid. In other words, it is not fair to make the railroads pay the cent upon the bill of lading at its inception and to pay also the cent upon the receipt at the end, and such an amendment I have prepared and at the proper time shall offer.

As no laws general in their application work without specific injury to certain industries and to certain interests, I have to say that I think the committee has made one serious mistake in the imposition of the heavy tax upon express companies as included in this general section of the bill, for, curiously enough, an accurate statement of the packages carried by express companies shows that the packages carried by the four leading express companies of the United States are over 160,000,000, and taking the railroads which carry their own express matter—and there are several such railroads—the express packages carried upon the express lines of this country aggregate about 180,000,000, or almost as many as the number of packages or shipments carried by all the railroads of the country put together.

A tax, therefore, upon the express companies to the extent of one cent upon each package would collect from those express companies $1,800,000, or from the four principal express companies of the country $1,600,000. They are already

taxed and taxed heavily often upon gross earnings in the different States of the Union. Their total capitalization is but $55,000,000, and the tax which by this single section is imposed upon express companies is a tax amounting to 2½ per cent. upon their capitalization, a tax which, it is needless to say, the express companies cannot pay and continue their business without raising their prices.

You would say they might collect this from the customer; but they cannot, because the express packages are received by wagons and not at the offices. Ninety per cent. of all the express packages of the country are received in wagons, which in all towns above 2000 go about collecting shipments. In the large cities they are often rushed down chutes from upper stories. They are handed to the driver by messenger-boys. It is impossible to collect the one cent from the customer. One might say they could add the penny to the cost of the package. They cannot, because the contracts of most express companies with railroads call for 50 per cent. of the gross receipts, and if the express companies should add one cent for the purpose of covering the stamp, they would have to pay one half of it to the railroads with which they transact business. This is by way of digression and solely to give to the Senate notice that I shall at the proper time offer and ask the Senate to accept an amendment to cover this oversight.

The committee also imposed, by a practically unanimous vote, a personal-legacy-succession tax, a tax which has been already somewhat discussed in this Chamber. It is a tax which has existed since the time of the Romans. It was enacted first in the time of Augustus, and it has been in force in many countries from that day to this. We do not seek to touch the real estate of anybody. That is visible and tangible and open, and the States can reach it. But unfortunately this country has not, and perhaps no country has, as yet developed a very scrupulous desire on the part of its citizens to pay their fair share of taxes.

It is difficult to tell why, but the man who is otherwise a man of average morality will in nine cases out of ten avoid the payment of taxes if possible. We have not yet reached the stage of public patriotism and public morality which makes the average man desire to pay to his country his share of the taxes which are imposed. One man satisfies his conscience when he avoids the payment of them by saying to himself that his neighbor has done the same, and there is no reason why he

should pay what his neighbor does not. When a man dies and his estate comes to be administered upon, then there is always a disclosure as to how much personal property he owned.

It is fair that that should be taxed by his Government upon a scale proportioned to his success, and in recognition of the fact that the amassing of his fortune was made possible by the protection which his country and its laws had afforded him in the acquisition of his wealth. The tax, as the committee has laid it, is very slight. It interferes with no State tax. There are some thirteen States already collecting this tax from the estates of people who die. It interferes with none of them, and is a just tax equally distributed, and small in amount.

Mr. President, there is a peculiar propriety in levying such a tax by the National Government. You all remember that a similar tax was enacted by the Legislature in the State of New York, and one of the reasons given for its repeal by the Governor of the State was that, if such a tax were imposed, the people of the State of New York who had money would move over into the State of New Jersey, or somewhere else where such a tax was not imposed, and would there live and die in peace, and nobody would get any money out of their estates.

It is a tax that disturbs nobody. The man who is dead does not care; he is ended; and the men who come into the estate are receiving the bounty of an inheritance, and the small toll they pay their Government upon its reception is light in burden and easy to pay.

Then, in addition to that tax we impose those taxes on businesses only which are either of the peculiar character attending the business of banking, which should legitimately pay a fair tax, or else a tax upon the brokers, who are essentially middlemen, whose profits are good, often large, and who are not exactly the producers of this world. We have licensed them, the bankers, the brokers, the pawnbrokers, the commercial brokers, the custom-house brokers, the insurance agents, and different forms of amusements as well—theatres, circuses, etc. Upon them we can form something of an estimate of the tax to be derived, and the figures given in the revenue reports prior to 1870 give but a slight indication of the large amount which will be received from these taxes under the proposed law.

Now, Mr. President, I have very briefly and very hastily and very roughly stated most of the salient provisions of the bill which the Republican members of the committee joined in recommending, so far as the revenue was concerned. The majority

of the committee, however, added to the bill certain provisions taxing the gross receipts of all corporations. As near as I can understand from the general course of the debate on the other side, there is a general inclination to strike out from those taxes on gross receipts all those corporations except the transportation companies, the common carriers, and the larger corporations.

If that be true, the tax is much fairer in its character than it was before, because it is not a fair division of a tax, it seems to me, to say that those who are already incorporated in one business shall pay the same tax as an individual who may be doing the same business next door in his own name.

But, Mr. President, it is my opinion, while the proposed tax is not large, that it is not as fair a method of levying it as that which has been reported by the Republican members of the committee. I take it, as a matter of course, that no member of the committee would desire that both methods of taxation should remain in the bill. That would be an oppression for which I think no member of the Senate would care to vote.

Mr. President, on the general question of railroads there are one or two things that ought to be considered. It is not quite a favorable time to impose such a tax upon them as that the burden of it shall seriously interfere with or affect their business. The railroads of the United States pay to-day in the different States, taking their total mileage, their capital, and the total tax levied in the different States, 3.48 per cent. upon their gross receipts. That is not a slight tax, Mr. President, but that is the tax at present imposed upon railroads in the United States. This is the percentage of tax upon their gross receipts. They pay 16.6 per cent. upon their net receipts.

I do not think that anybody would believe that a corporation or an individual which already pays to the States 16 per cent. upon its net receipts should be called upon to pay a much heavier burden based upon gross receipts. If you deduct the fixed charges, that is, the money they must pay upon interest, upon bonds, which is a fixed charge, and comes before the dividends, the present taxation of railroads in the United States is 44½ per cent. upon net earnings, deducting fixed charges —figures, Mr. President, which are of some magnitude and of some importance when we come to consider how far we ought to go in taxing railroads.

There were in 1894 23¼ per cent. of all the railroads of the United States in mileage in the hands of receivers, and there

are to-day 16¾ per cent. of all the railroads of the United States in the hands of receivers and still being run by Federal courts, unable to meet their obligations, unable to do business as incorporated companies.

These most significant figures are an indication to me that if what this bill seeks is revenue we should so meet the demands which the war causes as to levy these taxes where they would be most fairly imposed. And, Mr. President, a large tax does not necessarily become a fair tax because you levy it on a company with a large capital. That is a mistake, it seems to me, which people are apt to make. "Why," we say, "this company has a capital of $50,000,000; give it to them!" It may have $50,000,000 capital, much of which has been unprofitably invested and which brings no return upon its investment.

The only fair method of taxation to obtain revenue is to tax those industries and those individuals and those callings which can with the least detriment pay their share toward maintaining the expenses of the Government.

There were other objections, it seemed to me, of a somewhat minor character, which I do not care to dwell upon, in some of the amendments suggested by the majority of the committee. The tax upon deposits in banks did not appeal to me as a fair tax. One suggestion will show, for instance, its unequal character. Under the proposed law we tax all bank deposits. National banks are required to keep a certain portion of their deposits with certain designated bank depositaries. That is true. I think we will all agree to that.

Take, for instance, a bank in Denver which has deposits upon which, under this bill, it would have to pay a tax. It has a portion of its deposits at Omaha in a designated depositary. The bank at Omaha pays also the tax upon that deposit, which by law the Denver bank is required to make. The bank at Omaha has a deposit in a national bank at Chicago, a designated depositary. The tax reaches the same money, the same deposit. That bank has to pay upon its Chicago deposit. The bank in Chicago has its great deposit in the city of New York at a designated depositary. Thus you reach in cases a quintuple taxation, which certainly the framers of this bill did not intend.

But I do not think it wise—I know it is not wise—for me at this time to go farther into the amendments offered by the majority of the committee concerning the taxation of corporations. It is my opinion that a much fairer and wiser and more conservative method is that which is reached by the provisions

of the bill as reported by the Republican members of the committee.

Now, Mr. President, having passed briefly over the provisions of the bill as to the taxation of property and the raising of revenue, we come to the question as to how the deficit between the expenses and the amount raised by the revenue ought to be reached, and in one respect there was in the committee a wide divergence.

MR. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Colorado allow me to ask him a question?

MR. WOLCOTT. Certainly.

MR. TILLMAN. I understood the Senator to say that it was the desire of the committee that every person in the country should have an opportunity to pay a fair, proportionate share of the burdens of the war.

MR. WOLCOTT. Yes; everybody who could afford to pay it, who had something upon which to pay it. I should not say "every person."

MR. TILLMAN. Will the Senator from Colorado or some other member of the committee tell me why it is that a tax on tea and coffee was not put into the bill?

MR. WOLCOTT. I would very much rather somebody besides myself should tell the Senator from South Carolina, because personally I am extremely favorable to the imposition of such a tax. A tax of 15 cents a pound on tea would bring nearly $2,000,000 to this country. It would not raise the price of tea a penny. It would bring us a great deal better tea than we ever had before, and would work no hardship on anybody.

MR. TILLMAN. If the Senator from Colorado does not want to answer me, I hope some of the other Senators when discussing the question after a while will do so.

MR. WOLCOTT. I should be very glad to do it. I answered the Senator in the utmost good faith. I am very much in favor of the tax.

MR. LINDSAY. I ask the Senator if the tea-dealers are not universally in favor of the tax being laid?

MR. WOLCOTT. Every one, I think. They are represented here by some very intelligent gentlemen.

MR. WHITE. If the Senator from Colorado will excuse me, I will state that I am acquainted with but very few Senators on this floor who are opposed to a tax on tea in their individual view.

MR. TILLMAN. Then why did not the tax come in?

MR. WOLCOTT. One objection, I think I should say to the Senator from South Carolina, has been recalled to my mind. It was stated in the committee that there are no tariff duties in the bill, and it was believed by many members of the committee that the question of tariff should, as far as possible, be excluded from the bill.

MR. TILLMAN. It seems that we are hunting money, and as a practical man I do not see any reason why we could not put into this bill or into an independent measure a provision looking to the raising of money in a universal way, and one that will bear more lightly, or at least with as much lightness as any other tax that can be imposed.

MR. WOLCOTT. I will say to the Senator from South Carolina that if he will introduce such an amendment, putting a tax of 15 cents a pound on tea, I will, upon the risk of the criticism of my associates on the committee, vote for it with the greatest pleasure, and I think a good many other Senators would be very glad to do so.

MR. TILLMAN. I think I will give somebody an opportunity to vote on it.

MR. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, leaving now the provisions as to revenue, I come to the provision as to how so much of this money shall be raised as has to be raised by other means. As I said, a wide divergence of opinion was developed upon one single ground to which I shall come, and that is, the issuing of greenbacks. But the amendment of the majority of the committee was twofold. It suggested instead of bonds the raising of the money, first, by the coinage of the surplus bullion in the Treasury, which by a certain misnomer in the law of 1890 is called gain or seigniorage. First, it was to be raised by the coinage of the surplus bullion in the Treasury into dollars, which would bring to the Treasury $42,000,000; and second, by the issue of $150,000,000 of additional greenbacks.

As to the first provision, I am heartily in favor of the amendment offered by the majority of the committee, and, so far as I may, I desire to urge upon the members of the Senate of both political parties that they take from out the Treasury the bullion which lies there now useless and serves no purpose, and which could be brought into the currency of the country without disturbing its credit, without disturbing its balance. I say let us take from the Treasury the useless silver in bullion and make it alive and active for the purposes for which it was intended.

Mr. President, it is only its name that discredits it. We have got so lately, apparently, that anything with the name of silver in the Senate is to be discredited. But if Senators would only consider it as it is, a live, vital asset, which when once clothed with coinage and with form would be launched into this country the equal of any dollar coined within it, they would accept it.

Neither this nor any other provision of the bill has any relation to the general question of bimetallism whatever. These are hard and bitter days for the bimetallists of the world. We see an attempt in India to force the standard of gold upon a great country by the most cruel experiment that was ever tried, of destroying its present coinage by reducing a large share of it to bullion and selling it as merchandise, and making what is left more valuable by its scarcity alone. We see the attempt all over the world to drive out from recognition silver as a standard of value equally with gold.

For myself, Mr. President, I still cherish, and I shall cherish as long as I live, the conviction that prosperity can never come to this country until it comes by a restoration of both silver and gold as a standard, upon a parity to be internationally agreed upon, if you like, but in some method to be restored to the coinage of the world.

But this measure in none of its bearings has anything to do directly with the question of bimetallism. The seigniorage is there. The dollars already coined serve as the sole security for the certificates that are issued upon them. The bullion that is left is no additional security, and the law does not make it any additional security for the dollars upon which certificates have been already issued.

This money could be coined without the slightest injury to the credit or the welfare of our country. I have prepared an amendment, which I shall take the liberty of reading and then offer, which is very brief, and of which I hope I may have the approval of the members of the Senate upon both sides of the Chamber. The amendment as reported by the majority of the committee provides for an immediate issue of certificates to the full amount of the seigniorage now in the Treasury.

The amendment as I have prepared it (I will perhaps state its terms instead of reading it, and then send it to the desk and ask to have it read at the conclusion of my remarks) requires that all the bullion now in the Treasury shall be coined at a minimum of $4,000,000 per month; that upon the first $42,000,000 as coined certificates shall be issued as the same are

coined, and they go into the Treasury of the United States available as a war fund, and that the whole amount shall be coined in due course.

Then, inasmuch as the law of 1890 required that this bullion should be coined from time to time for the purpose of the redemption of the Treasury notes issued upon the bullion, and inasmuch as this amendment would consume the time and facilities of the mints for some months to come, I have added a proviso that these dollars as coined shall stand as well for the redemption of Treasury notes outstanding as for certificates to be issued under the Act.

If the amendment can be adopted it seems to me that the country can safely enter upon the disposition of its coinage. Men who are bimetallists, and men who are not bimetallists, are alike desirous of having this silver out of the Treasury. From a purely bimetallic standpoint there are two sides to the question of coining the seigniorage. One of the reasons which we give for the need for additional silver and the opening of our mints to silver has been the necessity for more currency, and we want fresh silver, silver offered in open mints; and this of course would take its place to the extent of the amount to which it is coined. But it stands there as a menace; it stands there useless; it stands there idle, and it ought to be coined and be out doing its duty in the money of the country.

I am a hard-money man, and I think almost every bimetallist in the United States is a hard-money man. We have based the foundation of our belief and of our arguments for years upon the assertion that the substantial foundation and rock of the nation's financial policy should be hard money—gold and silver, the money of the Constitution, money which is its own redeemer, money of ultimate redemption. That, Mr. President, has been our argument for all these years, in season and out of season, though with less success than I wish could have attended our efforts.

Now, I am shocked and surprised at the attitude of Senators upon the other side, men whom I know to be bimetallists, men who I know do not belong to the Populistic wing of that party, which only wants silver as a means to more money, and would just as soon have tin or paper or anything, so you increase circulation; rock-ribbed members of the Democratic party, always a hard-money party, as shown by vote after vote for years on the other side of the Chamber; Senators who have contended that the Democratic party was a hard-money party, and that all

it wanted was the money of the Constitution—gold and silver. And now, in the face of this war, which they as well as we, and equally with us and all equally with each other, are responsible for precipitating upon this world because we believe it is right—it seems to me it is a pretty poor time to come with a suggestion that our first step in the face of Europe, with the possibility of confronting an armed world—our first step shall be to disgrace and dishonor our paper money by putting out $150,000,000 of it, with no gold and no silver back of it to maintain and support it. As a bimetallist, I do not propose to be caught in that kind of a trap.

Then, as against this were the propositions of the Republican members of the committee—to which I still hope they will add the coinage of the seigniorage—the proposal that we should raise such additional revenues as may be needed by the issue of certificates to the extent of $100,000,000 and by the issue of a limited amount of bonds.

Mr. President, the amount of bonds to be issued, as the bill originally came from the House of Representatives, was $500,000,000, a sum largely in excess of any possible needs, certainly while Congress is sitting frequently; but it was very reluctantly that I voted to lessen the amount. We had stood up before the world and said: "We are going to fight because we will not have oppression on this hemisphere, and the resources of our country shall be spent like water if necessary to vindicate our position." The other House, in which the bill necessarily originated, pledged the faith and credit of the Government to the extent of $500,000,000 for that purpose—more than was needed; but the pledge was a notice to all the world that this young Republic counted its treasure as nothing when it was battling for the right, and I confess my hesitancy in cutting the figure down to $300,000,000.

But we did more than that. We provided that these certificates, as well as these bonds, should be presented to the public and offered as a popular loan. As the measure first came to us it contemplated bids for the bonds.

What would men in a remote town know about bidding, say, 101.64 for a certain amount of bonds? They cannot form syndicates and coalesce with bankers; and if there was to be a profit in this loan the people should have it, and not the bankers. So the committee has passed what, in my opinion, is a most wise provision, that these bonds and these certificates shall be offered at par, and at par only; that they shall be offered through

every channel the country commands, every little post-office, every express station, every bank the whole country over, to the people at par.

We have also inserted a provision that those bids that are for the least in amount and are from individuals shall be first accepted. I do not know what the opinions of others may be, but I have no question that the people of these United States, of small savings but great patriotism, are the men who are going to buy and to own and to hold these bonds, and to glory in the fact that their little possessions are helping to carry on the war.

It is true that there has been one discordant note in this almost universal expression of opinion that the people would take these bonds. It is unfortunately the fact that our Secretary of the Treasury [1] in his statement before the Committee on Finance deliberately said that he did not believe that the people would take these bonds. I am glad to say, Mr. President, that I think he is the only man in this country who cherishes that belief, which is very possibly father to his hope; but it is not for me to criticise him. He stands, I understand, in the Cabinet as the representative, as the sole representative, I am glad to say, of that respectable and limited and affluent body of men known as Gold Democrats, and he, if nobody else, must be true to the spirit of the Indianapolis platform, which sought to turn the finances of the country over to the bankers of the United States.

But, Mr. President, the people want these bonds if they can get them fairly and upon right terms and legitimately offered; and whatever may be the personal desires or predilections of the Secretary of the Treasury, if this bill shall become a law, then these bonds will go into many thousands of households throughout the land, and each man who holds them will be proud of the fact that he owns the security of his country and is helping to carry on the war—not a gold bond, not a silver bond, but a coin bond, as every other bond of the United States which has been issued has been, and as, I trust, every other bond of the United States which will be issued for many a day to come will be. So these bonds will go out; the industries of the country will not suffer; money will be coming into the Treasury, not from syndicates or bankers, who will gather them at a profit and market them at a greater, but they will go at first hand by direct dealing between the Government and the

[1] Hon. Lyman G. Gage.

people, and as they rise in value, as they surely will, the people will receive the profit.

Mr. President, this debt will be large and formidable, and we shall leave it for the future to pay. Each generation since the foundation of this Republic has inherited obligations of a similar character; but if we are true to those principles of humanity which have so far animated our action, and which have made this war inevitable, we shall transmit to those who are to come after us that which will make this financial load seem trifling and light of burden, for they will cherish, while this nation endures, the proud consciousness that this people, in this year of grace, were intolerant of oppression upon this hemisphere and counted no sacrifice of life or commercial prosperity too great that brought freedom to the downtrodden, even while their own liberties were unassailed. And, Mr. President, unless all omens fail, we shall leave as well upon the pages of history the glorious truth, to serve for all time as a warning and an illustration, that in the world's struggle for freedom and for right the English-speaking people stand shoulder to shoulder, alike devoted to the principles of eternal justice and indissolubly linked in one common and immortal destiny.

THE TREATY OF PARIS

THE Senate, February 4, 1899, having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 191) declaring that under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: Until a day or two ago I had no idea of addressing the Senate on the matters pertaining to this treaty, which should, in my opinion, be properly considered only in executive session. It was not until it had become apparent that the manipulations and complications surrounding certain of the resolutions which have been introduced into this body were to serve solely as a cloak to an organized effort to bring about the defeat of the treaty that I felt impelled to say a few words respecting these resolutions.

Mr. President, in the months preceding the opening of hostilities the prospect of war with Spain had no charms for me, and now, in common with millions of the American people, I move with reluctant feet along the path which our national duty seems to point, not because I do not recognize the necessity of following it, but because it is new and untried.

If the Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States had brought us a treaty by the terms of which we were to relinquish all the Spanish islands in the Pacific, I should have voted to ratify it. If they had brought here a treaty which reserved us a coaling station and gave up the rest of the islands, I should have joined in a vote to approve their action. In their wisdom they have agreed upon a treaty which retains all those islands, and I see before me but one duty, and that is to stand by my Government and by the action of these Commissioners.

Who would have dreamed last June that within six months there would be presented in the Senate the spectacle which we have witnessed here for the last two or three weeks? Within two months after the declaration of hostilities the providence of God and the prowess of our soldiers and our sailors brought us overwhelming victory. Then came the protocol, and following that the President, within the limits of his Constitutional duty, appointed Commissioners to meet on neutral soil with Commissioners from the Kingdom of Spain to negotiate a treaty.

The Commissioners appointed by the President were all men eminent for character, attainments, and ability. We may judge something of them by the three members of this Chamber, representing both political parties, who were chosen to serve upon that Commission. There is not a member of the Senate who would not trust those gentlemen with the most intricate and delicate matters pertaining to his own personal welfare or who does not recognize their eminent fitness for the negotiations with which they were intrusted.

Month after month those Commissioners sat and but little of the story of their labors is told in the printed book before us. They agreed finally with the Commissioners of Spain and brought back here a treaty approved by the President and now laid upon our desks, by the terms of which we are of course left free to deal with the Philippines as we shall see fit hereafter, and by which we reserve the power to give them such legal status as Congress shall wisely determine.

And yet, Mr. President, we stand here wrangling day after day before the gaze of the whole world, seeking to belittle the action of these Commissioners. By resolutions in open Senate we seek to strip the treaty of much of its force and effect, and give such counsel and aid as we may to those people in the Philippines who might be inclined to question our authority.

There are, Mr. President, no questions raised by these resolutions or their amendments that could not be equally well and satisfactorily dealt with after the treaty shall have been ratified. And I notice that many of the Senators who a few months ago were so certain that the insurgents of Cuba possessed all the qualities necessary to self-government—had a congress and cabinets and the power to levy taxes and collect revenues and all the paraphernalia of a state—are to-day equally certain and equally sure that the inhabitants of the Philippines are likewise fitted for wise and intelligent self-government.

The Constitution of the United States empowers the Presi-

dent to make treaties, subject to the concurrence of a vote of two thirds of the Senate. This provision was inserted because our fathers believed that, however much we might differ on questions of internal policy, however much in the affairs of our own country we might dispute and argue, when we came to face a foreign foe or our relations with other countries we would stand as a unit together, sinking and obliterating party and party lines.

For my own guidance, Mr. President, I recognize a vast difference in the moral obligation I owe my country when I come to deal in the Senate with a commercial treaty, when this country is at peace, and the attitude I owe our Government when I am called upon to pass on a treaty of peace solemnly negotiated for the purpose of closing actual hostilities with a nation with which we are at war.

Never in the history of our country was it so important as now that the Senate of the United States should present an unbroken front. We owe a debt to our kin across the sea that perhaps we may some day partially pay. When the war clouds lowered and the air was full of hate, our brothers in race, language, and destiny, in quiet English fashion, took their place beside us, elbow touching elbow, and back of us were the services of their trained diplomacy and their genuine and unqualified friendship; and had it not been for the moral support which Great Britain gave us during this conflict we would not have emerged from it without an international contest of larger or smaller dimensions.

Bar England, there is not a country in Europe that is not hostile to us. During all this war they stood in sullen hate, hoping for our defeat and that disaster might come to us; and to-day they wait with eager and rapacious gaze, hoping that some event may yet prevent our reaping the fruits of the treaty which has been agreed upon by the Commissioners of the two countries. Yet, while this critical condition of affairs exists, it has become evident within the last few days that certain political leaders in this Chamber believe that a new issue should be brought before the American people to be determined at the next Presidential election. They intend that the American people shall be called to pass on the questions arising out of the war, and that this shall be the issue of the next campaign.

For one I believe that issue a fair one, and I am ready, as all good citizens ought to be, to meet the views of the whole American people upon the question of the conduct of the war,

of its achievements, and of the policy this country should pursue at its close. But it is deplorable, Mr. President, that in formulating such an issue and in pursuit of such a policy those leaders should find it necessary to seek to dishonor this Government and the Administration which has guided us so wisely through the troubled sea of international complications and brought us to the threshold of an honorable peace; that they should seek to degrade us in the face of the nations of the world; and that they should attempt to bring about some fancied political advantage by an effort to defeat the ratification of a treaty which, if unratified, must bring back a condition of war as it existed before the report of the Commissioners, passive it may be, Mr. President, but full of uncertainty and full of disaster to the interests and the welfare of our country.

For my part, I do not believe these tactics can win. There are on both sides of this Chamber enough men animated with high patriotism, ready to obliterate party lines and to stand shoulder to shoulder together and with the Government, not because it is a republican Government, but because it is an American Government, and they will agree to fight out hereafter the questions that may arise as to the conduct and disposal of the Philippines when the treaty shall have been ratified.

Mr. President, no matter what any man may say, this war was a war solely of humanity. It cannot be too often reiterated that it had its inception in unselfishness and it finds its conclusion in equal unselfishness. The course of events, unexpected and necessarily unforeseen, leaves us at the conclusion of this war charged with a duty toward 9,000,000 people in far-off, distant seas. We found them cruelly oppressed by Spain. No man with bowels of compassion would want to turn them back to that country. We know but little about them. We have reached only the very fringes of our knowledge of that country, its topography, its people, their character, and their possibilities. But it is believed by men at least as wise as we that there exists there a condition which if left to itself would result in internecine strife, perhaps extending over a generation, with its accompaniment of bloodshed and murder and rapine; and that the people there are as yet apparently unfitted for self-government.

More than this, they realize that if we to-day abandon those islands as a derelict upon the face of the waters we leave them open to the land-hunger and the greed of the countries of Europe that are now seeking to colonize land the wide world

over, with the probability that our action would plunge the world in war.

Mr. President, for one I am not unwilling to face the responsibilities of this treaty with all that its terms imply. We shall not put our hands upon that people except to bless them. American institutions mean liberty and not despotism, and our dealings with those islanders, be they brief or be they for all time, can serve only to lift them up nearer into the light of civilization and of Christianity.

We have been told during this discussion that our occupancy of the Philippines would have a tendency to injure our own people and engender corruption among our own officers sent to govern them. Mr. President, such a statement is humiliating, and, I believe, untrue. In the large cities of this country municipal government is wofully bad, and it is bad solely because the people living in those cities are negligent and unwilling to bear their share in local administration. But outside those cities the civic virtues of the people of the United States are of the highest character. Our relations with those islands would be honorable and fair and just. We live in the light of publicity. We may make mistakes—we probably shall—but out of our government of those islands those people, by our example and under our control, will find themselves made more secure in their lives, their happiness, and the protection of their property.

Mr. President, it has also been frequently said in the progress of this discussion that our continued occupancy of those islands is contrary to the spirit of American institutions. Who shall say this? This Republic represents the first and only experiment in absolute self-government by the Anglo-Saxon race, intermingled and re-enforced by the industrious of all the countries of the Old World. For more than a hundred years we have endured, and every decade has brought us increasing strength and prosperity, and, it may be, an increasing tendency to greater bitterness in our consideration of questions of internal policy. Who is to say that in the evolution of such a Republic as this the time has not come when the immense development of our internal resources and the marvellous growth of our domestic and foreign commerce and a realization of our virile strength have not stimulated that Anglo-Saxon restlessness which beats with the blood of the race into an activity which will not be quenched until we have finally planted our standard in that far-off archipelago which inevitable destiny has intrusted to our hands?

It may well be that this people have found, through the outlet which the results of the war with Spain compelled us to take, the one course which shall lead to the perpetuity of our institutions and the safety and stability of the Republic.

Time alone can determine and make clear the duty we owe ourselves and the people of the Philippines. To-day we face the question of rejecting or emasculating the conclusions solemnly reached by the Commissioners of Spain and the United States or of standing loyally by our Government. For myself there is but one path; to my vision that way alone lies honor.

INSURRECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

REPLY TO SENATORS PETTIGREW AND BEVERIDGE

THE Senate, January 15, 1900, having under consideration the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Pettigrew on the 3d instant:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate whether General Torres, one of the officers of the Philippine army, came to General Otis with a flag of truce on February 5, 1899, the day after the fighting commenced between our forces and those of the Filipinos, and stated to General Otis that General Aguinaldo declared that fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by him, and that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of a width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflict between the two armies, and whether General Otis replied that fighting having once begun must go on to the grim end. Was General Otis directed by the Secretary of War to make such an answer? Did General Otis telegraph the Secretary of War on February 9, 1899, as follows: 'Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference. Have declined to answer.' And did General Otis afterward reply? Was he directed by the Secretary of War to reply; and what answer, if any, did he or the Secretary of War make to the application to cease fighting?"

Mr. Pettigrew having submitted some remarks on the resolution, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: Any general discussion upon our final duties toward the Philippine Islands seems to me out of place and premature at this time. All our energies should be devoted to first quelling the unimportant insurrection which there prevails, and

finally, and when order is restored, our attention should be turned to the great problems that will face us in that archipelago. I should not have ventured to take the time of the Senate, even for a few minutes, upon this occasion had it not been for the remarkable and intemperate utterances of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Pettigrew].

There could be no better demonstration of the value of the Senate as an open public forum than the speeches which the Senator from South Dakota has made for the past two legislative days. There are in this country some seventy million people, of all sorts—the good, the indifferent, and the bad. They are mostly good; but scattered through different communities, small in each, but aggregating numerically many thousands, there are citizens discontented and unhappy, who view the world with jaundiced vision; people who, perhaps, not successful themselves, possibly not deserving prosperity, rail against the success of others and view with suspicion and hatred every other person whose life and whose efforts are crowned with success. They see some wicked motive in the conduct of everybody except themselves.

When the sun shines they see only the shadows it casts, and behind every good act they find lurking some sinister and unworthy purpose. Hate and malevolence are nourished, and the world seems to them all askew. It is but a step from individual hatred to national hatred. It is but a step from dislike of the people who succeed when they do not to dislike of the country whose administration they do not approve and to hatred of the flag and the government that nourishes and protects them. It is fitting that such people should be represented here, and I know of nobody in the whole United States so fitted to speak for them as the Senator from South Dakota, who, during all the years which I have served with him in this body— and I speak only of his public utterances—has never had a kind or friendly word to say of any person or of any cause.

And it is not alone fitting, Mr. President, that such people should be represented, so that the opinions of everybody may be ventilated in this body, but it is also to my mind important that we should have such utterances as those of the Senator from South Dakota, that they may serve as an example and a warning and a deterrent to the thousands of young men who every year are growing to manhood and who must some day take their share in the burden of government, and upon whom eventually the mantle of responsibility must fall,—that they may learn how

"ill habit grows by usage," and that they may see how important it is, as they grow to manhood and responsibility, that they should cultivate a good digestion, a hopeful heart, and a cheerful mind.

Mr. President, I do not share the opinion which has been expressed in the Senate that the utterances of Senators here have any sort of effect upon the insurgents in the Philippine Islands. If Aguinaldo has his ear to the ground to hear what is going on here, he knows as well as we do how utterly trifling and unimportant are these expressions of sympathy which are from time to time heard in this Chamber. There is not a real honorable Democrat in the United States who would not admit to you that if his own party were in power the policy would be first to crush the insurrection against the flag and against the maintenance of order and our laws abroad, and then determine what should be done. These people here whose constant utterances encourage the insurrection will not fight; they will take it out in sympathy. And if our soldiers in Manila will take care of Aguinaldo and his straggling followers, as they seem to be doing very well, the American people here will take care of Aguinaldo's sympathizers in the Senate and outside of it.

Mr. President, the Senator from South Dakota said the other day, in the commencement of his speech, that if he were a Filipino he would fight until he was gray against the unholy aggression of the armies of the United States. I have no doubt the Senator would fight if he were a Tagal; and it is possible, and I so suggest to the Senator, that they might take him by adoption. I can picture him now, clad chiefly in that genial and pleasant smile which he always wears here, blazing away with his blunderbuss against everything in sight!

The suggestion was the Senator's own, and it touches the imagination. It leads one to think of what would be the consequence if the Senator changed places with a Tagal. The exchange might, for purposes of experiment, at least, not be without attractiveness; and I believe if he changed places with Aguinaldo, who is brave, loyal, and patriotic, and Aguinaldo stood in the Senate representing the great State of South Dakota, which sent its soldiers to the Philippines and left some of them dead in the trenches there, he would never, Tagal though he is, be found in this body traducing the President of the United States and the Commander-in-Chief of our armies and slandering and maligning our officers now at the front and charging them with being "swindlers and defrauders."

Mr. President, the resolution which we are assuming to discuss is of no importance, and everybody knows that. It is covered and engulfed by a resolution which calls for all the information the Department will furnish. It is really of no value whatever, but it serves to indicate to the Senate and to the country some suspicion that there has been somewhere some crooked or dishonorable conduct in the Departments or by the Executive of this nation. Mr. President, there is nothing hidden, there is nothing that is not as open as the day, and there has been no step taken from first to last in the negotiations that does not reflect honor and credit upon the people of the United States and upon its Chief Executive. Do you remember the few words in the President's message touching our duty toward the Philippines? We cannot hear them too often, and I wish to read them. They are in the last message of the President, which came to us a few days ago.

"No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

That is the last public utterance of our honored President. And this is the President whose messages and whose treatment have been described by the Senator from South Dakota as being "brutal" and "cruel." That contest cannot be cruel which seeks only to lift up and make better the man who treats you as his enemy. That contest cannot be fraught with hardship or oppression that looks only to the civilization and the regeneration and the benefiting of these islanders of the sea. Mr. President, there might be a great deal worse in store for the savages of the world, as yet unreclaimed, than asking them to come with us and to take pot-luck with the people of the United States, in the protection of American laws, and to sit under the shadow of the American Government; and that is what we are seeking to do in those islands to-day. When that result is

attained, as it will be, then we may talk of our eventual duty to those people.

But, Mr. President, if these utterances of the Senator from South Dakota are deplorable, I still am unable to acquiesce in all of the views which have recently been stated on the floor by extremists in the other direction. We took those islands not as a rich conquest. We took them as one of the penalties and burdens of a war which was imposed upon us because of the high duty we owed the human race. We entered into this war because we could no longer listen unmoved to the cry of sufferings in Cuba, and we girded up our loins for the contest and washed ourselves clean of selfish purpose by the preliminary statement that this was not a war of aggression and that we took the island of Cuba when we took it solely that we might help fit it for self-government and turn it over to the people who occupy it.

When the war was inaugurated none of us dreamed of our acquisition of the Philippine Islands; but when the war was closed so quickly and so victoriously and we then had to deal with our conquered foe, we found the Philippines with more than 5,000,000 people suffering under oppressions and hardships and cruelty. We found Spain humbled and bankrupt, a fallen foe, and these islands a floating derelict in the Pacific. We took them because if we had not taken them they would have led to international complications and might have passed into unworthy hands, and principally because of the duty we owed to the people in them. And had they been as bleak and barren as the desert of Sahara, our duty to the people who occupy those islands would not have been less or different.

Mr. President, we may have to keep them indefinitely—perhaps we shall; but they are not to be kept for the reasons so far stated. I listened with the greatest interest to the remarks of the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. Beveridge], for he was fresh from the islands and from an inspection of them. I keep an open mind upon the subject, but I confess I cannot yet yield my approval to the resolution he introduced because of the arguments he adduced. He told us that there had been given him nuggets of gold and gold dust from placer diggings; that they told him of a mountain of forty miles of coal; of unlimited beds of rich copper. He also told us of great fields of Indian corn, rice, sugar, coffee, and hemp, and of the rich and tempting valley of Luzon.

He told us that the islands were peopled by savages who

could not be reclaimed, and that we had made the mistake of treating them with humanity and not with severity; that they would never work, and that we must get over our lingering prejudice to Chinese labor, and that in order to reap the benefit of those islands we must fill them with foreigners; but that the islands were rich, and that therefore we should hold them.

Mr. President, to my mind that argument is base and sordid. This war, as we inaugurated it and as we carried it on, if we are true to ourselves and consider first our duty to the people, will go down in history as one of the noblest that was ever fought; but if we base our intention and purpose to retain the Philippine Islands, irrespective of the people upon them, upon the fact that they are a rich and fertile and valuable acquisition, this war will go down in history as a war of conquest, waged by a strong against a weak nation, and as a mercenary and dishonorable war, worthy of the Middle Ages. If we are to keep these islands, it is because we owe a duty growing out of the cause of the war, and not because we were able to take them; and the same argument that would apply to our keeping the Philippines would apply with equal force to our loading our cruisers and our battle-ships with shrapnel and shell and cruising around the world seeking for savage islands which we might conquer.

Mr. President, is there not some danger that we are facing the question before us with a sentimentality that is somewhat maudlin? I confess that I am shrinking somewhat at frequent and constant reference to Almighty God and His dealings personal with the nations of the earth. History has taught me that He usually favors the heaviest battalions, and if He governs men irrespective of human agencies there are injustices in history concerning which we will never be set right until the light of another world dawns upon us.

May it not be possible, Mr. President, that the divine plan goes no farther than to hold each individual responsible for his actions toward his fellow-man? It may be that we are His chosen people, and that God Almighty, as has been stated, has trusted this whole question of civilization and regeneration to, and conferred the duty of enlightening heathendom exclusively upon, the English-speaking and Teutonic races, and chiefly upon the people of the United States. I read an extract from the remarks of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Beveridge]. He says:

"The Philippines are ours forever, 'territory belonging to

the United States,' as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world."

He says further:

"God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! . . . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. . . . And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us."

It may be so, Mr. President, but if it is true we should treble our fleet at once, and with England and Germany seize China and divide it, take away the French possessions in Madagascar and in Africa, and relieve Russia of its occupancy of Port Arthur and proceed to civilize and regenerate the natives.

Mr. President, my understanding of the duty and the mission of the American people was something far different. I had conceived them to be the last hope of the republics, blessed with a magnificent and large and fertile and varied area, which we were gradually filling up as our own population increased, and where we were welcoming the advent of strangers and foreigners and the oppressed from other lands, and were seeking to assimilate them with us as citizens of a free republic. I was of the impression that our land was not yet full, not yet overflowing; that we had before us in days, we hoped of peace, vast and interesting and noble social problems that within our own borders we were to work out, and that we had said to the nations of the earth: "You who are monarchies may hold your thrones so long as the people will tolerate you, but this continent is forever devoted to liberty, and you shall not put your foot upon it, nor shall we interfere with territories which you claim."

That, as I understand, is our mission, our purpose, and our destiny. But events concerning which we had but little share have placed us in possession of these great islands, and we must meet those duties as we meet every duty at home, fairly and good-naturedly and hopefully and in man fashion.

Mr. President, I believe myself it is idle for us to talk of being a God-given nation, with an ability to regenerate and colonize and civilize not possessed by any other people in the world. I was somewhat startled by the utterances of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Beveridge] when he told us that charity did not begin at home, but commenced outside and filtered back, and that, confessing the great municipal corruption which exists in all our large towns and cities almost without exception throughout these United States—a corruption which is growing less each year and will grow less as men grow better and take greater interest in civil government—we had only to intrust the appointment of governors of the Philippines to the precinct committeemen of Indiana and of other States, when by the purity of the government which would be administered in the Philippines a reflected glory and purity would shine across to our land, which would make at once our civic administration pure and stainless. Mr. President, if that be true, the Philippines would be worth to us a great many hundred millions of dollars if their soil consisted of lava beds and craters of dead volcanoes; but it is not so.

We will meet this question, and we will stumble and fall and make mistakes and pick ourselves up and go on again. When we took these islands we thought we had taken from Spain an orphan asylum which we were to nourish and nurture and make happy. It looks as if we might possibly have taken over, instead, a home for incorrigibles. But if we have, we will still deal with them in the same American fashion. It comes at the end of the century when the world is growing better and more beneficent and kinder, when men recognize as never before their duties toward their fellow-men, when the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting richer too; and if we do our duty by these islands, as we shall, the time will some day come when the sun of prosperity which now shines and illumines and blesses our own country will shed its refulgent rays as well upon those islanders in far-off Southern seas.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES

OPPOSITION TO THE FORCE BILL

THE Senate, December 30, 1890, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11045) to amend and supplement the election laws of the United States, and to provide for the more efficient enforcement of such laws, and for other purposes, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: The objections to the pending measure must be strong indeed in the breast of any Republican member of this body to have survived the partisan and heated and bitter utterances which have been heard in this debate from the other side of the aisle.

We have listened to attacks upon the conduct of our party, both ill-natured and intolerant. The shade of the old whip-cracking South has been invoked and marshalled before us, as if its reactionary ideas and arbitrary course in public affairs had led to honor instead of shame; and, in language filled with sectional bitterness, unworthy motives have been attributed to this side of the Chamber, and passions long since dormant have been sought to be reawakened. Yet, notwithstanding these sectional and partisan attacks, although for reasons differing in a large degree from those which move the other side, I am opposed to the passage of the bill.

It is to me, as it must be always to any man in public life, a source of great regret to be called upon to differ with any considerable number of my party and to decline to take the path the older leaders point; and it is proper that the reasons which impel the difference should be fairly stated.

The time which the bill engrosses is not opportune. We are

already through nearly a third of our short session and daylight is not yet visible. There are measures of vast public interest which demand our attention and which will fail for another year at least unless we act upon them.

The Apportionment Bill, which has some due regard to the increasing population in certain localities in our country, waits for us to act upon it. Important measures demanded by farming communities in the charge of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Paddock], the chairman of the committee to which the bills were referred and from which they have been reported back, are waiting for an opportunity to be called to the attention of the Senate. The Copyright measure, which has already passed one body and which secures to skilled labor only the decent recognition which this body should give it, still awaits our action.

The Private Land Court Bill, a measure which affects a section larger than the thirteen colonies and the whole territory east of the Alleghanies, a bill which will remove a cloud upon almost every acre of ground in a vast area, a measure which has passed one body and to which we are pledged by every principle of honor and of treaty, lies idly here because the time engrossed by this bill will not permit it to be taken up.

More than all this, we stand in the shadow of great financial disaster. The people turn naturally to Congress for relief, either to ascertain that there will be no legislation, so that they may then set their house in order, or to receive some adequate medium for the transaction of their business. Prices are shrinking and merchants are failing for lack of a suitable currency, and it seems to me a travesty on duty that we sit here day after day discussing a change in an electoral law which has stood without amendment for twenty years.

But it is not alone, Mr. President, because these measures are clamoring for recognition that I feel compelled to oppose the passage of this bill; and if the session were to last indefinitely, or were there none of these vital measures before us for consideration, I should still vote against it.

In my opinion, warrant is not to be found against the bill either on the ground of unconstitutionality or harshness. Leaving out of view the wisdom or expediency of such a course, there is in my mind no sort of doubt that Congress has the clear right to see to it that at any election whereat members of Congress are to be voted for, in large communities or small, at the North or in the South, the registry lists are properly prepared,

that those only shall vote who have the right, and that all who have the right shall be protected in its exercise.

More than this: In the provisions of the bill itself, involved and confused as they are, there is but little, if anything, to criticise because of their severity; and if the law would be always fairly administered by competent officials it would prove an efficient aid, by the Federal arm, in securing the purity of the ballot-box.

Nor can it be objected to the bill that it aims at the correction of an abuse when none exists. Notwithstanding the elaborate evasions of Senators on the other side, there is probably not one of them who would not at once admit in private conversation what everybody knows to be true, that wherever in the South the colored vote outnumbers the white vote the colored vote is not permitted to be cast, or, if cast, is not permitted to be counted. The old days of secret organizations and midnight marauders seem for the time to have passed, but the vote is as effectually suppressed as in those times of horror and of bloodshed.

We have, then, a bill seeking to right an undoubted violation of law, constitutional in its scope, not unduly harsh in its provisions, and yet a measure which, in my judgment, it would be most unwise and unpatriotic to enact into law.

The bill, Mr. President, should not become a law because it involves Federal interference and espionage at other than national elections, and such interference is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and an obstacle to the right enjoyment of our liberties.

If a measure could be framed making the day for the election of members of Congress separate and distinct from any local election, and the officers appointed to supervise such election could be so limited in their powers and tenure of office as to secure impartiality in the exercise of their functions, I should favor it; but any Federal meddling with State elections is, to my mind, intolerable. We are told of the great good the present law has done in the larger cities, and that State officials have frequently worked in harmony with the Federal officers at elections. All this may be true, but I think it does not offer a sufficient argument for the law.

Take the city of New York, with thousands of ignorant and criminal and venal voters. It is, to my mind, better that its local and State elections should be attended with fraud and dishonesty than that they should be kept pure by Federal in-

terference. Even in the city of New York there are infinitely more good men than bad—more men who want honest elections than there are men who want dishonest elections; and while for the time local interests suffer, in the end the decent men band together, animated not only by motives of good citizenship but by a desire to protect property interests, and by united action they secure good government, or as near an approach to it as can be had in great cities. Public opinion is always not only finally right but finally controlling, and Federal surveillance only weakens the citizen's sense of responsibility without permanently eradicating the evil.

We tried the remedy of Federal interference in Denver, the capital of Colorado; we tried it last in 1888, at the suggestion and under the management of a Democratic district attorney and a Democratic marshal. The law was administered by a judge who is so exceedingly fair and impartial that he is invariably opposed to both sides. In that community, the capital of the State of Colorado, composed of people noted for their probity and uprightness on election day as well as every other day in the year, we had Federal supervision of the election two years ago.

No change was made in the result and there could be no change, because it was an honest election, and yet, Mr. President, I do not believe that in the city of Denver there was a citizen who loved his State who did not in his heart resent the presence at the polling places of these Federal marshals to supervise his exercise of the high function of suffrage respecting the matters which affected his commonwealth; and in the last Congressional election, by the united and expressed wish of both political parties, we did away with Federal supervision and managed our own election fairly and impartially and uncorruptedly.

The friends of the bill, Mr. President, assume it to be in the interest of the colored man, when its enactment could bring him only harm. It would be idle to say that the Government could not enforce this law; it would be equally idle to claim that it ever would in fact be enforced. The people of the United States want no more civil strife, and against the united opposition of the white population in the Southern States any attempt to enforce it would mean practically conflict between the State and national authorities. The old ill feeling would be resumed, and while we, as a party, were fighting to protect the colored voter, the old days of terrorizing would come again and the weaker race would be the sufferer.

It is true that the very foundation and corner-stone of our Republic is the right of suffrage, and the protection of every citizen entitled to vote in the equal enjoyment of that right; yet I must risk adverse criticism by suggesting that at this time, in the present economic condition of the South, and with the present general ignorance of the colored race, for which it is in no wise responsible, there are many things more important and vital to the welfare of this nation than that the colored citizens of the South shall vote.

There has been, I fear, a lack of ingenuousness on both sides of this Chamber. The Democratic opponents of this bill would have lost nothing had they publicly admitted, what is everywhere claimed for them in private, that in certain Southern States where the colored population outnumbers the whites the colored voters, owning comparatively none of the taxable property in the community, are led and controlled by a few irresponsible men, and would, if permitted to exercise the right of suffrage secured to them under the Constitution, destroy all safeguards to property and work irreparable injury to the best interests of the commonwealth, and that for these reasons they are circumvented of their rights. This would be, at least, an intelligent reason for opposition to the measure.

On the other hand, it occurred to me that when the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Eustis] asked the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Dolph] the other day what his State would do if the Chinese had the franchise in Oregon and outnumbered the whites, the answer seemed somewhat evasive. I cannot speak for Oregon. And yet I give it as my solemn opinion that in Colorado, whose mountains inspire only freedom and love of justice, where the Republican party has as large a majority in proportion to its population as Kansas or Nebraska in their lucid years, if such a condition of affairs existed as the Senator stated, and if that vote was opposed to the united and intelligent white vote, then in some way and by some method, I know not how, the white vote would govern.

But it by no means follows that the Congressional representation should be based otherwise than on the vote cast, and the existing state of affairs at the South offers no good reason why the conditions should not be so equalized by law as that a vote in the North should have the same value for purposes of national representation as a vote in the South.

I am not informed that in any Southern State there is any inclination to legislate against the colored man, or that, except

on the question of suffrage, there is serious friction between the races. So far, the views of the two races have been radically opposed to each other. The time will surely come, in my opinion, if we do not seek to foment trouble, when the white voters of the South will be hardly as unanimous as now. Already the signs of the times point unmistakably to serious differences among them. When these differences become solidified the colored voter will be in demand.

Meanwhile, protected in life and property, slowly but surely coming up out of the ignorance imposed by bondage, he can afford to wait. And so can the Republican party afford to wait. If every Southern member in the next House of Representatives was a Republican we would still be short of a majority; and two years from now, when the beneficent tariff measure which is now the law has had the opportunity, which time alone can give it, of demonstrating its wisdom, inspired by new zeal, I trust we will not need the assistance of the Southern Republican representation which this bill seeks to give us.

But, Mr. President, above and beyond all the considerations to which I have referred there is another and a weightier reason why, in my opinion, this bill should be defeated. For a quarter of a century, out from poverty and despair, the South has been reaching forth in effort to plant its foot on the solid rock of material prosperity; and in view of the marvellous growth and transformation now taking place in the Southern States, I believe it would be unwise and unpatriotic for us to interfere in the conduct of its internal affairs.

I am not deluded by any hopes that at any early day the men in control of its destinies will permit the counsels of the Republican party to have weight in the shaping of its future. The significant occurrences in South Carolina during the past six months have shown us something of the tenacity of party discipline in the South.

I have, I say, no hope for the immediate political regeneration of that section; but this does not affect the question. Slowly, but surely, and, as confidence grows, with accelerating speed, are the people of the Southern States not only regaining their old prosperity, but are leaving it far behind. Under changed conditions, unused to effective labor, handicapped with countless disadvantages, they have yet come out and up into the light. They have won the confidence of Northern capital and enlisted the aid of Northern enterprise; and there is no section through-

out this wide land that to-day blossoms with brighter promise than the South.

The history of mankind has shown no such wonderful growth and awakening. And, rejoicing in the prosperity of every portion of our common country, I am unwilling with my vote to intrude upon that people at this time a measure which means to them but a renewal of strife and bitterness, and which is foreign to the spirit and dangerous to the freedom of republican institutions.

VENEZUELA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THE Senate, January 22, 1896, having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 49) to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Wolcott said:

MR. PRESIDENT: I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Sewell].

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays the resolution before the Senate.

The resolution submitted by Mr. Sewell on the 16th instant was read, as follows.

"*Resolved,* That the Monroe Doctrine, as originally propounded, was directed to the special prevention of the threatened action of the Allied Powers in reference to the revolted colonies of Spain and the occupation, by way of colonization, of any supposed derelict territory on this hemisphere.

"2. That the question of resisting any acquisition of territory by conquest was limited, as stated by Mr. Webster, to cases in which, by reason of proximity, such acquisition would be dangerous to our safety and the integrity of our institutions.

"3. That the true ground upon which the Monroe announcement was based and upon which any similar position has been taken rests for its justification upon what may be our interests, and our interests only; and that neither by the Monroe Doctrine nor any other official declaration have we ever come under any pledge to any Power or State on this continent that binds us to act merely for their protection against invasion or encroachment by any other Power.

"4. That when a case arises in which a European Power proposes to acquire territory by invasion or conquest, it is then for us to determine whether our safety and the integrity of our institutions demand that we shall resist such action by armed force if necessary.

"5. That the Executive has pressed the Monroe Doctrine

beyond what was contemplated at the time of its announcement, and that the resultant sequence of the positions thus taken seems to be a committal of this Government to a protectorate over Mexico and the Central and South American States; that this would be most unwise and dangerous, and would violate the sound and well-established policy that we should avoid all entangling alliances with foreign Powers, whether they be European or American.

"6. That this action was premature, looking to the history of the controversy, and inopportune in view of the business and financial condition of the country.

"7. That neither Congress nor the country can be, or has been, committed by the action or position of the Executive department, in reference to the Venezuelan boundary controversy, as to the course to be pursued when the time shall have arrived for a final determination. It will then be our province and our duty to adopt such a line of policy and to take such action as may be then demanded by our sense of duty to the country and by a due regard for its honor and dignity, the welfare and safety of our people, and the integrity of our institutions."

Mr. Wolcott. Mr. President, the extraordinary message of the President of the United States having reference to a dispute exclusively between Great Britain and Venezuela, both friendly powers, was practically indorsed by both Houses of Congress. The responsibilities, therefore, which his action may have entailed rest as well upon the Legislative as the Executive branch of the Government, and are equally shared by all political parties. The recommendations of the President that a commission be appointed to inquire into the points of difference between the two Governments concerned, and to enlighten this country as to the true divisional line separating Venezuela and British Guiana, were followed by Congress, and that Commission, eminent in ability and lacking only the joint sanction of the parties in interest, which sanction alone can give it vitality or usefulness, has duly qualified.

Under the circumstances it would ordinarily seem to be the part of wisdom to refrain from further public comment on a subject of so sensitive and delicate a character until some decisive step had been taken or some obstacle had been encountered calling for legislative interference. And neither the fact that illness prevented my presence in this body when the message was laid before the Senate, nor the sporadic utterances on the subject which we have recently heard here, would have served to induce me to embarrass the existing situation by further discussion.

The resolutions, however, which the Committee on Foreign Relations has reported to this body, the effect of which may be, in my opinion, most far-reaching, as affecting our policy and relations toward other and friendly Governments, require some discussion and careful investigation before we commit ourselves to their declarations, and lead me to participate in this debate.

The few remarks I shall make will be chiefly to the effect that the so-called Monroe Doctrine has been misapplied in the pending controversy; that so much of President Monroe's message as referred to the colonization of portions of America by European powers could have no applicability to any boundary dispute now existing in South America; that the hostility to the extension by European powers of their systems to any portion of this hemisphere, as expressed in that message, had especial reference to the systems of government which were based on the divine right of kings, and which were directed to the overthrow of all republics, wherever existing; that the Monroe Doctrine was in no wise intended as insisting upon republican forms of government in this hemisphere, or as committing this Government to maintain the doctrine outside its own borders or except as its own integrity might be affected; that this country is embarking upon a new and different policy from the one laid down by our fathers, and that from 1823 until now Congress has uniformly declined to define the so-called Monroe Doctrine or to adopt it as a rule of action.

The existing condition of affairs makes the calm discussion of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine most difficult at this time. It is not an easy or a gracious task to take, in this high forum, a position which apparently involves in the slightest degree the abandonment of that patriotic fervor which animates the breast of every citizen where our national pride or our country's honor is in question. There has been much tension for the past few weeks. The letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Bayard was, from a diplomatic point of view, almost incendiary. The President's message glowed with the possibilities of war. Members of both Houses of Congress, not to be outdone, followed the President's suggestion as to the appointment of a commission with feverish haste. Just what the Commission is to do, or how it is to do it, nobody knows; but we have created it, and it stands, as yet, more a menace than a guaranty of peace.

The efforts of the Government to fire the national heart have not been unavailing, nor was the work difficult. We have had

but two wars, except our own civil conflict and a war of conquest with the weak Government of Mexico. Both of them were with Great Britain; and while the past eighty years have seen an entire readjustment of all our relations with the mother country, a readjustment which ought to make future war with her out of the question, there are still lurking some traces of the traditional resentment. There is discontent, too, with existing conditions in many sections of the country, and men feel that any change, even war with a foreign country, could not make matters worse, and might bring improvement. There are all over the West and South men who work on their farms and find the grain they raise little more valuable for food than as fuel, who know that the railroads which charge them for the transportation of their produce are largely owned in Great Britain, and are either prosperous or, if insolvent, are fostered and protected and managed by Federal courts. They also view with distrust the close financial relations existing between the bankers of the East and those of London, and they would welcome any event, even war, that would result, as they believe a war would result, in destroying those relations and lead us to rely upon our own resources alone, and to embrace economic policies which would not be dependent on those of foreign countries. Thoughtless and weak and ignorant these views may be, Mr. President, but the person who denies their existence is not familiar with conditions or opinions in many States of the Union. Add to all this the fact that hostility toward Great Britain is fostered by some political leaders who believe that jingo demonstrations may distract attention from domestic discontent and that this hostility is intensified by the bitterness cherished toward that Government by thousands of her former subjects, now citizens of this Republic, and it is not surprising that there exists in the breasts of many of our people an antagonism to Great Britain so rampant and so fierce that judgment is unheeded and passion and prejudice hold full sway.

It is easier to drift with such a condition than to antagonize it, but with the convictions on this subject which I hold, Mr. President, that sense of duty which accompanies us in public station as in private life prohibits a silence which would be cowardly, and impels me to the presentation of the right as light is given me to see it.

There has never been a doctrine more misunderstood or misapplied than the so-called Monroe Doctrine. It is, and has ever

been, without recognition by other countries, and has always been refused the approval of Congress.

The whole question first arose as follows—and in the presentation of this immediate branch of the subject I shall more than once quote from an able article in the *North American Review* for April, 1856, written while the whole subject was familiar to men who had been in public life when the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated:

There was an unsettled controversy between Russia and the United States pending in 1823 respecting their possessions in Northwestern America, Russia claiming title along the Pacific as far south as latitude 51°. Great Britain also laid claim to much of the same territory and to a point even farther south. We insisted on our title to Oregon, not only through our treaty with Spain in 1819, which gave us all her rights north of the forty-second parallel of latitude, but also based our claim upon prior discovery and exploration of what was known as Oregon Territory.

There had been but little actual development over vast areas of the Northwest, and there was danger that some foreign powers might still claim portions of our dominion as unsettled country and open to exploration and occupation. Spain and Great Britain had entered into certain agreements prior to our treaty with Spain in 1819, and it was important to us that any rights asserted on behalf of or through Spain should be extinguished. This Government, therefore, was quick to declare that Spanish rights in this whole hemisphere had lapsed because of the revolution in South America, although the contest was not ended for twenty years longer. The use of the word "colonization" had reference, therefore, not to acquisition of territory by conquest, or treaty, or purchase, but solely to the establishment of colonies founded on priority of discovery and occupation; and, so is explained, the clause, "The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power," becomes clear enough, and its attempted application to existing disputes in South America is absurd. This was Mr. Clay's understanding of the expression, and so explained by him in his despatch when Secretary of State, in 1825, to our Minister to Mexico.

This disposes of so much of the Monroe Doctrine as applies to colonization by foreign powers. Then follows the other declaration in the message, so often quoted and misquoted and tortured in meaning:

"In the wars of the European Powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

"The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the Allied Powers should have thought it proper, on a principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent Powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote; and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same; which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting in all instances the just claims of every Power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the Allied

Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other Powers will pursue the same course."

And the message of December, 1824, was still more emphatic:

"Separated as we are from Europe by the great Atlantic Ocean, we can have no concern in the wars of the European Governments nor in the causes which produce them. The balance of power between them, into whichever scale it may turn in its various vibrations, cannot affect us. It is the interest of the United States to preserve the most friendly relations with every Power, and on conditions fair, equal, and applicable to all. But in regard to our neighbors our situation is different. It is impossible for the European Governments to interfere in their concerns, especially in those alluded to, which are vital, without affecting us. Indeed, the motive which might induce such interference in the present state of the war between the parties, if a war it may be called, would appear to be equally applicable to us. It is gratifying to know that some of the Powers with whom we enjoy a very friendly intercourse, and to whom these views have been communicated, have appeared to acquiesce in them."

The circumstances attending these utterances are well known. After the Napoleonic wars, and in the reactionary period which followed the French Revolution, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia met personally and formed an offensive and defensive alliance intended to assert the divine right of kings and to put down with fire and sword any revolt against the doctrines of what was termed "legitimacy" and to interfere wherever, in either world, it could aid in smothering and destroying all aspirations for freedom.

It called itself the Holy Alliance, and interfered in Spain where a constitutional Cortes had superseded King Ferdinand, and it threatened to subjugate the Spanish-American provinces which had thrown off the Spanish yoke.

The English people had already secured the great bulk of the commerce with these countries, and viewed with disfavor any interference with them by European Governments. The

announcement I have quoted from President Monroe's message was largely the suggestion of Mr. Canning, then the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and met the cordial support of the English Government. Not only was the Monroe Doctrine the direct outcome of English suggestion, but in all the wars for independence fought in the swamps and jungles and in the fever-infested districts of these tropical provinces of South America, and in the long struggles for liberty which drenched the Spanish colonies in America with the blood of patriots, British volunteers fought ever in the front of battle. Veterans of Waterloo, many of them, they sought only an opportunity to fight the Spaniard, the oppressor of the New World. Their valor at the battle of the Bridge of Boyacá carried the day and set New Granada free. At the great and decisive battle of Carabobo in 1821, on Venezuelan soil, after the Venezuelan troops had been again and again repulsed and were in full retreat, the British legion, with reckless and heroic bravery and against overwhelming odds, carried the Pass of Carabobo in a bayonet charge and with it carried the fortunes of the day and of the war. At the close of the battle, of the 900 English troops, 600 lay dead or wounded on the field. Their colors seven times changed hands and were dyed with the blood of the dauntless heroes who carried them, and as the few survivors, with trailing arms, filed past Bolivar when the day was won, he saluted them as the saviours of his country. Such was the example which Great Britain set and the encouragement she afforded during the long struggle for freedom in South America. Without her aid Venezuela might not to-day be free, and those who now denounce her as if she were the oppressor of Venezuelan liberties may, with profit, study the history of those early and bloody times.

The concern of President Monroe was not lest monarchies should be established in this hemisphere. He expressly recognized existing government, and had welcomed the Empire of Dom Pedro in Brazil and Iturbide in Mexico as freely as the Government of Bolivar; he protested not against despotic governments, but against their forcible extension by the dreaded Holy Alliance in this Western world, of which he stood in well-grounded fear.

In this connection I quote from the summary in the *North American Review*, to which I have referred:

"We have now arrived at the point in our historical review

from which we can clearly perceive at what this declaration of Mr. Monroe was aimed. It was intended as a caveat to the designs of the allies, and as an earnest protest against the extension to this continent of the 'political system' on which they were based. What were those designs and what was this political system which endangered the peace and safety of the United States? The history of the Holy Alliance furnishes a sufficient answer to both of these questions. The designs of the European monarchs against the independence of the Spanish-American States, prosecuted as they would be in accordance with a political system which recognized only the doctrine of legitimacy and the divine right of kings, would necessarily menace the very existence of our own institutions, since these had been founded in a most contumacious disregard of the principles deemed most 'holy' by an alliance which arrogated to itself the 'undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those States in which the overthrow of the government may operate as an example.' In what country did the overthrow of legitimacy then exert so potent an influence as in the United States? And if the Spanish-American republics were now to be assailed for their imitation of our 'example,' could we hope, as the Federal representatives of the free principles most obnoxious to the Holy Alliance, that we should escape their flaming zeal in the cause of 'order and legitimacy,' after they had finished with the South American republics?

"A blow aimed at them because they were republics was a blow equally aimed at the independence of our own country; and hence it was that Mr. Monroe declared that any such armed intervention by the Allied Powers of Europe could not be regarded as 'in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States'—a declaration characterized no less by the calmness of its delivery than by the patriotic foresight in which it was devised. Originated for the purpose of meeting a particular conjuncture of events, it finds in them alone its real purport and its justification. Wise, and seasonable with reference to the circumstances of the time at which it was promulgated, it ceased to be of any force, even as a Presidential recommendation, so soon as the crisis which called it forth had passed."

It was the Holy Alliance he dreaded; the Holy Alliance which, as Mr. Brougham said in 1823 in the House of Commons, was

"not against freedom on the Ebro, or freedom on the Mincio, but against freedom; against freedom wherever it is found, freedom by whomsoever enjoyed, freedom by whatever means achieved, by whatever institutions secured."

These patriotic utterances of President Monroe, approved by

the great Jefferson, found ready indorsement in this country and in England. We were, however, perhaps more conservative then; possibly there were enough other issues upon which votes could be solicited, and Congress, when called upon in 1824, by Henry Clay, then Speaker, to indorse the substance of the message, declined to adopt it and make it a rule of legislative action.

I read from the account of the debate:

"On the 20th of January, 1824, Mr. Clay, who was Speaker of the House of Representatives, moved the following resolution in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union:

"'*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the people of these States would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible interposition by the Allied Powers of Europe, in behalf of Spain, to reduce to their former subjection those parts of the continent of America which have proclaimed and established for themselves, respectively, independent governments, and which have been solemnly recognized by the United States.'

"We need not state what was the fate of this resolution, as well as of a similar one offered by Mr. Poinsett of South Carolina. Its object, as appears from the face of it, was to give a legislative sanction to the principles enunciated in the President's message; but, whether from prudent caution or timid counsels (as to which we venture to express no opinion), it was never adopted by the House of Representatives."

And from that day to this Congress has failed to give the doctrine official sanction.

I quote from Wharton:

"It is seen also by the debates on the Panama mission and the Yucatan intervention that Congress has never been willing to commit the nation to any compact or pledge on this subject, or to any specific declaration of purpose or methods beyond the general language of the message.

"In the debates on the Clayton-Bulver Treaty in 1855–6, all the speakers seemed to agree to this position of the subject. Mr. Clayton said: 'In reference to this particular territory I would not hesitate at all, as one Senator, to assert the Monroe Doctrine and maintain it by my vote; but I do not expect to be sustained in such a vote by both branches of Congress. Whenever the attempt has been made to assert the Monroe Doctrine in either branch of Congress, it has failed. The present Democratic party came into power, after the debate on the Panama mission, on the utter abnegation of the whole doctrine, and stood upon Washington's doctrine of non-intervention. You cannot prevail on a majority, and I will venture to

say that you cannot prevail on one third, of either House of Congress to sustain it.'

"Mr. Cass said: 'Whenever the Monroe Doctrine has been urged, either one or the other House of Congress, or both Houses, did not stand up to it.' Mr. Seward said: 'It is true that each House of Congress has declined to assert it; but the honorable Senators must do each House the justice to acknowledge that the reason why they did decline to assert the doctrine was that it was proposed, as many members thought, as an abstraction, unnecessary, not called for at the time.' Mr. Mason spoke of it as having 'never been sanctioned or recognized by any constitutional authority.'"

And when a resolution respecting the Panama congress was under discussion, Congress expressly refused to commit itself to the Monroe Doctrine in any form (*Review*, page 506):

"When the resolution 'to appropriate the funds necessary to enable the President of the United States to send ministers to the congress of Panama' was under discussion in the House of Representatives, it was expressly voted that such ministers should in no way make any compact or engagement with the Spanish-American States in regard either to any threatened intervention or any future colonization by the European Powers on the American continents. Resolutions to this effect were introduced by Mr. McLane of Delaware and Mr. Rives of Virginia, who afterward, however, agreed to accept a 'modification' presented by Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, embodying the substance of both their resolutions. This modification, after reciting and approving the neutral policy of the United States, declares:

"'It is therefore the opinion of this House that the Government of the United States ought not to be represented at the congress of Panama except in a diplomatic character, nor ought they to form any alliance, offensive or defensive, or negotiate respecting such an alliance with all or any of the South American republics; nor ought they to become parties with them, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing the interference of any of the European Powers with their independence or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization upon the continents of America; but that the people of the United States should be left free to act, in any crisis, in such a manner as their feelings of friendship toward these republics and as their own honor and policy may at the time dictate.'

"This resolution was passed in the House by a vote of 99 yeas to 95 nays; and thus was the declaration with respect to colonization left in abeyance, or rather expressly repudiated by this branch of Congress with reference to the Spanish-American States."

Nor was it considered even by the generation of statesmen who controlled the destinies of our country at the time the message was transmitted that the declarations of the President involved us in the slightest responsibility to protect the countries of South America against foreign invasion.

Mr. Webster, in a speech on the Panama mission, in 1826, spoke as follows:

"It is doubtless true, as I took occasion to observe the other day, that this declaration must be considered as founded on our rights, and to spring mainly from a regard to their preservation. It did not commit us, at all events, to take up arms on any indication of hostile feeling by the Powers of Europe toward South America. If, for example, all the States of Europe had refused to trade with South America until her States should return to their former allegiance, that would have furnished no cause of interference to us. Or if an armament had been furnished by the Allies to act against provinces the most remote from us, as Chile or Buenos Ayres, the distance of the scene of action diminishing our apprehension of danger, and diminishing also our means of effectual interposition, might still have left us to content ourselves with remonstrance.

"But a very different case would have arisen if an army, equipped and maintained by these Powers, had been landed on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and commenced the war in our immediate neighborhood. Such an event might justly be regarded as dangerous to ourselves, and on that ground call for decided and immediate interference by us. The sentiments and the policy announced by the declaration, thus understood, were therefore in strict conformity to our duties and our interest."

And Mr. Adams, who had originated the doctrine, declared its limitations in his message of December 26, 1825, advising the appointment "of envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the assembly of American nations at Panama":

"An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable. This was, more than two years since, announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new Southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence."

. . . . . .

And in terms still more definite in his message to the House on March 26, 1826:

"Should it be deemed advisable to contract any conventional engagement on this topic, our views would extend no farther than to a mutual pledge of the parties to the compact, each to maintain the principle in application to its own territory, and to permit no colonial lodgment or establishment of European jurisdiction upon its own soil."

Not only, Mr. President, was the Monroe Doctrine intended simply as a declaration of limited scope and purpose, as I think I have shown, but the circumstances under which it was given to the world were far different from those which now exist; and under present conditions its assertion and maintenance to the extent claimed by the present Executive have ceased to be of paramount importance.

It was essentially a doctrine of self-defence, promulgated for our own preservation and for no other purpose. Our country, in 1823, was sparsely settled, and its boundaries but vaguely defined. Nearly half of our present area, excluding Alaska, was owned by Mexico. Russia claimed certain rights in the Northwest, and the tremendous and sinister power of Spain had not been finally shaken off by the countries to the south of us. England was our ally, our friend, although our own boundary claims with her were unsettled, fearing, as we feared, the possible encroachments of Russia and the certainty of war with Spain if she should recover her footing in South America. Any successful step in her behalf to the south of us meant the restoration of the whole continent to that cruel and reactionary people whose brutality has darkened the pages of history for four hundred years. The fear was then real and the danger threatening. To-day how different the picture! We have helped ourselves to what land we needed; our own borders are defined, our government eternally planted on the solid rock; our people intelligent and lovers of liberty and devoted to free institutions. No danger threatens us from without. We are menaced by no foreign foe.

Our boundaries, as I have said, are rounded, completed, and defined. They are not assailed either on the north or on the south. We are in no danger of losing any portion of our territory, nor do we desire at this time to acquire on either side an additional acre, and vast as are our resources, intelligent as are our people, we possess an element of strength even greater than these advantages afford us; and that is that nobody wants us. We are not desirable subjects for other countries. There is not a nation in the whole world that would take one of our sovereign States as a gift, with its people. Alsace and Lorraine

may be transferred from one race and one nation to another, and a generation may bring acquiescence in the change; but no country has an army large enough to hold a foot of American soil where our flag has once floated, and "Time's iron feet" can make no impress upon our love and our equal devotion to every section of our country.

MR. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator a question?

MR. WOLCOTT. If it is important, but if not I would rather go on.

MR. MITCHELL of Oregon. I think it is important, and that it will not disturb the Senator. In the event that England to-morrow should negotiate with the Nicaraguan Government for the purchase of all the Nicaraguan soil, I should like to know whether the Senator would say that the Government of the United States ought to protest; and if it did protest, whether it should protest in the name of the Monroe Doctrine or in the name of what should it protest?

MR. WOLCOTT. I do not care to be dragged into a further discussion in answer to the interruption of the Senator from Oregon, and after that I trust I may be permitted to proceed with my speech. I shall cover the very ground to which the Senator refers later, as he would have found if he had possessed his soul in patience.

Of course, if Great Britain were foolish enough to take such action, we should interfere, and should interfere to any extent; and we should interfere not in the slightest degree because of the Monroe Doctrine, but because of the undoubted and inalienable right we have to protect our interests wherever anything is asserted to the contrary in any portion of the earth.

Mr. President, it is idle to talk seriously of our integrity or perpetuity being threatened by an adjustment of boundary between Great Britain and Venezuela. That which once seemed a danger and evoked the utterance of the Monroe Doctrine has passed forever away, and has left nothing to vex us but the pride of expression to which we still cling.

In the early years of the century, Mr. President, men's hearts were all aglow, the whole world over, with hopes of liberty. There was no section of the earth where there was despotism that there were not brave spirits struggling for freedom. Young republics held out the hand of friendship to each other and all men were brothers. Bolivar and other gallant leaders were battling nobly in the South, and there seemed to be prom-

ise of the same growth in civilization in South as in North America. That hope was long since dispelled. Instead of developing into self-respecting republics based upon law, advancing in morals and civilization, the peoples of South America have shown themselves so far, almost without exception, utterly unfitted for self-government. Their so-called republics are largely and usually military despotisms based on force and relying on bloodshedding and assassination for their establishment and for their brief continuance; extending only until the ruler shall have amassed from the oppression of the people a fortune sufficient to enable him to live in luxury in Europe, when he escapes or abdicates, or until some other revolutionist shall be able by violence to seize the reins of government. The rulers are despots and suffrage a farce. Not only was this the condition of affairs fifty years ago; it is equally true to-day.

Mexico, almost alone, under the able and wise rule of Diaz has enjoyed exceptional and long-continued immunity from revolution, and the Mexican Republic seems firmly established; but its early history is like that of the Central and South American countries. From the date of the independence of Mexico in 1821 down to 1860—a period of thirty-nine years—it had thirty-six different forms of government, and seventy-two individuals figured as its chief executives. They were regents, presidents, president substitutes, emperors, commanders-in-chief, generals, and dictators, but the people had no more voice in the government than they have in Russia to-day.

There is occasionally a country which, for the moment, seems to have aspirations toward good government, and for a brief period some ruler will appear to realize that a republic means something other than a bloody and oppressive despotism; but such a country and such a ruler are the exception and not the rule. The people are ignorant and submissive; the rulers are arbitrary and cruel. Let me read what the latest intelligent American traveller has to say of them. I quote from the book of Mr. Theodore Child, who saw with friendly and uncritical eyes, and sought to find only that which was attractive or gave promise for the future:

"The Argentine Republic has had an experience of sixty years of politico-electoral warfare. Party politics and personal ambition of a political nature have caused more bloodshed than the conquest of liberty itself, and yet the political education of the nation does not seem to make any progress nor the patriotism of individuals to acquire any rational development. The pros-

perity of the Argentine Republic has been impeded in the past by the passions, the political ambitions, and the want of morality of its criollo sons."

Again he says:

"In the political struggles there are rarely questions of principles, but always questions of persons. President succeeds president, but the aim of all is equally selfish, and even if the opposition were transformed into the government the whole result would be that one set of parasites would take the place of another. In Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Peru the political conditions are more or less the same; they are ruled by presidents who are as absolute autocrats as the Czar of Russia, and even more so, because they are safe from the intrusion or influence of European criticism. The President of Argentina or the President of Chile is master of the whole administrative organization of the country so completely that no legal and constitutional means can be brought to bear efficaciously against his personal will or caprice. He not only disposes of the armed force of the country, but the entire administrative personnel is his creature and at his command. Thus the manipulation of the whole electoral machinery is under his control, and the citizens enjoy in consequence a right of voting that is purely platonic. They may vote, it is true, in many cases, as much as they please, but no account is taken of their suffrages. The whole apparatus of republicanism in these countries is a farce, and in spite of the sonorous speeches of after-dinner orators they have not yet begun to enjoy even the most elementary political liberty."

From the general discussion in the press of the country one would at first blush be inclined to believe that the United States had strong natural affiliations with these Central and South American Governments, and were tied to them in bonds of ancient affection as well as fraternal love. In all this demonstration, therefore, with which we are indulging ourselves, it may be well to remember that after the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine we went to war with one of these Governments and took from it a country which doubled the size of our own territory, and that it is only five years or so ago that we were about to blow Chile off the land and out of the water because her people were too frank in the expression of their hostility to us.

MR. HOAR. And murdered a few sailors.

MR. WOLCOTT. Yes, and murdered a few sailors as an evidence of friendship.

MR. HOAR. As a very frank expression of what they feel.

MR. WOLCOTT. As a frank expression of their friendship for us. The fact is, we have absolutely nothing in common with these countries; that with few exceptions they dislike us and are jealous of our prosperity, and call upon us to aid them only when their commercial dishonor has led them to repudiate their debts and deprive them of European friendship; or when, as in the present case, they can successfully appeal to our love of fair play, our sympathy for the weak when threatened by the strong, and especially to our instinctive devotion to everything which is labelled "American."

These people, Mr. President, though alien in race, language, and religion, are entitled to our friendly and affectionate regard; as citizens of a sister Republic in name we may even owe them protection whenever the interests of free government or the cause of civilization is attacked by assaults upon their autonomy. Beyond that point our obligation ceases. The description which I have given of the South American States generally applies with added force to Venezuela. Ever since her contest with Spain she has had revolutions at average intervals of eighteen months. Her population consists of more than 2,000,000 people, and of these, until the recent influx to the gold fields, less than 1 per cent. were whites, the remainder of the inhabitants being negroes, Indians, and the mixed races, composed of mulattoes and zambos. Much of the present friction between Great Britain and Venezuela arises because of the recent development of gold fields in Southern Venezuela. These fields are already attracting the attention of our miners from the Western States; many of our people are already there and more will follow. Where the vexed boundary line will finally be located we cannot tell, but I am frank to say that I sincerely hope it will rightfully be found to place these rich mines where the English-speaking people, who must develop them, will not be subject to the cupidity of the half-breeds of Venezuela, and where the English common law and the certainty of its enforcement will furnish them shelter and protection.

The phraseology of the resolutions reported by the committee, Mr. President, is as unobjectionable as any language could be which endeavored to assert in binding and final terms a policy to which this Government desired to commit itself in dealing with the relations of foreign countries to this hemisphere. It is moderate, it is clear, and it is comprehensive. The objection to it, in my opinion, is that Congress is not called upon to give its sanction to any policy to be pursued toward the Govern-

ments to the south of us; and that at this particular juncture any legislation is unwise and can only accentuate existing difficulties.

Conditions change from year to year. The policies of to-day become inapplicable to-morrow. For the last seventy years Congress has wisely refrained from placing the seal of its sanction upon the Monroe Doctrine. These resolutions cannot help us to a solution of existing difficulties, and at this moment of excitement and of passion we are not in the best condition to frame a policy which shall guide our country for all future time.

Our right and our duty to interfere in every South American and Central American question that in any wise affects our interests are undoubted; but that right and duty do not rest on the message of President Monroe, nor are they strengthened by legislative announcement.

The passage of the resolutions at this time can do no good and perhaps little harm, but their introduction only adds another fagot to a fire which ought not to be permitted to longer burn. From the point of view which I am presenting the diplomatic correspondence was, on our side, unnecessarily irritating, the message of the President ill advised, and the creation of a commission with no facilities for investigation not shared by us all, and without invitation by the parties in interest, was hasty and premature. Believe me, Mr. President, I do not presume to criticise our past action or to arrogate to myself superior wisdom. Under similar surroundings and with the same environment I should very possibly have joined in the unanimous action of the Senate if I had been permitted to be present in this body; but at this time it does nevertheless seem as if the further agitation of this question should cease until the resources of diplomacy are finally exhausted. Probably every American believes that Great Britain should have agreed to arbitrate the line *ab initio* and without reservation, but she did not so agree. Whereupon we have made it infinitely more difficult for her to accept arbitration by our demonstrative diplomacy and volunteer commission; and we are drifting into a position where Great Britain's refusal to arbitrate, and she may lawfully refuse, will be considered not as demanding from us only a dignified and earnest protest, which is as far as most thoughtful Americans believe it fitting that we should go, but may be deemed by a numerous and influential body of our people to be a justification for the severance of relations between the two countries, and perhaps for war.

We are told that we should not consider the possibilities of war; but we must look to the rational result of our interference along present lines. In my opinion, Mr. President, there will be no war. It will be avoided, not because our position toward Great Britain in her dispute with Venezuela is tenable, for I think I have shown its unsoundness, and it has been rejected by the press and public opinion of every first-class power in the world; not because by our moderation and wisdom we avert the possibilities of war, but because Great Britain will yield the whole controversy rather than face the horrors of such a war over such a question, a war out of which no victor could emerge whatever the result; a war which would put back civilization and progress for a century, and which could mean only disaster to the human race. If such a contest shall be thus avoided, as I pray it may, it will bring to us no added honor and to Great Britain no disgrace; nor will the cause of liberty in South America be furthered or our own foundations be laid the stronger.

If the Senate, Mr. President, was not responsible for the original differences which have arisen between Great Britain and this country relative to the Venezuelan boundary, it must be admitted that we have done much toward keeping the question active and the differences acute. For instance, the other day, after all the Venezuelan despatches had been published to the world, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Morgan] saw fit to introduce a resolution having reference to the abortive revolution in the Transvaal. In what I have to say I make not the slightest reflection on the Senator from Alabama. I know his personal courtesy and his high sense of official duty, and I question neither, but I do protest that the introduction at this time of such a resolution was at least unfortunate and that its motive might be easily misunderstood. It is as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That the people of the United States of America, through their representatives in Congress assembled, convey to the President and people of the Republic of Transvaal their earnest congratulations upon their success in establishing free representative government, republican in form, and in their opposition to any foreign power that denies to them the full enjoyment of these rightful liberties.

"The people of America having realized, through the favor of the God of Nations, the blessings of government based upon the consent of the governed, entertain with confidence the pleasing hope and belief that the principles of self-government will

be securely established through the influence of the Republic of France, in her colonies, and of the Republics of Liberia and the Transvaal, founded by the people in Africa; and that those Republics will foster and give firm support to the peaceful progress of Christian civilization in the new and vast field now being opened to the commerce and institutions of all the nations of the earth throughout that great continent.

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States is requested to communicate this action of Congress to the President of the Republic of Transvaal."

I know but little of the Transvaal Republic, but I am advised that a large percentage of its white citizens are English-speaking people, and are denied representation, while paying their full quota of taxation; and that situation is one which ordinarily demands and receives American sympathy for people so deprived of what we cherish as an unalienable right. But whatever the cause of the uprising, or the merits of the dispute, Mr. President, my attention at that crisis was diverted to another channel. France is a sister Republic, and although most of her colonies commended in the resolution of the Senator from Alabama have fewer rights than Cuba, she is yet entitled to our consideration and sympathy because of her form of government. Germany has furnished us hundreds of thousands of worthy citizens, who are a credit to the Republic. Russia was our friendly ally in the late war. And yet, Mr. President, when I read that all these powerful Governments—France, Germany, and Russia—had allied themselves together against Great Britain, and that the people of those little islands, "compassed by the inviolate sea," in defence of what they deemed their rights, were marshalling their armies and assembling their navies, ready, undaunted, to face a world in arms, unyielding and unafraid, I thanked God I was of the race! There is no drop of blood in me, Mr. President, that is not of English origin, and I have no ancestor on either side since 1650 who was not born on the soil of New England; but my heart beats faster when I recall the glorious deeds of Clive, and Lawrence, and Napier, and Wellington—

> "England's greatest son;
> He that gain'd a hundred fights,
> And never lost an English gun,"—

of Drake and Hawkins, who fought the Spaniard and swept the

Spanish Main, and of the incomparable Nelson; and my pulse quickens when I realize that the splendor of their achievements is part of our glorious heritage, and that the language of Burke and of Chatham is our mother tongue!

Mr. President, we will protect our country and our country's interests with our lives, but we wage no wars of conquest or of hate. This Republic stands facing the dawn, secure in its liberties, conscious of its high destiny. Wherever in all the world the hand of the oppressed or the downtrodden is reached out to us, we meet it in friendly clasp. In the Old World, where unspeakable crimes even now darken the skies; in the Orient, where old dynasties have been crumbling for a thousand years and still hang together strong in the accumulation of infamies; in South America, where as yet the forms of free institutions hold only the spirit of cruelty and oppression; everywhere upon the earth it is our mission to ameliorate, to civilize, to Christianize, to loosen the bonds of captivity, and to point the souls of men to nobler heights.

Whatever of advancement and of progress the centuries shall bring us must largely come through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking peoples; and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. Blood is thicker than water, and until some just quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same speech and lineage and traditions stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace and awaiting the coming of the day when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

POLITICS AND ANTI-OPTION

January 31, 1893:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill (H. R. 7845) defining "options" and "futures," imposing special taxes on dealers therein, and requiring such dealers and persons engaged in selling certain products to obtain license, and for other purposes, is before the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, according to the agreement of the Senate.

MR. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, I had hoped to participate somewhat in this debate; but during the past ten days I have been detained from the Chamber by illness, and am hardly able to be present to-day. While I cannot hope to shed any light upon the bill, which has been illumed by the able addresses of distinguished Senators, before the amendment comes to a vote I should like to trespass upon the attention of Senators for a very few moments, to give the reasons for casting the vote which I shall cast upon the bill. I am in some doubt as to how far it may be the duty of a Senator to interpose in preventing the passage of a measure which he believes to be not sanctioned by the Constitution, which he believes to be vicious in principle and calculated to work great injury to the people whom it pretends to benefit; but at this late day I shall content myself with but a word or two as to the reasons which impel my vote upon the measure.

We have been indulging, Mr. President, for the past few years in legislation which, by the contrast it affords, would be amusing if its effects were not so threatening. Three years ago we passed in this Chamber, without division, a law respecting trusts, after we had listened to solemn speeches by some of our most important Senators, who assured us that the necessary effect of a combination of capital and extensive trading was

to raise prices. We were asked to pass an anti-trust law, and we passed it, as I have said, without division. We overlooked, perhaps, the fact that the necessary effect of every trust, so called, is to reduce the cost of manufacture of the product, and thereby to reduce the price, and that under free institutions and where trade is unrestricted, as it is here, competition is the necessary corrective of all evils which may be caused by the combination of capital.

We passed the measure, which was harmless in itself and perhaps not calculated to do much. The only effect that it did accomplish was brought about by the Attorney-General of the United States. Just before the election and after these trusts had resolved themselves again into their component parts, he commenced a sort of sporadic litigation against them with such ability as he possessed, and the only effect accomplished was the contribution by a number of these trusts of large sums of money to the Democratic national committee.

The law against trusts has been long enough in force at least to show us all that it in no wise affected prices. Now, having learned that lesson, we are asked to legislate upon the theory that the necessary effect of a combination of capital and large investment and speculation must be to lower the prices of the necessaries of life, and two months of our time has been occupied here in the Senate in an attempt by those who press this bill to induce the Senate of the United States to legislate in order that we may raise the price of bread.

I do not care, Mr. President, to discuss the anomaly presented by such a situation; but I do protest, all other arguments aside, that we have no right to spend our time even in the consideration of such legislation, unless there is a widespread and an intelligent public sentiment in its favor. That sentiment does not exist. We have just passed through a Presidential contest, and I am safe in asserting that nowhere was anti-option the issue.

The campaign, I admit, was not a heated campaign. There was nothing in the personnel of either of the candidates to generate warmth or heat or friction except among the members of the same political party; but I am justified in stating that anti-option was nowhere the issue. What the issue was is a question which is not entirely without interest and one upon which we may not be altogether agreed. Take the State of Massachusetts, that grand Commonwealth, where individuals as individuals count for so little and enlightened self-interest counts for so much. There and there alone, in my opinion, was the

tariff—the McKinley Bill—the issue of the day, and there the Republican party showed a great growth and advance and increased the number of its votes.

In New York, and from New York west to the Mississippi River, the issue was the indifference to the present Executive, and that determined the day. It was a race of indifference, and on that issue the Republican party won. We had that which had been unheard of in the history of political parties since the foundation of the country. In spite of the great growth in our population, we found the vote of one party falling off and less than it had been four years ago. As it was in New York so it was in Indiana, where the Republican vote fell off more than 7000 from 1888.

Ungrateful Indiana, Mr. President, when the records of the Secretary of the Senate will show that we confirmed two appointments from Indiana as against one from any other State with anything like its population! The same reason existed for the defeat in New York and Indiana.

All over the country, Mr. President, this last election has presented the most extraordinary spectacle, and in the great States of Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, and others the total vote fell off, showing the cause of defeat—States which heretofore had cast large Republican majorities.

In the States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine the total vote fell off. The census showed a growth in Vermont, but the total vote of that State fell off something more than 7000 and the vote was less than it had been any year since 1872—less even than it was in the year 1868.

In the South the spook of negro domination cemented and held solid that great section as against the economic questions in which the people, irrespective of party, believe.

In Illinois and Wisconsin local school questions, added to indifference to the Executive, brought about the result.

In the far West the result was directly brought about by the attitude of the Administration on silver and by the ignorance and indifference to Western interests which have characterized the Administration for the past four years.

It may be that in Minnesota[1] anti-option was the issue. I read occasionally its newspapers, but I did not see it declared the issue. They must have had some issue in Minnesota, inasmuch as they nominated on the Republican ticket for Governor a gentleman who, while in Congress as a Republican, had voted

[1] The State represented by Senator Washburn, the author of the bill.

in favor of the Mills Bill; but if anti-option was the issue in Minnesota it was confined to that State only. During the campaign—I know I am not alone in my experience—I never heard the subject mentioned.

Since this bill has been pending I have received a telegram from the National Grange of Colorado, a body of excellent people, urging me to vote in favor of the measure. They have been flooded with literature from the millers and the elevator men, and they see but one side of the question. It is from a mistaken point of view that they ask me to vote in favor of the measure.

If constitutional legislation could be had in favor of maintaining fair prices, I should be inclined, perhaps, to vote in favor of it, although I believe these subjects may be far better left to natural laws; but I believe, if the proposed bill shall pass and shall be declared constitutional, that it will materially lower existing prices, and that the clamor for its repeal will be far louder than the demand for its passage.

I believe also that half of the Senators on this floor who will vote in favor of this measure are at heart opposed to it, and will vote for it only because they are influenced by the demand of the grangers at home, who, not knowing the real situation, ask for the passage of this bill.

We have had two plans presented, Mr. President, for approval. One is that of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. George], in which I must say I do not believe, for I do not believe in its constitutionality, but which is infinitely the better proposition of the two, for it is an honest proposition. It does not pretend one thing and mean another.

The other proposition is that contained in the bill as presented by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Washburn]. The power of Congress to deal with options, as has been so often and so well stated here, must be found, if anywhere, under the power of taxation. I understand that to be the power that is here invoked. I understand further that under our oaths of office we are pledged to honest legislation within the powers given us by the Constitution, and that if we assume to pass legislation purporting to raise revenues for the General Government, we are pledged to at least ordinary good faith and ethics in such legislation. If that be true, Mr. President, is not the spectacle we present a humiliating one?

The Senator from Minnesota has stated deliberately of his own motion in answer to questions more than once, first that

under this bill he does not expect to raise one dollar of revenue—that if the bill shall pass, he, who is the father of it, does not believe that we shall raise one dollar of revenue under it; second, he states that the purpose of the bill is not to raise revenue, but is to stop speculating in grain and in cotton. He states that the bill which purports to be a bill for raising revenue is not introduced for that purpose, and will fail of its pretended purpose if it shall become a law.

But he apparently relies upon the Supreme Court of the United States to say, although they have the record of our transactions before them, although they will see in black and white in the deliberations of this body that every Senator who has spoken respecting the measure, whether a friend to the bill or opposed to it, states that it is not expected to raise a dollar of revenue, that that is not its purpose; and yet, inasmuch as upon its lying face it pretends to be a bill for raising revenue, therefore the Supreme Court of the United States will determine that we passed that which we distinctly stated we did not intend to pass.

The bill also provides that that which shall be lawful in one place shall not be lawful in another; it provides that in the great exchanges of the land, whose members are composed of the first citizens of the United States, of those great exchanges which, during the war and since, have been the first to respond to every great call of charity, those exchanges to which we turn when any section or community is smitten with calamity, that these institutions, which stand as imperishable monuments to man's industry and ability, shall not be fit for the transaction of this business for which they were created; that these places, sanctioned as markets-overt for hundreds of years, in which by the law of the land certain sales should necessarily take place in order to have validity, for fear under this bill some direct barter and sale may be attended with suspicious circumstances, —that those great exchanges shall be divested of their purpose, and men may go into the saloons and back alleys to negotiate their sales of cotton and of grain, but that they shall be unlawful if carried on within the walls of the exchanges!

Mr. President, the real demand for this measure comes not from moralists, who seek to suppress vice, which, unfortunately everywhere exists in varying forms. Good citizens who desire to promote virtue and uproot vice in their homes go where the law directs them, to the Legislatures of their States, which alone are authorized to deal with these questions. No good

citizen who really desires to suppress a wrong would seek to accomplish his purpose by the perpetration of a greater one, or by asking of his Representative in Congress the violation of his oath of office and the prostitution of the powers intrusted to him.

The real demand for this bill comes from the association of millers and from the owners of elevators, who, if they can exclude other bidders, may buy at their own terms in the months when they need grain; and if this inequitable and oppressive measure shall become the law of the land, they will be the masters of the situation.

The evils sought to be abated by this bill, Mr. President, are to a certain extent undoubted evils from a moral point of view; but they are both overstated and overestimated. The line between the legitimate foresight which characterizes the American merchant and trader and purely speculative or gambling transactions is necessarily a vague and shadowy one. A wise merchant buys when the price is low, in advance of an expected rise and when he anticipates a lessened production or supply, and he sells under exactly contrary conditions.

The men who are represented on the floors of our great exchanges are among the best citizens of the land; they are alert to the production and demand the world over; they weigh the chances of a war in Europe, the effect of the price of silver in determining the value of the Indian crop, the probable stability of railway rates, and the countless other questions which determine prices. There are hundreds of men in the United States to-day who can tell you even more closely than our well-equipped Agricultural Bureau the exact visible supply of the cereals, the number of acres in cultivation all over the world, and the probable local range of price; and these questions determine prices.

For a week or a day some corner may prevail, but the great law of supply and demand is the real essence—the controller of values. And all this energy and foresight and enterprise, which characterize our American merchants and traders, are tributes to our national ability, and should be encouraged and not checked.

You cannot legislate, Mr. President, against the exercise of ability, industry, and energy in commercial transactions, and it would be a sorry day for those who look to the growth and development of our race if you could. When you level by legislation you level down, never up.

I trust, if this measure shall pass the Houses of Congress, that some way will be found to defeat its execution, for it is a lie upon its face;—it is far more immoral than the practices it aims at, and it is unjust, oppressive, and un-American.

REMOVAL OF THE UTE INDIANS

March 29, 1892:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be read.

The resolution submitted yesterday by Mr. Wolcott was read as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate (the House concurring)*, That the President be requested to refrain from allotting in severalty the lands of the present reservation of the Southern Ute Indians pending legislation in the present Congress respecting the removal of said Indians to another reservation.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

MR. WOLCOTT. Mr. President, this resolution, which I introduced yesterday, is pertinent by reason of the legislation now pending before this body in the form of a bill which rests with the Committee on Indian Affairs. The bill practically provides that the Southern Ute Indians shall be removed from their present reservation in Southwestern Colorado to another reservation in Southeastern Utah. It provides that the payment of $50,000 shall be made to the tribe, with an allowance of $2000 to the head men of the tribe. It provides for the valuing of their present lands, and contains a further provision that as these lands are sold the proceeds arising from their sale shall go to a permanent fund for the benefit of the Southern Ute Indians. It provides that the new reservation shall be cleared of the present claimants, who occupy it without any adequate protection of law; that their improvements shall be estimated in value and allowance made for them. It provides

for an appropriation of $5000 to move the Indians from the one reservation to the other.

This legislation has been pending before this body in former Congresses. A similar bill was reported at a former Congress to the other House, but Congress adjourned without taking action upon it. A similar bill is now pending in both branches of Congress.

The present bill was introduced on the 10th day of December last and still slumbers in the Committee on Indian Affairs. Two years ago the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote an urgent letter, which was duly forwarded to the Senate committee, urging that immediate action be taken on this legislation for the reason that the Indians were restless; that it was essential that some conclusion be had in the matter, and that it was important before the new reservation should be settled up by white men that something definite should be determined as to the policy to be pursued toward these Indians.

The protracted delay in the report of this bill leads me to offer the resolution asking that the President do not, as he is authorized to do by the Act of 1880, allot the present lands of these Indians in severalty. In the bill pending before the other House there is an amendment to the effect that all Indians who so desire may remain upon the present reservation and take their lands in severalty. That amendment is ready to be offered to this bill when the Senate can have it again in its charge.

The wisdom of the bill has been sustained by extensive testimony taken before the committees of both Houses of Congress, and the delay in the Indian Affairs Committee would not have occurred and no opposition would have arisen to this measure had it not been for the persistent efforts of an association known as the Indian Rights' Association. This association has been flooding the country with printed forms of petitions, has been laying upon the desks of every Senator printed matter showing the hardships of the removal, and giving reasons why the bill should not pass. The association has created a false and an untrue sentiment among good men and women in the East. I presume there is not a Senator within the hearing of my voice who has not received letters from people urging him to vote against the proposed removal of the Southern Utes from Colorado to Utah.

The claim made by the Indian Rights Association is in substance that the present reservation is better for the Indian than the one to which it is proposed to remove him; that the welfare

of the Government would be subserved by keeping him where he is and dividing his lands in severalty; that the proposed legislation is prompted by the cupidity of the whites and is being urged for unworthy motives; that the Indians have consented to a removal only through pressure, and that their real desire is to remain upon their present reservation. These statements of the Indian Rights Association originate in the brain of one C. C. Painter, to whom I shall hereafter refer. They are untrue in substance and in fact, and by their circulation an entirely false impression and opinion have been created in the minds of people.

Because of the delay in the reporting of the bill it is a duty I owe to the Senate and to so much of the public as have taken an interest in this question as well as to the people of the State of Colorado that these falsehoods be met and refuted at this time.

We in Colorado are not unfriendly to the Indian. When we were first organized as a Territory we found within our borders thousands of Mexicans who came to us by conquest, aliens in race and language and traditions and habits. We have assimilated them to us and they are now rapidly adopting our language and our methods. They have become good, intelligent citizens, and many of them are now occupying important positions of trust in the State of Colorado.

Had the Indian offered the slightest evidence of capacity for civilization he too would have been taken by the hand and lifted up and planted on the firm ground of citizenship. No effort has been spared in this direction, but the Southern Ute Indian who now lives in Colorado is not capable of civilization in this generation or in this century.

In all the legislation that has been sought due regard has been uniformly had to the interest of the Indian as well as the white; and if the population surrounding the present reservation did not exist, if the two reservations stood with no white man within a thousand miles of either of them, the same reasons for the removal of the Indians from the one reservation to the other would still largely exist.

This tribe of Southern Ute Indians consists of about 1000 souls—about 250 men. They are brave and ignorant and shrewd. They are blanket Indians.

Mr. Hoar. How many are there?

Mr. Wolcott. Nine hundred and eighty-four, I think, is the exact number. I describe them as about a thousand.

MR. SHERMAN. What is the number of men?

MR. WOLCOTT. The number of men is from about 230 to 250. They are essentially what are known as blanket Indians. All efforts to civilize them have failed. They follow the chase. Of late years they have taken to the herding of stock. Sheep have been given them. They butchered and killed many of them, but a few of the Indians saved some of theirs, and they are now raising some sheep and some goats. But they are essentially the Indian known as the blanket Indian, not amenable to the influences of civilization.

They are divided into three bands, the Weeminuches, who comprise about one half of the Southern Ute Indians, the Capotas, and the Muaches. The tribe is a recent acquisition to the United States and a more recent acquisition of Colorado. They came to us as part of the fruits of the Mexican War. They lived at the time of the conquest in the Territory now known as New Mexico, and they continued to reside there for more than a generation afterward. They are attached to their reservation by no ties of association or tradition. They roam no ancestral acres. Their dead are buried in New Mexico and not within the confines of their reservation.

In 1849, after our treaty with Mexico, we made our first treaty with these Southern Utes—a treaty simply of amity, in which we agreed to deal with them as friends and they agreed to recognize the jurisdiction of the United States. At that time, as I say, they roamed in New Mexico without any settled habitations. Later, in 1863 and in 1868, other treaties were made with other tribes of Utes, which treaties recognized a portion of this tribe of Southern Utes and provided for their residence generally in Southern Colorado.

In 1873 a treaty was made with all the Utes by which they gave up certain of their lands, retaining the present strip now devoted to the Southern Utes and another strip equally inconveniently located along the western border of Colorado. As early as 1878 the Indian agent reported that the southern strip was entirely unfitted for the purposes for which it was dedicated. These Ute Indians up to nearly 1878, although they had been included within the treaties, had not occupied the reservation in Colorado, but for nearly ten months in the year they had roamed in New Mexico, coming to the San Luis Valley and other sections of our State from time to time for hunting and other purposes.

As a result of the objection by the Indian agent, in 1878

Congress authorized negotiations looking to the removal of the Utes to a more favorable reservation. Then followed the massacre of the Meeker family in 1879, in which these Southern Utes did not participate, but which was conducted by the other Utes, the Uncompahgres and the White Rivers.

The result of that massacre, followed by the disastrous defeat of Captain Thornton, was the appointment of another commission, which was empowered to treat with the Indians upon the basis of their removal from Colorado. This was followed by a treaty with the Ute Indians—speaking of them all as a tribe and thereby including the Southern Ute Indians—whereby the Ute Indians generally agreed to give up their lands in Colorado and to take such lands in Utah and elsewhere as should be allotted to them. The other Utes, the Uncompahgres and the White Rivers, were put in Northwestern Colorado, but there were soon threats of another outbreak, and these Indians were hurried off to the Uintah Reservation in Utah, the Southern Utes remaining upon this southwestern strip.

Then, in 1880, negotiations were had looking to the confining of the Southern Ute Indians to some specific reservation. A commission was appointed, and in 1880 this present reservation was made the permanent home and the exclusive abode of the Southern Ute Indians. At the time this reservation was set aside my colleague [Mr. Teller], then as now in the Senate, entered his vigorous protest against the allotting of the Indians to this reservation, predicting the very thing that has come to pass, foreshadowing the growth and development of that section in Colorado, describing the awkward and the inconvenient arrangement of the reservation, and protesting that the Indians should be sent elsewhere.

This reservation, however, was adopted as a temporary expedient, with a provision that the Indians should have the right to hunt in the Lasalle Mountains, and that if these lands along the La Plata, in Colorado, were insufficient, they might go to the lands of the La Plata River in New Mexico. That section of country was inconvenient and ill-suited to their wants, and was settled by the white men, to whom patents had been issued.

The reservation which the Southern Utes at present occupy is a narrow strip or tongue of land in the southwestern corner of Colorado, 115 miles in length by 15 miles in width—a long, narrow strip of land. Its altitude is 7000 feet above the sea. For nine years out of fourteen the snow has lain in solid mass more than two feet in depth for from ninety to one hundred

days every winter. These Indians have been unable to live upon the reservation a single winter since they were allotted to it. They have uniformly moved west, and to the country where it is proposed now to place them. Their few horses and cattle would have perished with cold and starvation had they been compelled to remain upon the reservation.

The reservation is crossed by some seven streams of water with mesas or table-lands intervening between. The reservation comprises some 1,094,000 acres of land. Of this land over 300,000 acres would be irrigable provided water could be brought upon it. In this reservation, as in all reservations where these Indians can be moved, all attempts at agriculture must be preceded by ditches for irrigation. For the construction of these ditches vast sums are necessary. One witness before the committee thought it would take at least $500,000 to build proper ditches to irrigate this great tract of land, and that is the lowest estimate I have ever heard. In order to irrigate these lands you must go north of and beyond the reservation to get your elevation and bring the water over onto the mesas or table-lands. The valleys formed by these seven streams are usually very narrow. They also in the bottoms require irrigation, but there are a few isolated spots where ditches can be brought in at considerable expense, covering small patches of ground.

The reservation is of such length and shape that the Indians cannot reach it from one end to the other without leaving their territory. They cannot come to the agency without passing out of the land which the Government says they must remain upon, and when the streams are swollen in the spring of the year, as they frequently are, it takes an Indian fifteen or twenty days to cross the streams and get to the agency upon his reservation.

There has been an effort made to induce these Indians to do some farming. Small ditches have been built, inconsiderable in expense and in extent, but the net result since 1880 has been that some thirty-two Indians are interested in farming. They farm from 20 to 30 acres each, in the aggregate something like two or three hundred acres of land; but of this land, which is irrigated, three fourths of it is tilled exclusively by Mexicans, who are employed by the Indians for that purpose or who farm the land on shares. There are but eight Indians in this whole reservation who can be induced to rely, even for a partial support, upon agriculture, and they till but a very few acres each. The race, as I have stated, are blanket Indians. They follow

their stock; they cannot be induced to turn their minds and industry toward agriculture.

The old law of 1880 provided that they should have schools. There are 230 children in this tribe. The reservation is so situated that these children cannot get to school if they were so inclined, and they are not. The greatest number who have attended school at any one time has been eight. The school has dwindled to nothing; it has been a disastrous failure; and its failure has been due largely to the topography of the land and the peculiar situation and location of the reservation.

About the time that this reservation was determined upon came the marvellous discoveries which have since made the San Juan country so famous. Mines of silver and of gold were discovered; extensive deposits of coal were unearthed; and that great section of the country gave at once great promise for the future.

The mountains of Colorado are so situated that this particular reservation is essential as a gateway to Southwestern Colorado. East and north of the reservation are impassable mountain ranges, and there is no possible method of entering this section of Colorado from the east without passing through the reservation. The result has been that a railroad, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, has been constructed for 70 miles through this narrow strip of 15 miles in width to the city of Durango, which lies 3½ miles north of the reservation. It has been necessarily crossed by hundreds of wagon roads, for no man will go 100 miles around the reservation to cross 15 miles.

Another consequence has been that by acquiescence this strip of land is more travelled than almost any other strip of ground in Colorado. A great population has been built up around it to the north and to the east. The city of Durango has within it 7000 souls. North of it is the prosperous town of Silverton. To the northwest are the towns of Rico and Telluride and the city of Ouray, with their great mining populations. With prosperity came cattlemen with their herds, and their cattle have been roaming around this reservation, which by its very nature can never be fenced, with the result that the cattle of the whites trespass upon the land of the Indian and the stock of the Indian roam over onto the land of the whites. This condition has led to various reprisals, to friction, and to bad blood.

The Indian looks not to the individual who has stolen his stock; he looks to the race some member of which has despoiled him. The result has been that year after year, in spite of the

utmost efforts of a law-abiding community, there have been murders, there have been killings, there have been assaults and burnings. Year after year the friction has grown in intensity by the very nature of things, because all around this reservation are the herds and the farms of the white man, and because upon the farms and the ranges of the white man the stock of the Indian must necessarily go.

The land has great value to the whites. Whatever crops are raised in Colorado must be raised by irrigation. This tract is one of the most fertile in Colorado, and lies more contiguous to this mining section than any other belt of country. If this land, of which now less than three hundred acres are cultivated, could be brought under cultivation, as it would be if it were open to public settlement, three or four hundred thousand acres of public land would come into the market. Great ditches would be built, vast improvements would be made, and this mining country, which must now rely upon Eastern and Northeastern Colorado and upon Kansas and Nebraska for its grain supplies, could rely upon this reservation, which is now closed to it.

It is, as I say, essential to the prosperity of the whites that this land shall be brought under cultivation. It is equally essential to the Indians. The Indian tribe has never been contented for a day with the reservation that has been assigned to it. It took it moodily and under protest, and was induced to go there because the Indians were told that it was but a temporary expedient. Every year since they have been upon the reservation they have begged to be taken elsewhere. Year after year they made their protest to Congress. Finally, in 1885, the agent, Stollsteimer, requested that he be permitted to bring some of the chiefs to Washington that they might have opportunity to present their grievances to the Great Father. They came. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Atkins, at that time reported strongly in favor of their removal. The following year he took the pains to visit this reservation, and the result of his visit was that he made a further report setting forth the necessity for the immediate removal of the Indians and the inconvenience of their present reservation. Indeed, no intelligent man has ever visited this reservation who has not come away from it insisting that it was not a proper place for the habitation of the Ute Indians.

MR. PLATT. Who made that report?

MR. WOLCOTT. Commissioner Atkins. No man except this

paid agent of the Indian Rights Association and two young men, to whom I shall hereafter refer, who went out there under the auspices of a cattle company, has ever visited that country who has not urged in the interest of humanity that the Indians be taken from the reservation and placed elsewhere.

Finally, after the report of Commissioner Atkins, a bill was passed by Congress providing that a commission should be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior authorized to deal with the Utes upon the subject of their removal. In pursuance of that authority the then Secretary of the Interior, who is now the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Vilas], appointed a commission whose duty it should be to visit the Indians with that view.

The commission consisted of J. Montgomery Smith, of Wisconsin, and I think I may rely upon the junior Senator from Wisconsin to bear me out in the statement that he is a gentleman of intelligence and character. Upon the commission also was Major Weaver, of Arkansas, who I believe both the Senators from Arkansas will testify was a man of character and integrity. The other member of the commission was Rev. Dr. Childs, of this city, as to whom every man familiar with the charitable interests of Washington can testify, concerning whom nothing but good have I ever heard said, a minister of Christ's Gospel, himself a member of this Indian Rights Association, a man whose life has been devoted to doing good. He states to the committee that when he received his appointment from Secretary Vilas he was rather inclined to the opinion that it might be best to retain the Indians where they were, inducing them to cultivate their lands in severalty, and that they should not be removed.

The commission proceeded to visit the Ute Indians and take their testimony. From the commencement to the end of their labors, the Indians' interests were consulted and not the white man's. No threat or pressure or duress was brought to bear upon them. They were first urged to take their lands in severalty, and Buckskin Charlie, who saw the future as the Indian Rights Association does not see it, said if these lands were allotted in severalty near the town of Durango and these other mining camps, he would give the Indians three years to be exterminated. They were urged to take their lands in severalty and go to work; and Chief Severo's reply was, "Trees don't work, God don't work, Indian don't work; white man works." To such a degree of civilization has this Indian Rights Association brought these people up to this time!

They are born traders. At first they pretended, not a reluctance to move, but a reluctance to accept the proposed limits of the new reservation, because they wanted more land. But when the Indian commission was inclined to accept their statement and proceed no farther they kept coming back to the question by saying, "Well, we will go and see; perhaps we will trade, but we want this, and that, and the other." They are good traders. But any man who has the patience to read the testimony taken before the committee and the history of that commission, taken with great pains and care by the daily journals, will see that from the commencement the Indians wanted to move; that they waited only to get the best terms they could, and were then ready to go.

They will go, Mr. President, in any event. There has not been a year since 1880, as I have stated, that their stock and horses would not have died had they stayed upon their reservation. They have every year gone to identically the same lands where it is now proposed to put them.

A statement was made by this man Painter before the House committee the other day to the effect that the Indians did not want to go. We asked how it was in Colorado, and a telegram was sent in reply, signed by B. W. Riter and Adair Wilson, two leading citizens of Durango, two men entirely familiar with the country, two humane and high-minded men, in which they state as follows, under date of the 21st of this month:

"Not true that Utes unwilling to go. Were out at agency when every Indian there told Kane and Riter [these were the Indian Association men] they wanted to move. Majority of Muaches and Capotas and nearly all Weeminuches are now in Utah and unwilling to return. Only few days since Charley Sivers and others sent us word to write letter for them urging ratification of an agreement. They are still anxious for permission to go."

They have not waited for the slow action of the Committee on Indian Affairs. Three fourths of them are now upon the land, and they are there for four and five months of every year. The reservation to which it is proposed to remove them is of a peculiarly favorable character. It is nearly three times the size of the old reservation, comprises some 3,000,000 acres, is a compact body, eighty miles from east to west and some sixty miles from north to south. A large portion of the land is from two to three thousand feet lower than the present reservation. It is

bounded upon the south by a reservation of the Navajo Indians, the most prosperous pastoral Indians the history of the country has ever furnished, a race which has a million and a half sheep and a hundred thousand head of other stock—an Indian tribe with which the Utes are related by marriage and identified by generations of friendly association.

These Indians would live upon the south in friendly relation with the Southern Utes, where their example would be of the most favorable character, and across their reservation the white man does not trespass. On the west and northwest the reservation is bounded by the Colorado River, with its impassable cañons, and to the west of that river are thirty or forty miles of "bad lands," where there are practically no settlements. Upon the north and on the west and the south, then, these Indians would be shut off from communication with the white man. Only in a few places at the east would communication be open. Nowhere will the reservation have to be crossed. Nowhere will the Indians be subjected to the temptations that now assail them. Nowhere will it be possible that the friction can arise which now exists.

Upon this proposed reservation there are already more than 50,000 head of cattle grazing. It is as magnificent a grazing country and winter and summer range as exist out of doors. Every cattle company of the West whose lands adjoin this reservation pasture their cattle there for months of the year. There are substantial buildings erected at the foot of the Blue Mountains, where the reservation would naturally go, where all these Indians can be taken, where the agency would naturally be established. It is a central point in the reservation, around which the tribe will cluster and where their children can receive the benefit of the schools and the churches. It is not an agricultural reservation, but there is upon the proposed reservation more land that can be cultivated than this Indian race will cultivate in a hundred years. They can at once have from 6000 to 7000 acres of land which may be irrigated—twenty times more than they have ever yet irrigated, more than is needed for the support of the whole tribe.

MR. PLATT. And irrigated at a reasonable expense.

MR. WOLCOTT. Irrigated at a very slight expense, and by the expenditure of a somewhat larger amount of money, not an enormous sum, there can be reservoirs made where water can be stored which will irrigate four or five times as many acres of land. In other words, by a reasonable expense, by a

less expense than is necessary upon the present reservation, they can have thirty or forty thousand acres of land made agricultural land for the subsistence of the Indian, if he can ever be brought to till the soil.

There is a further advantage in favor of the proposed reservation. There is in Southeastern Utah and in Northeastern Arizona and Southwestern Colorado a wandering band known as renegade Utes. They are responsible for much of the stealing and for much of the bad blood and for many of the murders which occur in that country. They are not protected by treaty. They live in the Blue Mountains and along this proposed reservation. By the terms of the bill it is provided that those Indians shall be gathered into the community of the Southern Utes, where this larger tribe will see that they keep order and obey their rules and laws, and the white man will be protected from their incursions.

There are upon the land but few claimants to settle with. This Indian Rights Association agent pretended that there were vast mining interests there. There are none. There is not a legitimate mining claim upon the proposed reservation. There are a few settlers there, all of whom recognize that sooner or later these Indians must go somewhere, and probably there, and they can be dealt with for a reasonable sum of money.

MR. PLATT. And many of them are squatters.

MR. WOLCOTT. Many of them are squatters, and the bill proposes that even their improvements shall be paid for.

Lieutenant Stevens, of the Sixth Infantry, in 1886 made a survey and exploration of that country. He came before the committee, being in Washington for another purpose, not knowing that there was an investigation, and the other day gave to the committee a clear statement of the exact condition of the proposed reservation. He, with his fellow-officer, Lieutenant Morton, embodied a summary of their testimony in a letter to my colleague, which I shall not read, but which I shall ask to have appended to these remarks in the *Record*.

This report carefully goes over the topography, the resources, and the water supply of the country, and any Senator who will take the time to read it will find that the proposed reservation is almost perfectly adapted for the needs and demands of these Indians. His testimony is a complete refutation of the only arguments that can be made against this proposed change.

Mr. President, every statement which I have made is supported by proof and by evidence taken before the Committees on

Indian Affairs of the two Houses of Congress, and against this evidence, which is overwhelming and consistent, what facts are presented? Simply the opposition of an association known as the Indian Rights Association, represented by one C. C. Painter and two young men named Kane and Riter, and Mrs. Belva Lockwood, who appears, I believe, for an association known as the Peace Congress. Mrs. Lockwood's testimony may be disposed of by the remark that it is chiefly directed to the fear that the Southern Ute Indians, if moved to Utah, will be confirmed in a tendency which they now have toward polygamy. With that exception her testimony contains no salient statement of fact.

But, Mr. President, this opposition of the Indian Rights Association has been aroused and furthered and fomented solely by the cattle interests of Eastern cattle companies whose herds roam upon the proposed reservation. Mr. Painter, the paid agent of the association, took a trip West after the Indian commission had reported. He at once fell into the arms and hands of the agent of the cattle companies. Under the tutelage of one company, under its direction and control and fostering care, he made a three days' trip over the proposed reservation, the hills of which were already dotted with 50,000 cattle, and returned here and assumed to tell you that the reservation was a barren waste and utterly unfit for the Indian. He assumed also to take up the interests of mining men who had no existence save in his own distempered fancy. He assumed before the committee to speak for people in Utah, who accede to this removal. While they do not like it they recognize the necessity for it and are ready for it when their settlers have been paid the value of their improvements.

His testimony was followed by the testimony of Messrs. Kane and Riter, two young men from Philadelphia, who went last year to the reservation. It was brought out in their testimony that they went because the Pittsburg Cattle Company had suggested that somebody else ought to make the trip and confirm the statements of Mr. Painter. They, too, enjoying the hospitalities of this cattle company, visited the proposed reservation, came back here and told the committee that it was unfit for Indians to live in; and by their testimony assumed to say that the careful testimony of Lieutenants Stevens and Morton, unprejudiced, unbiased, and disinterested, was false, and that the result of their cursory examination was true and could be relied upon. Both these gentlemen, however, admitted that the new reserva-

tion was better for the Indians than the existing reservation, unless an attempt was to be made to divide the lands of these Indians in severalty.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that the Indian Rights Association was organized for a high and noble purpose. I have no doubt that it is supported and the salary of this agent, Painter, is paid by good men, Christian men and women, who are seeking only to protect the rights of the red man; but they have been deceived and misguided. It has frittered away its money and its time by making false representations of the facts in the interest of this cattle company, and has never expended a particle of sympathy or labor or money upon the Indian himself.

The schools provided for the Indians of this reservation have never succeeded. The building was broken down and leaking, and the teacher could no longer hold her school. But eight pupils ever attended.

These facts, it appears, have been known to this Indian Rights Association for years, and yet during all this time these people, whose hearts beat so fondly for the Indian, have never expended a word of sympathy or a dollar of money or the efforts of a missionary to reclaim the Indian and make him better. They send their agent here to lobby by unworthy methods, and while he has been protesting and making malicious statements touching this reservation, the people of Durango, the Christian clergymen of that town, whose lives are devoted to doing good, have made a statement to the committee which I shall also ask to have appended to these remarks, in which they set up that every instinct of Christian charity requires that these Indians shall be removed to another reservation. These clergymen, and notably Mr. Pollock, assisted by the very men who are charged by Painter with being guilty of cupidity and wrong-dealing because they want the Indians removed, are contributing to-day of their substance and of their time and of their effort to make these Indians better; and I would rather have one hour of such practical sympathy and practical effort than a year of the canting hypocrisy of this paid agent.

There is, in my opinion, Mr. President, but one way of reclaiming these Indians, and that is from within and not from without. You have got to make the Indian a better man, you have got to get the love of Christ in his heart, you have got to teach him humane principles, you have got to make him feel a responsibility for his acts. You do not reform him or reclaim him by giving him a plough and a harrow and ten acres of

land, and telling him to work or starve. You can accomplish that end by going in among his people and treating them kindly, working with the younger members of the tribe, and gradually bringing them to a realizing sense of man's duty to his fellow-man.

Mr. President, the future of the Indian races in the United States seems almost as much of a problem now as it did one hundred years ago. They are not appreciably diminished in numbers, nor are they, except in isolated instances, making material progress toward civilization. The solution of this great question rests with the West as well as the East, and the one section may be trusted to deal with it with the same wisdom and humanity as the other. The lessons taught the Indian in the earlier days of the colonies have been transmitted from sire to son and communicated by tribe to tribe, and add to the difficulties of the situation. The history of the Indian was for years an almost continuous story of cupidity and overreaching by one race and rapine and slaughter by the other.

In this bloody record the people of Colorado have had no share, except as they have furnished victims for savage atrocities. We have, since the first settlement of the Territory, patiently and cheerfully borne the burden which the presence of the Indians within our borders has inflicted upon us, and have ever dealt with them equitably and honorably.

If Congress in its wisdom determines that they shall continue to occupy this gateway to Southwestern Colorado, to their own detriment and to the infinite injury and retarding of the growth and development of a great section of our common country, we shall still exercise that integrity in our dealings with the tribe which characterizes an intelligent and law-abiding people.

I am unwilling to believe, however, that so great a wrong will be put upon us. The bill now in committee is consonant with the unanimous wish and the highest and truest interests of the Indians, and affords the people of Colorado the relief they so greatly need. I suggest to the Senate, with deference to the honorable Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, that a body of American citizens, intelligent, humane, and patriotic, who are devoting themselves, their lives, and their fortunes to the upbuilding of an important section of the Republic, who seek no legislation that is not sanctioned by wisdom and demanded by enlightened public interest, are entitled to your confidence and your support, as against the silly vaporings

of the female representative of the Peace Union, and the mawkish sentimentality of an association whose protests are founded on ignorance and whose arguments are based on falsehood.